



TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR CONDUCTING A BASLINE STUDY ON RESTORING ETHICAL AND ACCOUNTABLE LEADERSHIP (REAL) IN KENYA

REFERENCE NUMBER: TIK/CDO/EKN/001/2026

DESCRIPTION: Consultancy for conducting a baseline study on Restoring Ethical and Accountable Leadership (REAL) in Kenya

DEADLINE FOR SUBMISSION: *Applications will be reviewed on a rolling basis.*

POSTING DATE: 3rd August 2026

1. ORGANIZATIONAL SUMMARY

TI-Kenya is a national civil society organization that works towards a transparent and corruption-free society. As an independent chapter within the Transparency International Global Movement and registered in Kenya in 1999 with a mission to combat corruption, we are dedicated to promoting integrity, transparency and accountability in the public and private spheres through good governance and social justice initiatives.

With over 25 years' experience in governance interventions at the national and county levels, we work collaboratively with partners, institutions and citizens to prevent, expose and challenge corruption, and to strengthen systems that uphold good governance and public integrity. We pursue advocacy, partnerships development, strategic litigation, research, capacity building, and civic engagement as our core approaches.

TI-Kenya's intervenes in the following 3 key programmatic areas:

- i. **Citizen Demand and Oversight:** - Enhance demands for integrity and accountability.
- ii. **Public Finance Management-** Promote efficient, effective and accountable PFM
- iii. **Natural Resources and Climate Governance-** Improve accountability and transparency of natural resources and climate governance.
- iv. **Strategic Litigation** (Cutting across the 3 results areas above) - Increase access to effective redress mechanisms for victims of corruption-related injustices.

We have our main office in Nairobi and regional presence in the Coast, Rift Valley, the larger Western Kenya and Eastern Kenya through four Advocacy and Legal Advice Centers (ALACs) in Mombasa, Eldoret, Kisumu and Nairobi.

2. PROJECT BACKGROUND

Transparency International Kenya with support from the Embassy of the Kingdom of Netherlands is implementing a four-year project on Restoring Ethical and Accountable Leadership (Real) in Kenya. The project which will be implemented in Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu and Uasin Gishu counties will seek to contribute to enhanced governance and democracy processes in Kenya by strengthening citizen engagements in the electoral processes, fostering ethical leadership and improving accountability and transparency of the public institutions.

The project interventions will focus on strengthening citizen demand for accountability in governance processes, augmenting implementation of chapter six of the 2010 Kenyan constitution on leadership and integrity, strengthening digital accountability platforms, promoting anti-corruption advocacy works, improving youth participation in governance and enhancing institutional accountability in preparation for the 2027 general elections.

3. PURPOSE AND SCOPE OF THE ASSIGNMENT

a. Background and Problem Statement

TI - Kenya is currently in its third year of implementation of its strategic plan dubbed “Action for Integrity” 2022-2028. The Action for Integrity strategy, under its first strategic objective, *Citizen Demand & Oversight*, TI-Kenya seeks to promote ethical values, norms, and behavior change among citizens and support citizens to demand integrity and hold their leaders accountable.

Towards this end, TI-Kenya designed a programme dubbed Restore Ethical and Accountable Leadership (REAL) between 2022 and 2025, to revive citizen awareness and action in promoting the Constitutional aspirations under Chapter Six on Leadership and Integrity. The REAL Program build on the learnings and successes of the RedCard Campaign initiated in 2017 and 2022 to promote ethical leadership and demand that political aspirants and appointees to public office who do not meet the aspirations of Chapter Six are barred from running for political office and where

the oversight institutions fail, as they have in all elections since the 2010 Constitution, then create awareness among the public on the importance of electing leaders of integrity.

Despite the successes recorded under the REAL programme, effective implementation of Chapter Six of the Constitution in vetting candidates during elections continues to face hurdles due to contradicting and unclear judicial pronouncements. This has been documented in an analysis of judicial interpretation of Chapter Six¹. There has also been a lack of proper coordination between oversight institutions charged with the implementation of integrity provisions and their interpretation of their role in the electoral processes.² Previous efforts under the REAL Projects have managed to put a spotlight on issues of integrity as integral to discussions on leadership. However, during election campaign periods, due to project design limitations and inadequate resources, including technical capacities on campaign design and implementation, the Red Card and Integrity Awards campaigns were not large enough in scale and influenced to effectively dominate the political discourse. These challenges have led to the realization that the REAL programme needs to transcend from just Civil Society and Oversight institutional collaborations to engaging effectively with media, professionals, the religious sector, and judicial actors to get the desired outcomes. Youth have also demonstrated that the use of technology and social media, with the numerical advantage of their demographic, could better enhance campaigns on accountability, as was demonstrated in June 2024 youth-led online and offline engagements against the 2024 Finance Bill. Ensuring the momentum on promoting ethical and accountable leadership is maintained, it is imperative to carry on strategic engagements, including the generation of knowledge, targeted public awareness, multi-stakeholder engagements, REAL and integrity campaigns, manifesto tracking, and multi-media engagements. This will be crucial in this phase of the REAL project scale-up as it aims at improving democracy and governance in Kenya through amplifying citizen voices to demand leadership accountability and integrity.

b. Scope of the Assignment

TI-Kenya seeks to carry out a baseline study of the project on restoring ethical and accountable leadership (REAL) in Kenya. The study aims to establish baseline indicators for program

¹ <https://tikenya.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/05/T.I.K-The-Verdictanalysis-of-interpretation-of-chapter-six-by-kenyan-Courts-21012020-1.pdf>

² <https://iebc.or.ke/uploads/resources/mJaQNgOUVm.pdf>

performance against which program's success will be measured. This will be key in measuring the changes aligned to the set target indicators by the end of the project cycle.

Additionally, the study will seek to generate evidence on citizen participation, accountability, electoral integrity, institutional responsiveness, status on leadership integrity and governance systems within Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu and Uasin Gishu Counties. Right from the inception phase, the study will inform adaptive programming, strategic planning, implementation, and monitoring throughout the project.

4. SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES

Below are the specific objectives of the assignment: -

- a) Conduct a comprehensive assessment of the operating environment and project's stakeholder analysis while identifying implementation barriers, risks, and opportunities.
- b) Determine the baseline indicators for the program against which success will be measured.
- c) Update the project's Theory of Change (ToC) and Results framework.
- d) Develop recommendations that will strengthen project delivery and sustainability.

5. KEY DELIVERABLES

- i. **Inception report** outlining detailed baseline methodology, work plan, and timelines for carrying out the assignment.
- ii. **Data collection tools and datasets**
- iii. **Draft - Baseline Study Report, Theory of Change (ToC) and Results Framework.**
- iv. **Final baseline study report.**
- v. **Final Theory of Change (ToC) and Results Framework.**

6. TIMELINE

The assignment will be conducted over a period of 30 working days with deliverables set at intervals within a period of 1.5 months.

7. CONSULTANCY QUALIFICATION

The consultant should be a person with the following competencies:

- i. Minimum of a Master' degree in political science, law, development studies, project management, public administration, Monitoring & Evaluation or a related field.
- ii. Proven expansive experience in conducting baseline studies and evaluations on the thematic areas, with familiarity across all.
- iii. Proven experience in working with government authorities, civil society organizations, and diverse partners in action research processes.
- iv. Proficiency in conducting mixed methodology studies, ability to conduct and complete complex assignments, and deliver quality products in a timely manner.
- v. Knowledgeable on gender responsive programming, inclusivity and diversity.
- vi. A person of high integrity who will model TI-Kenya's core values.

8. APPLICATION PROCEDURE

Applications should include the following requirements combined into one document: (*max –10 pages*).

- i. A one-page cover letter expressing interest, availability commitment during the entire period of the consultancy, and suitability to undertake the assignment demonstrated by past performance conducting similar assignments.
- ii. A narrative proposal (maximum 5 pages) summarizing:
 - Understanding the ToR, describing the methodology, scope, and an indicative work plan to be used for the assignment.
 - An item-focused financial proposal outlining the anticipated cost of services in Kenya Shillings, inclusive of taxes.
 - A brief outline of the consultant(s) profile(s).
 - Attach at least two (2) samples of similar previous assignments.
 - Attach at least two (2) referral letters.
- iii. Provide all required compliance and statutory requirements (including Tax compliance and personal identification or company/firm registration documents).

- iv. Please indicate “**Application – Baseline study on Restoring Ethical and Accountable Leadership (REAL) in Kenya**” in the subject line of your email application.

N/B: All applications be submitted in one single PDF document shared to consultancyapplication@tikenya.org . The applications will be reviewed on a rolling basis.

Women and youth are encouraged to apply.

Confidentiality of information: All documents and data collected will be treated as confidential and used solely to facilitate analysis. Interviewees will not be quoted in the reports without their consent.

Content: All the required documents and reports in their draft and final versions shall be submitted to TI-Kenya within agreed timelines and remain the explicit property of TI-Kenya.

A. COMPLAINTS PROCESS

This call for Expression of Interest does not constitute a solicitation and TI-Kenya reserves the right to change or cancel the requirement at any time during the EOI process. TI-Kenya also reserves the right to require compliance with additional conditions as and when issuing the final solicitation documents. Submitting a reply to a call for EOI does not automatically guarantee receipt of the solicitation documents when issued. Invitations to bid or requests for proposals will be issued per TI-Kenya rules and procedures.

Any grievances and or complaints arising from the evaluation process and the final tender award can be addressed, in writing, to the Executive Director and the TI-Kenya Tender Complaints Committee.

**Executive Director,
Transparency International Kenya
Bishop Magua Building, Ground Floor,
Wing B UG 7, George Padmore Lane, Off Ngong Rd,
P.O. Box 198-00200, Nairobi
Or Email complaints@tikenya.org**