

Citizens' Perspective on the Influence of Police Reforms on Post-Conflict Corruption Management in Migori County, Kenya

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ABSTRACT

Re-emergence of conflict instigated by post-conflict police corruption is a real global concern. Contemplating this risk, most peace deals incorporate anti-corruption police reforms. Police reforms were adopted in Kenya following the 2007/8 post-election violence, in which high levels of police corruption were featured as one of the grievances that triggered the violence. However, despite more than a decade of reforms, positive peace is still elusive. International and national actors have voiced concerns over the fear of a repeat of the 2007/08 violence due to police impunity. This study, therefore, aimed to examine the effect of police reforms on post-conflict police corruption management in Migori County. The study was informed by the organizational theory of police corruption. A sequential exploratory design was used. The study area was Suna East Subcounty of Migori County. The total study population was 427 participants, comprising 398 household heads, 6 Focus Group Discussions (FGD) participants representing common victims of police corruption, and 23 key informants drawn from Boda Boda and Matatu operators, business owners, MYWO, youth, media, Maendeleo Ya Wanawake (MYWO), youth, media, Faith-Based Organizations (FBO), Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission (EACC), magistrates, prosecutors, Independent Policing Oversight Authority (IPOA), Internal Affairs Unit (IAU), Officer Commanding Station (OCS), Deputy County Commissioner (DCC), and police, Critical Infrastructure Protection Unit (CIPU), and Directorate of Criminal Investigations (DCI) commanders. Results show that police reforms (IAU, salary increment strategy, recruitment, training, IPOA, and vehicle leasing program) have had no effect at all on the management of police corruption in Migori County. The study concludes that citizens perceive that the influence of police reforms on post-conflict police corruption management has been insignificant in Migori County. The study recommends the government should: restructure, reengineer, and remodel NPS, IAU, IPOA, and EACC to enhance their efficiency in police corruption management.

Keywords: Anti-Corruption, Citizens' Perspective, Police Corruption Management, Police Reforms, Post-Conflict

I. INTRODUCTION

There is a statistically significant relationship between peace and corruption (Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission, 2015). Corruption indicates negative peace. As corruption increases, prospects for peace decrease (Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission, 2015). It is a ticking bomb that insurgents can use as a grievance to revive their anti-government manifestos and remobilize their recruits to engage in mass demonstrations and attacks against the police. This statement could not sound truer for Kenya; police corruption was one of the grievances that triggered unprecedented, spontaneous, organized, and retaliatory 2007/08 post-election violence (Gastrow, 2009). Migori County was the center of various atrocities that targeted both civilians and police following the protested election results. The aftermath was injuries and deaths caused by burns, spears, and gunshots, the eviction of non-Luos from Migori, looting and burning of residential houses, government and business premises, destruction of government and public service vehicles, and the exodus of Internally Displaced People (IDPs) and returnees from other hostile counties (Höglund, 2009; Waki report, 2008).

The panel of eminent African personalities chaired by former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan brokered the 2009 National Accord Peace Deal, which put an end to the crisis that had engulfed the nation and taken the world by surprise (Lindenmayer & Lianna, 2009). Police reforms were part of the peace deal, and among other objectives, the reforms aimed at building positive peace by curbing police corruption. Some of the strategies adopted to curb police corruption included

the Internal Affairs Unit, police salary increments, anti-corruption training, recruitment regulations 2015, the Independent Policing Oversight Authority (IPOA), and the National Police Service (NPS) vehicle leasing program (Police Reforms Program Document 2011–2014; revised Police Reforms Program Document 2015–2018).

There have been some achievements since the implementation of police reforms in 2011. According to Waruiru and Rugami (2022), Internal Affairs Unit (IAU) has had a positive influence on service delivery; according to Musya and Njoroge (2023), police salary increments have had a positive influence on service delivery; according to Kingoo (2019), training has had a positive influence on police performance; according to Kimwele and Nyabuto (2022), strategies used by IPOA were found to be effective in monitoring police performance; according to Gabwo and Muraya (2020); Gachihi & Mwangi (2021); Mwawasi et al. (2020), the vehicle leasing program has a positive influence on police performance.

Notwithstanding these achievements in service delivery, post-conflict public surveys indicate that police corruption is still a serious problem in the NPS, indicating that interventions meant to manage corruption in the NPS have been of no effect. The Internal Affairs Unit, police salary increment, anti-corruption training, recruitment regulations 2015, IPOA, and NPS vehicle leasing program were meant to reduce the frequency and number of police officers who are corrupt. However, surveys indicate that the majority of Kenya's citizens perceive that most police officers are corrupt. Sanny & Logan's (2022) review of Afrobarometer findings indicates that 68% of Kenyans still view the police as predators and not protectors. Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNCHR, 2016) indicates that police recruitment is still rife with bribery. Human Rights Watch, 2022; Probert et al. (2020) indicate that the IAU and IPOA, institutions that were mandated to oversee the police against misconduct such as corruption, have been ineffective.

The possibility of the reemergence of a conflict in our country as a consequence of the high rate of police corruption is high. Human Rights Watch (2022) documents that the recent elections held in Kenya raised tensions both nationally and internationally, with many fearing a repeat of the violence seen in 2007/8 owing to a negative public perception of the police. The Global Peace Index (2017, 2018; 2019; 2020) has placed Kenya among the countries with a low state of peace. Kenya's peace levels have been declining for 4 years consecutively. Her position on the global peace index has been 124/163, 123/163, 119/163, and 125/163, respectively. Global Peace Index 2017; 2021) attributes the declining peace levels to high levels of corruption in the affected countries. This means that our country is volatile, very close to the tipping point, and at risk of violence. Therefore, it's against this backdrop that the current study seeks to examine the effect of police reforms on post-conflict police corruption management in Migori County, Kenya.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Effect of Internal Affairs Unit on Post – Conflict Police Corruption Management

The work of the Internal Affairs Unit is primarily complaint management. The unit is tasked with receiving, registering, and processing complaints against their employees. The unit is an effective tool in corruption management as it acts as an early warning system by analyzing trends and conducting comprehensive investigations designed to ensure the highest standards of integrity among its employees. Cabral & Lazzarini (2015) and Prenzler (2009) also assert that a robust and fair complaints and discipline system is essential to controlling misconduct, encouraging public confidence in police integrity, and ensuring the loyalty and confidence of honest police.

Has the police IAU had an effect on the management of police corruption? Newham's (2005) review of the South African Police found the internal affairs unit to be a promising intervention in improving police oversight and accountability in South Africa and suggested the internal systems of control (including the systems of recording public complaints) and the disciplinary system be strengthened.

In Kenya, the Internal Affairs Unit was expected to promote free reporting of corruption complaints without fear of retribution, offer timely investigations into police misconduct, conduct investigations free from conflict of interest and interference, and provide a fair disposition and punishment that would have had a significant influence on the discipline of police officers and therefore the management of corruption.

2.2 Effect of Salary Increment on Post – Conflict Police Corruption Management

Williams (2002) identifies low police salaries as one of the factors that contribute to police corruption. Thus, increasing police salaries has been seen as a solution to the corruption menace in police departments. Quah (2018) stated that a proponent of the rational choice theory of corruption comes up with a demand for corruption function, which shows

how the readiness of a rational person to accept corrupt income depends on several factors such as the official wage rate, severity of punishment, awareness of those penalties, and probability of being detected and prosecuted.

Findings of a recent study by Foltz and Opoku-Agyemang (2015) on the relationship between police pay and corruption resonate well with the Quah (2018) argument. Their study in Ghana examined the effect of doubling police salaries in an anti-corruption reform program. Rather than decrease corruption, the salary policy significantly increased the police efforts to collect bribes, the value of bribes, and the amounts given by truck drivers to policemen in total. Their study thus disputes that a salary increase will lead to a decrease in corruption levels.

Many people attribute the extent of police corruption to poor pay in most police departments. In Kenya, public expectations with the raising of police salaries were that police would reduce the frequency of collecting bribes, the amount of bribes, and the likelihood of accessing police services without paying a bribe.

2.3 Effect of Training on Post – Conflict Police Corruption Management

According to Newburn (2015), police training is identified as one of the interventions that can be used to prevent police corruption. Several empirical studies, however, suggest that training has no effect on integrity. Van Montfort et al. (2013) studied the effect of two Dutch training programs on the integrity of municipal officials. The study found that one of the programs was effective in the short term, but none was effective in the long run. Blumberg et al. (2015) examined the extent to which police academy training impacts recruits' self-reported integrity, which was measured at the beginning and end of academy training. Results indicated that participants started with significantly higher than average levels of integrity, and training had no significant impact on their integrity scores. The study encourages law enforcement organizations to focus on ways to help their employees maintain high levels of ethical decision-making. Probert et al.'s (2020) study points fingers at the inefficiency of police training in preventing civilian deaths resulting from police action.

However, some studies indicate that some training can have some effect. Maina et al. (2021) conducted a study in the Imenti South Police Division, which sought to establish the influence of training on the performance of police officers in the Kenya Police Service. The study revealed that field training had a positive and statistically significant effect on the performance of police officers in the Kenya Police Service, while on-the-job training and off-the-job training had a positive but statistically insignificant effect on the performance of police officers in the Kenya Police Service. Training can have a positive effect on the management of corruption, but it also depends on the gender and level of emotional intelligence of the recipients. The Aremu et al. (2011) study in Nigeria showed a significant relationship between training and officers' attitudes about the acceptability of corrupt behavior. The effect was stronger among female officers, officers with high levels of emotional intelligence, and high-ranking officers. This study provided proof that trainings targeted at raising awareness of officers' responsibilities can change attitudes toward corruption. It also highlighted the importance of understanding who might respond best to an intervention which might help with its targeting.

In Kenya, the police basic training course syllabus and regulations of 2011 mainstreamed ethics and anti-corruption in eleven courses undertaken by the police trainees. The objective was to train the recruits to the highest integrity standards possible. It was geared towards forming a critical mass of service police officers who, through further monitoring, including regular relevant and comprehensive in-service training, would contribute towards reducing the high levels of corruption in the police service.

2.4 Effect of Police Recruitment on Post – Conflict Police Corruption Management

Williams (2002) and Kumssa (2015) argue that police departments in which corruption is rampant have flawed and corrupt recruitment procedures. They identify inadequate background checks into the education, criminal history, and work experience of the candidates. Inadequate psychological tests that adequately measure their suitability for police work and impartially administered written and physical examinations are reasons why some police departments hire people with dangerous criminal tendencies that undermine law enforcement.

Empirical evidence has supported and rejected the theoretical assumption. A study by Karia *et al.* (2016) supported the idea that recruitment practices can have an effect on an organization's service delivery. The study sought to investigate the impact of recruitment and selection on the performance of the public water utilities in Tanzania. The respondents for the study were 417 employees of the water utilities in Tanzania. The study concluded that recruitment and selection have a positive and significant effect on service delivery. The Fitri *et al.* (2021) study in Indonesia sought to establish the effect of



recruitment, selection, and placement on employee performance. The study concluded that recruitment and selection have a positive and significant effect on performance in an organization.

Some studies have rejected the theoretical assumptions. KNCHR (2016) reports sought to establish adherence to the NPS appointment and recruitment regulations 2015 during the recruitment exercise following monitoring of the exercise in various centers. The surveillance established that even though blatant bribery had subsided, bribery was still rife during the police recruitment exercise, even with the reform measures put in place by the 2015 regulations to guard against bribery.

In Kenya, the enactment of the NPS recruitment and appointment regulations in 2015 sought to foster transparency by sealing corruption loopholes in the NPS recruitment exercise. The regulations set the recruitment time to run from 8 to 5 p.m. to eliminate medical exams that stretched into the night, offering cover from public scrutiny. This would result in allegations of corruption malpractices that occurred at the tail end of the recruitment exercise. The regulations also address corruption malpractices that rose from a lack of clarity about the number of recruits expected to be recruited and those actually recruited from each center and how the deficit was to be met by making a requirement that the recruitment committees make this announcement at the beginning of the exercise. The regulations also introduced a two-tire recruitment process where the first tire involved advertisement and shortlisting, while the second tire involved physical tests. The two-tire process affords the NPS an opportunity to comb through the applications and make the right choices, taking into account the professional requirements in matters of policing. The requirements also recognized the need to have recruitment observers and a public complaints desk at the recruitment centers.

2.5 Effect of Independent Police Oversight Authority on Post-Conflict Police Corruption Management

Various studies (Faull, 2013; Miller & D'Souza, 2002; Stenning, 2000; Filstard & Gottschalk, 2011; Prezler & Lewis, 2005) contribute to indicators of the performance of police oversight agencies that measure the impact of the agency; these include: public confidence in the police oversight agency; public awareness of the complaints process; level of independence of the oversight agency from undue influence from the police; fairness of the process; whether the process is open and accountable to the complainants; and whether the agency is accessible.

A study by Kimwele and Nyabuto (2022) sought to establish the effectiveness of IPOA in enhancing police performance in Starehe Sub County, Nairobi. The study involved 500 people drawn from the NPS and IPOA. The study concluded that strategies used by the IPOA were effective in monitoring police performance.

Probert et al. (2020) findings established the ineffectiveness of IPOAs complaints management mechanisms in capturing the actual number of civilian deaths occurring from police action. Consequently, IPOA data on such deaths was lower compared to complaints collected by other interested institutions.

Kenya created IPOA as an oversight body against police excesses. To deliver on its mandate, the IPOA Act requires the authority to receive and investigate complaints against the NPS from members of the public or police. The agency receives complaints through various mechanisms, like walk-ins, letters, telephone calls, social media, emails, the authority's website, and outreaches, among others, which it then investigates. Members of the public were optimistic that the IPOA would hold corrupt police officers accountable for their actions.

2.6 Effect of Police Vehicle Leasing Program on Post – Conflict Police Corruption Management

The provision of equipment has been found to improve the efficiency of police (Tengpongsthorn, 2016). William (2002), proponent of the organizational theory of police corruption in his article "Core Factors of Police Corruption," views resource constraints as a major cause of police corruption and thus proposes operational capacity building as a strategy for the management of police corruption.

These assertions are supported by a number of empirical evidences. The Gachihi and Mwangi (2021) study sought to assess the effect of the motor vehicle leasing program on the performance of policing functions in Starehe Sub County, Nairobi County. The target population is comprised of NPS officers, citizens, DCC chairman, community policing officers, and leasing officers from car dealers. The study specifically evaluated the influence of the number of vehicles under the motor vehicle leasing program on the performance of policing functions and assessed the influence of the model or type of vehicle under the motor vehicle leasing program on the performance of policing functions. The study concluded that the number of vehicles under the motor vehicle leasing program influences the performance of policing functions. The study further concludes that the model and type of vehicles under the motor vehicle leasing program influence the performance of policing functions.

An inquiry by Gabow and Muraya (2020) on the correlation between the NPS vehicle leasing program and the efficiency of police operations in Kayole Sub County, Kenya, found that the strategy had been effective in improving police performance.

A study by Mwawasi et al. (2020) conducted in Vihiga whose aim was to determine the logistical reforms and operational performance of the National Police Service concluded that improvement of police escort rationalization improves operational performance by increasing the operational efficiency of police service in Vihiga County. The study population for this study was 260 police officers drawn from Vihiga County.

Kenya's government's vehicle leasing program was aimed at ensuring that police stations were equipped with well-maintained, fuelled vehicles. Members of the public, who had for years been forced to pay out of pocket whenever they needed police assistance that involved transportation, would finally find relief. Members of the public have been subjected to endless demands for bribes in the name of police lack a means of transport to respond to various kinds of emergencies, the vehicle has broken down and needs money for repair, or the vehicle has no fuel.

III. METHODOLOGY

This study adopted a sequential exploratory research design. The study was conducted in Suna East Sub County, Migori County. The total study population was 427 participants, comprising 398 household heads identified through disproportionate stratified sampling and 6 FGD participants selected through nomination, representing common victims of police corruption. The study selected 23 key informants drawn from: *Boda Boda* and *Matatu* operators, business owners, Maendeleo Ya Wanawake (MYWO), youth, media, Faith Based Organizations (FBO), Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission (EACC), magistrate, prosecutor, IPOA, IAU, Officer Commanding Station (OCS), Deputy County Commissioner (DCC), and police, Critical Infrastructure Protection Unit (CIPU), and Directorate of Criminal Investigations (DCI) commanders. Qualitative data was analyzed through thematic narrative analysis and presented in verbatim quotations. Quantitative data was analyzed to provide frequencies and percentages and presented in tables. The Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) was used to analyze the data.

IV. RESULTS & DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Effect of Internal Affairs Unit on Post - Conflict Police Corruption in Migori County, Kenya

The study sought to find out the effect of internal affairs unit on management of police corruption and the findings are depicted on Table 1.

Table 1

Analysis of Effect of Internal Affairs Unit on Post-Conflict Police Corruption in Migori County, Kenya

Effect	Frequency	Percentage
No effect at all	211	53%
Moderate effect	76	19%
Strong Effect	67	16%
Don't know	44	11%
Total	398	100%

The findings of this study established that, majority of members of the public 211 (53%) perceive that the IAU has had no effect at all on the management of police corruption in Migori County, 76 (19%) perceives that the IAU has had a moderate effect, 67 (16%) perceive that the IAU has had a strong effect and 44(11%) of the respondents answered that they don't know about the effect IAU has had in the management of police corruption in the County.

An interview with a community opinion leader collaborated the qualitative data findings. The leader noted that for people his age they could clearly differentiate sensational news on the media on the achievements of the IAU from the reality of its achievements on the ground. That the IAU feeds media with statistics of its accomplishments yet those accomplishments are not visible on the ground. The elder opinioned that the IAU has not had the expected outcome in punishment/ disposition of corrupt police officers as recorded in the snippet below:

We read in newspapers of police officers who have been interdicted or sacked because of corruption however, on the ground the worst punishment given to a corrupt police officer that we have come to expect is just a transfer to another police post and the issue is swept under the carpet (FGD Respondent in Suna East Migori, 2nd October, 2022).

These sentiments were echoed in the focus group discussion, one of the chairpersons revealed that, motorists have paid bribes to the police for years now and they have never seen any kind of investigation into police conduct nor any disciplinary action against a corrupt police officer. Their sentiments regarding disciplinary action against corrupt police is captured in the excerpt below:

The police collect bribes like it's their official right. They don't seem to have a care in the world that what they are doing is unlawful, that there is anybody or an institution that can actually take action against their impunity. On the reverse its members of the public who are afraid when they witness police corruption because they have to shut up like they saw nothing going on or risk being disciplined for reporting corruption (FGD Respondent in Suna East Migori, 2nd October, 2022).

Contrary to the opinion held by the elder and FGD, the opinion expressed by DCI, CIPU and Police commander interviewees was one of an institution that has been able to deliver on its mandate despite the challenges and see it as a work in progress. The following is a snippet from one of them.

There is an increase in public complaints against the police since the inception of the IAU which suggest that there's an uptake of IAU as a platform for members of the public to launch their complaints against the police. When statistics on police corruption are high it should not be interpreted that corruption has increased and cause an alarm. Increase in corruption statistics may in fact indicate better management of corruption as unlike before where members of the public lacked a platform to raise their complaints they now have a platform which they actively use to report corruption (Interviewee in Suna East Migori, 4nd October, 2022).

Despite the perceptions of the police, the majority of the respondents (211, or 53%) in this study indicated that the IAU has had no effect on the management of police corruption in Migori County. The findings of this study are inconsistent with the theoretical underpinnings of the organizational theory of police corruption and diverge from some empirical findings on the same subject. Beginning with the empirical convergence and divergence, the findings are compared and contrasted with two studies. One of the studies examined the influence of IAU and used a similar unit of analysis, while the other one employed a different unit of analysis. However, there was a challenge in getting studies examining the influence of IAU on the management of police corruption, and thus this analysis is based on studies that had a dependent variable unique to the current study.

The findings of this study diverge from the results of an inquiry by Waruiru and Rugami (2022) that sought the perception of police officers on the influence of police reforms on service delivery in Mombasa County. The study found that police reforms, including the IAU as an oversight body, had a positive and significant relationship with police service delivery in Mombasa County. The findings of this study converge with the results of an inquiry by the Amnesty International 2013 survey that focused on the effect that police reforms had on human rights violations. The report established that while impunity against human rights violations has been sustained even with the reforms, very little has been achieved in terms of disciplinary or criminal prosecution of officers involved in human rights violations. The convergence and divergence of the results of the three studies can most probably be accounted for by the choice of respondents utilized for the study. This study and the Amnesty International study both utilized members of the public as the units of analysis, while Waruiru and Rugami's (2022) unit of analysis was police officers.

The findings of this study are inconsistent with the theoretical underpinnings postulated by organizational theory of police corruption scholars, who propose that efficient monitoring and accountability are key performance elements in public services (Cabral & Lazzarini, 2014; Prenzler, 2009). Based on their theoretical underpinnings, it was expected that the IAU would have a positive effect on the management of police corruption in Migori County. The difference between what was expected and reality can be attributed to several factors.

Evidence from successful countries shows that for the IAU to be effective, it has to be remodelled, especially in line with technological advancements. Nigeria remodelled their IAU, which they now call the Public Complaints Rapid Response Unit (PCRRU), by updating their digital technologies: phone numbers for calls and SMS, round-the-clock

presence on Twitter, Facebook, WhatsApp, and BlackBerry Messenger. The Ibikunle and Adefihan (2018) study in Nigeria and the Carter and Eric (2017) study in the USA show that the use of ICT and other technological innovations has shown positive results in police service delivery in these countries. Other recommendations to ensure IAU has an effect on service delivery include Kutnjak et al. (2010), who argue police agencies ought to reward reporting of misconduct and guarantee anonymity to whistleblowers.

4.2 Effect of Police Salary Increment on Post Conflict Police Corruption in Migori County, Kenya

Table 2

Analysis of Effect of Police Salary Increment on Post – Conflict Police Corruption in Migori County, Kenya

Effect	Frequency	Percentage
No effect at all	251	63%
Moderate Effect	60	15%
Strong Effect	48	12%
Don't know	39	10%
Total	398	100%

The results of the study indicate that majority 251 (63%) of the respondents believe that police salary increment has not had an effect at all in the management of police corruption, 60 (15%) said it has had a moderate effect, 48(12%) said it has had a strong effect, 39(10%) answered that they don't know the effect that police salary increment has had on the management of police corruption in Migori County.

Findings from the FGD suggest that the salary increment strategy has failed to reduce the amount of bribes asked by the police, frequency of collecting bribes and it's almost impossible to access any police service without being asked for a bribe. A respondent in the study narrated their experience after visiting a police station recently:

We see at every roadblock police always demand bribes and punish by arrest any motorist who fails to give it. Police salary has been increased but they still continue to take bribes. I had gone to report about I was told to pay for the OB/NO I got so annoyed I left and decided to forget the whole incident (FGD Respondent in Suna East Migori, 2nd October, 2022).

Interviewed police officers did not give a direct answer to the effect of police salary increment on police corruption what came out was an acknowledged that the police salary increment had the effect of raising police morale which is important for improving service delivery which includes corruption management. Nevertheless, they also highlighted some challenges hindering the strategy from being an effective tool in the overall improvement of service delivery.

The majority 251 (63%) of the respondents believe that police salary increment did not have an effect at all in the management of police corruption. These findings diverge and converge with the theoretical tenet of proponents of organizational theory of police corruption and empirical findings on the same topic.

Commencing with the divergence and convergence with empirical findings, the results of this study are not remote, they dovetail with by Foltz and Opuku – Agyemang (2015) whose study examined the effect of doubling police salaries on police corruption in Ghana. Their findings revealed that rather than decrease corruption, salary increase actually significantly increased police efforts to collect bribes. Transparency International which covered the bribery index in the country several years after the police salary increment was effected in 2014. The study established that majority of the respondents interacting with the Police (75.2%) were asked (implicitly and explicitly) or offered to pay a bribe to access the services they sought compared to 2017 when (68.8 %) of the respondents were asked for bribes, signifying that the police salary increment was not having any impact in management of police corruption but in fact seems to be exacerbating it.

Conversely, these findings diverge from other empirical studies that have examined the effect of salary increment strategy. Musya & Njoroge (2023) study in Narok County whose unit of analysis were police officers examined effect of compensation types on service delivery which was found to be significant. The variation in the findings could be accounted for by the difference in the choice of units of analysis.

The findings of this study are inconsistent with the theoretical assumptions of scholars of police corruption like Williams (2002) who propose that increase in police salary would have a positive effect in the management of police

corruption. The difference in expectation from police salary increment and the actual reality can be attributed to other factors for instance Quah (2018) study in Singapore found salary increment to be an effective strategy in the management of police corruption but argues that salary alone cannot be used to manage police corruption it has to be combined with other strategies. Quah's line of thought is in perfect symmetry with the rational choice theory. The theory proposes that a person will engage in risky behavior if the pros are higher than the cons. Therefore, raising salaries without raising the chances of the person being caught is not effective as a corruption management strategy.

The results of this study expand emerging empirical knowledge on "disconnect in the relationship between salaries increase and management of corruption". From this study the researcher recommends further study into factors hindering police salary increment as an effective strategy in the management of police corruption.

4.3 Effect of Newly Introduced Anti-Corruption Module in Police Basic Training on Management of Post – Conflict Police Corruption in Migori County

Table 3

Analysis of the Effect of Newly Introduced Anti - Corruption Module in Police Basic Training on Post-Conflict Police Corruption in Migori County, Kenya

Effect	Frequency	Percentage
No effect at all	255	64%
Moderate effect	55	14%
Strong Effect	44	11%
Don't know	44	11%
Total	398	100%

The findings of the study indicate that the majority 255(64%) of the respondents perceive that the introduction of the ethics and anti-corruption module in police basic training has had no effect in the management of police corruption in Migori County compared to 43 (11%) who perceived the strategy as effective, 44(11%) who said they don't know and 56 (13%) who said the strategy was moderately effective.

The findings from the FGD suggest that the training given to the police has not translated to quality policing to members of the public or a change in professional standards especially integrity portrayed by the police who have undergone this training. Below is an extract from a FGD participant.

When they leave college the fresh graduates are more likely to practice ethical values compared to longer serving counterparts because they got into police to bring good change but as they get into the job their values become eroded. They are oriented into corruption. They are shown the dens where they will be collecting bribes and the exact amounts to be collected. Those who show reluctance the senior officers fight and provoke them and force them to comply and indulge in corruption. Induction into corruption exposes them to a lot of illicit money which they mostly use to buy alcohol in the evenings and even during the day and also keep many women as lovers. In the long run they become corrupt as they get introduced to corruption by their peers. The anti-corruption topics become a song to them (FGD Respondent in Suna East Migori, 2nd October, 2022).

Contrary to the qualitative and FGDs findings, interview data showed that police believe that the Basic Training Course Syllabus and Regulations 2011 produced better quality of police graduates in terms of integrity compared to graduates from previous years.

The findings of the study indicate that the majority 255(64%) of the respondents perceive that the introduction of the ethics and anti-corruption module in police basic training has had no effect in the management of police corruption in Migori County. The findings of these study are inconsistent with the organizational theory of police corruption underpinnings as well as diverge and converge with empirical findings from similar studies.

Beginning with convergence and divergence with empirical findings, the results of this study collaborate results of Van Montfort et al. (2013), Blumberg et al. (2015) and Maina et al. (2021) studies that utilized employees of the organization as the unit of analysis. André van Montfort et al. (2013) study examined the effect of two Dutch training

programs on integrity of municipal officials. The study found that one of the programs was effective in the short term but none was effective in the long run. A closely identical observation was made by Blumberg *et al.*, (2015) who examined the extent to which police academy training impacts recruits' self-reported integrity, which was measured at the beginning and end of academy training. Results indicated that participants started with significantly higher than average levels of integrity and training had no significant impact on their integrity scores. Maina *et al.* (2021) study conducted in Imenti South Police Division sought to establish the influence of training on performance of police officers in Kenya Police service the study revealed that, field training had positive and statistically significant effect on performance of police officers in the Kenya Police Service while on-the-job training and off-the-job training had positive but statistically insignificant effect on performance of police officers in the Kenya Police Service. The findings also mirror Probert *et al.*, (2020) study in Kenya which points fingers at the inefficiency of police training in preventing civilian deaths resulting from police action.

The findings of this study are however distinctly contrary to the findings by Kingoo and Njoroge (2019) whose unit of analysis was police officers drawn from Ruaraka GSU, where the study established that there's a positive and significant relationship between training and performance of police officers.

The findings of this study do not reflect the theoretical constructs of the organizational theory of police corruption. Newburn (2015) a proponent of the theory identifies police training as one of the interventions that can be used to prevent police corruption. The difference between the theoretical expectations and actual results of the training program could be influenced by a number of factors. Aremu *et al.* (2011) opinions that a trainee's gender and level of emotional intelligence can have significant effect on training outcomes. The findings of this study expand knowledge in the ongoing empirical dilemma on "Can ethics or integrity be taught? With proponents such as Kumssa (2015).

4.4 Effect of the Recruitment and Appointment Regulations (2015) on Post-Conflict Police Corruption in Migori County, Kenya

Table 4

Analysis of Effect of NPS Recruitment and Appointment Regulations 2015 on Post – Conflict Police Corruption in Migori County, Kenya

Effect	Frequency	Percentage
No effect at all	333	84%
Moderate effect	20	5%
Strong Effect	14	3%
Don't know	31	7%
Total	398	100%

The findings of the study indicate that majority of the respondents 333 (84%) perceive that the new recruitment and appointment regulations have not been effective at all in the management of police corruption in Migori County. This is in comparison to 20 (5%) answered that the regulations have been moderately effective while 14(3%) indicated that the regulations have been effective and 31(7%) who answered that they did not know about the effect of the regulations. Further scrutiny of the findings indicates that huge percentage of secondary school leavers 171(90%) and graduates 32(94%) who participated in the study indicated that the regulations have not been effective at all in the management of police corruption compared to the percentage of primary 60(75%) and informal 23(61%) school leavers who voiced the same opinion. Secondary school leavers and university graduates meet the basic qualification requirements for NPS recruitment and most probably they had tried for a chance but had not been impressed by the new reform measures in managing corruption. Revelations by a parent in the FGD may help shed more light why the educated youth seem frustrated by the recruitment reforms and see them as not having any effect in the management of police corruption. Below is an excerpt from the parent:

Bribe to join the NPS is a must and is demanded 2-3 months before the recruitment exercise even takes place. It's not possible to be recruited to NPS without paying a bribe. Two of my children have tried to be recruited to NPS. In one instance I gave a bribe of 250,000 Kshs which I was later told to add 100,000 on top to make 350,000Kshs because the stakes had gone up. Eventually I was not able to raise the money and my child lost the opportunity. Those who end



up being recruited pay hefty bribes in advance currently ranging from 400,000 – 700,000 depending on the region. The recruitment deals are done 2-3 months in advance and the money is usually exchanged at specific hotels within Migori town where they keep shifting locations to avoid detection. At the recruitment venues those who had paid up are instructed to wear marks on certain parts of their bodies for example felt pen marks on the soles of their feet or under the armpits so that they can be recognized easily and kept on the list till the end as they find excuses to eliminate the rest (FGD Respondent in Suna East Migori, 2nd October, 2022).

From the police point of view, the recruitment regulations have been instrumental in sealing corruption loopholes that had previously been exploited by unscrupulous police officers.

The recruitment procedure that is currently practiced has minimized corruption. The recruiting officers are posted from a separate location from where they work therefore this eliminates familiarity with the local community and thus room for corruption

The majority of the respondents in this study 333 (84%) perceive that the new recruitment and appointment regulations have not been effective at all in the management of police corruption in Migori County. These findings digress from the theoretical assumptions of the organizational theory of police corruption as well as converge and diverge with empirical findings from similar studies.

Commencing with the convergence and divergence with empirical findings the findings of the current study detour from Karia *et al.*, (2016) findings based on a study in Tanzania that sought to establish the impact of recruitment and selection on performance of employees at public water utilities and the unit of analysis was the employees; Fitri *et al.*, (2021) study in Indonesia which sought to establish the effect of recruitment, selection and placement on employee performance. Both studies agree that recruitment and selection have a positive and significant effect on service delivery or performance in an organization. The variation in the finding could be accounted for by the choice of the units of analysis and choice of the dependent variable.

The findings of this study conform to the findings by KNCHR (2016) report following monitoring of the 2016 NPS recruitment exercise in some recruitment centers similarly digress from the expectations. The monitoring exercise sought to establish adherence to the NPS appointment and recruitment regulations 2015 during the recruitment exercise. The surveillance established that even though blatant bribery had subsided, bribery was still rife during the police recruitment exercise even with the reform measure put in place by regulations 2015 to guard against bribery during police recruitment. The current study is inconsistent with the concepts of the organizational theory of police corruption. Williams (2002), Kumssa (2015) argue that police departments in which corruption is rife have flawed and corrupt recruitment procedures. They identify adequate background checks into the education, criminal history and work experience of the candidates as some of the strategies that can be used to curb corruption in police departments. To explain the difference between what was expected and the actual findings answers can be generated from scholars like Quah (2018) who have been doing comparative studies on what sets countries apart in their achievement of police reform and he says that among the radical recruitment strategies employed in Georgia which is categorized as the most successful country in police reforms included entire traffic police force of 16,000 officers were fired in a day and replaced by new officers.

4.5 Effect of IPOA on Post - Conflict Police Corruption in Migori County, Kenya

Table 5

Analysis of the Effect of IPOA on Post- Conflict Police Corruption in Migori County, Kenya

Effect	Frequency	Percentage
No effect at all	215	54%
Moderate effect	80	20%
Strong Effect	64	16%
Don't know	39	10%
Total	398	100%

The findings from the study indicate that 215(54%) of the members of the public who took part in the study perceive that IPOA has not been effective at all in the management of corruption in Migori County. This is in comparison to 80(20%)

who viewed that IPOA has been moderately effective, 64(16%) who felt that IPOA has been effective and 39(10%) who expressed that they did not know about the effectiveness of IPOA in the management of police corruption.

FGD discussion with common victims of police corruption that included a driver and business man suggest that IPOA has not enhanced public reporting of police misconduct as captured in the extract below.

Where do we report corruption? Most of the time we have to report corruption against the police at the police stations for lack of a better mechanism. Where reporting police corruption is very difficult and frustrating. First of all, you are taken round and round. You are intimidated with phrases such as, who do you think you are to be going against the government? The police go as far as arresting such complainants, they plant evidence on you on an imaginary offence and you are placed behind bars. Eventually you give up and may even end up bribing to be released for the imaginary offence to avoid going to prison for nothing. With all that, can you dare report again a corrupt police office? Or even advice another person to take that route? Never, you learn how things work and do as they wish. The members of the public are really powerless, intimidated, hopeless and frustrated by the police. (FGD Respondent in Suna East Migori, 2nd October, 2022).

Interview with the police officers revealed that the police felt that the public reporting platform offered by IPOA had managed to curb police corruption.

IPOA came out strongly and it's a body that most police officers would wish stay away from as much as possible because it instilled fear in the police. As much as it made police officers afraid to use their guns it also made corruption a less attractive option for anyone who would wish to try. (Interview Respondent in Suna East Migori, 4th October, 2022).

Undeterred by the perception of the police, the majority 215(54%) of the members of the public who took part in the study perceive that IPOA has not been effective at all in the management of corruption in Migori County. The findings of this study are inconsistent with the organizational theory of police corruption assumptions as well as converge and diverge with empirical findings from similar studies.

Commencing with the empirical analysis, the finding of this study dovetail with the findings by Probert et al. (2020) that established the ineffectiveness of IPOAs complaints management mechanism in capturing the actual number of civilian deaths occurring from police action. Consequently, IPOA data on such deaths was lower compared to complaints collected by other interested institutions. The report indicated many police action related deaths go unreported, thus denying victims the justice they deserve while the perpetrators of such deaths go unpunished. Human rights watch findings in 2022 also digress from the expectations. The study found that failure of Kenyan authorities to address past abuses by the police is, among other factors due to failure of IPOA to carry out its work especially in recent years.

On the flip side, the findings of this study diverge from results of a study by Kimwele & Nyabuto (2022) conducted in Starehe Sub County, Nairobi which established that strategies used by IPOA were effective in monitoring police performance. The difference in the findings of the two studies could be due to the respondents used in the study where their study utilized 500 police officers drawn from NPS and IAU while this study focused on members of the public. IPOA baseline survey 2013 findings help to illuminate how use of different respondents can yield different perceptions. In their study that utilized both police officers and members of the public as respondents, when asked about their confidence in IPOA to hold police officers accountable for misconduct, majority of the police officers (92%) were either confident or somewhat confident in IPOA while majority of the citizens 47% were either not confident at all or somewhat confident.

The findings of this study digress from the theoretical assumptions propagated by Faull (2016), Miller & D'Souza (2016); Stenning (2000); Filstard and Gottschalk (2011) as well as; Prezler and Lewis (2005) who advocate that police oversight can be an effective strategy in the management of police corruption.

4.6 Effect of Vehicle Leasing Program on Post Conflict Police Corruption in Migori County, Kenya

Table 6

Analysis of the Effect of NPS Vehicle Leasing Program on Post- Conflict Police Corruption in Migori County, Kenya

Effect	Frequency	Percentage
Not effect at all	203	51%
Moderate effect	103	26%
Strong Effect	60	15%
Don't know	32	8%
Total	398	100%

The findings of the study indicate that majority 203 (51%) of the respondents who took part in this study perceive that the vehicle leasing program has had no effect at all in the management of corruption in Migori County, 103 (26%) said the program has had a moderate effect, 60 (15%) said it has had strong effect and 32 (8%) said they don't know.

From the FGD a narration from a *Nyumba Kumi* elder who also owns a business in the area and believes that the program has not been effective especially in the eyes of business owners in the area who now and again call upon the police for help but cite that that they continue to be given several excuses and asked for money whenever they visit or call police stations seeking for assistance that requires use of police vehicles. The sentiments of the participant are captured in the excerpt below.

Whenever you have something like, you have spotted a suspect who robbed you and you call the police to come and arrest, such cases bribery is the only way to be assisted with a police vehicle. However, fuel will never lack for activities that are guaranteed to bring returns for the police like raiding illicit brew dens, arresting those not adhering to Covid 19 Protocols, tracking bhang traffickers. Their motive being to make as many arrests as possible and afterwards release those who will be able to pay the required bribe and those who have no bribes are the ones who end up in court. (Respondent, October, 2022)

Interview with the police revealed that police strongly believe that the NPS vehicle leasing program has revolutionized their operational capacity for the better and is one of the best strategies that the government ever came up with. The following snippet captures the sentiments of the police.

We no longer have operational deficits in terms of lack of vehicles and fuel to respond to emergencies which in the past was a cost to be met by the person in need of police services and thus termed as bribery. Though most police stations have only one vehicle yet the demand for the police car services are numerous and never ending we try our best (Interviewee in Suna East Migori, 2nd October, 2022)

Tough the police sentiments were that the NPS vehicle leasing had had a positive effect in the management of police corruption, the findings of the study indicate that majority 203 (51%) of the respondents who took part in this study perceive that the vehicle leasing program has had no effect at all in the management of corruption in Migori County. The findings of this study bypass the theoretical assumptions voiced by scholars of police corruption that provision of equipment has been found to manage police corruption (Williams 2002; Tengpongsthorn, 2016).

Despite the departure from the theoretical assumptions, the findings of this study also differ with empirical findings of Gabow & Muraya (2020; Gachihi & Mwangi (2021); Mwawasi et al. (2020) whose studies concluded that vehicle leasing program has a positive influence on police performance. The difference in the findings could be because of the choice of respondents used in the studies. Gachihi, Gabow and Mwawasi unit of analysis for their studies were employees of the NPS who consisted of the police. There is scarcity of literature examining the influence of police reforms on police corruption as all the studies analyzed had a unique dependent variable from the dependent variable of interest in the current. The study recommends further research on the correlation between NPS vehicle leasing program and management of police corruption more so from members of public perspective and this necessitates further research.



V. CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Conclusions

The study concludes that Internal Affairs Unit, Police salary increment, newly introduced anti-corruption module in police basic training, recruitment and appointment regulations 2015, IPOA, NPS vehicle leasing program have exerted no effect at all in the management of post - conflict police corruption in Migori County.

5.2 Recommendations

The study recommends that the government, National Police service and donors need to restructure, reengineer, reorganize and remodel the Internal Affairs Unit, Police salary, anti-corruption module in police basic training, recruitment and appointment regulations 2015, IPOA, NPS vehicle leasing program to make them more effective strategies in managing police corruption. Some of the recommendations made by this study include IAU to harness digital revolution, reinforcing police salary increment strategy with the carrot and stick approach.

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