

# EVERYONE'S TURN TO EAT: CORRUPTION & DEVOLUTION IN KENYA

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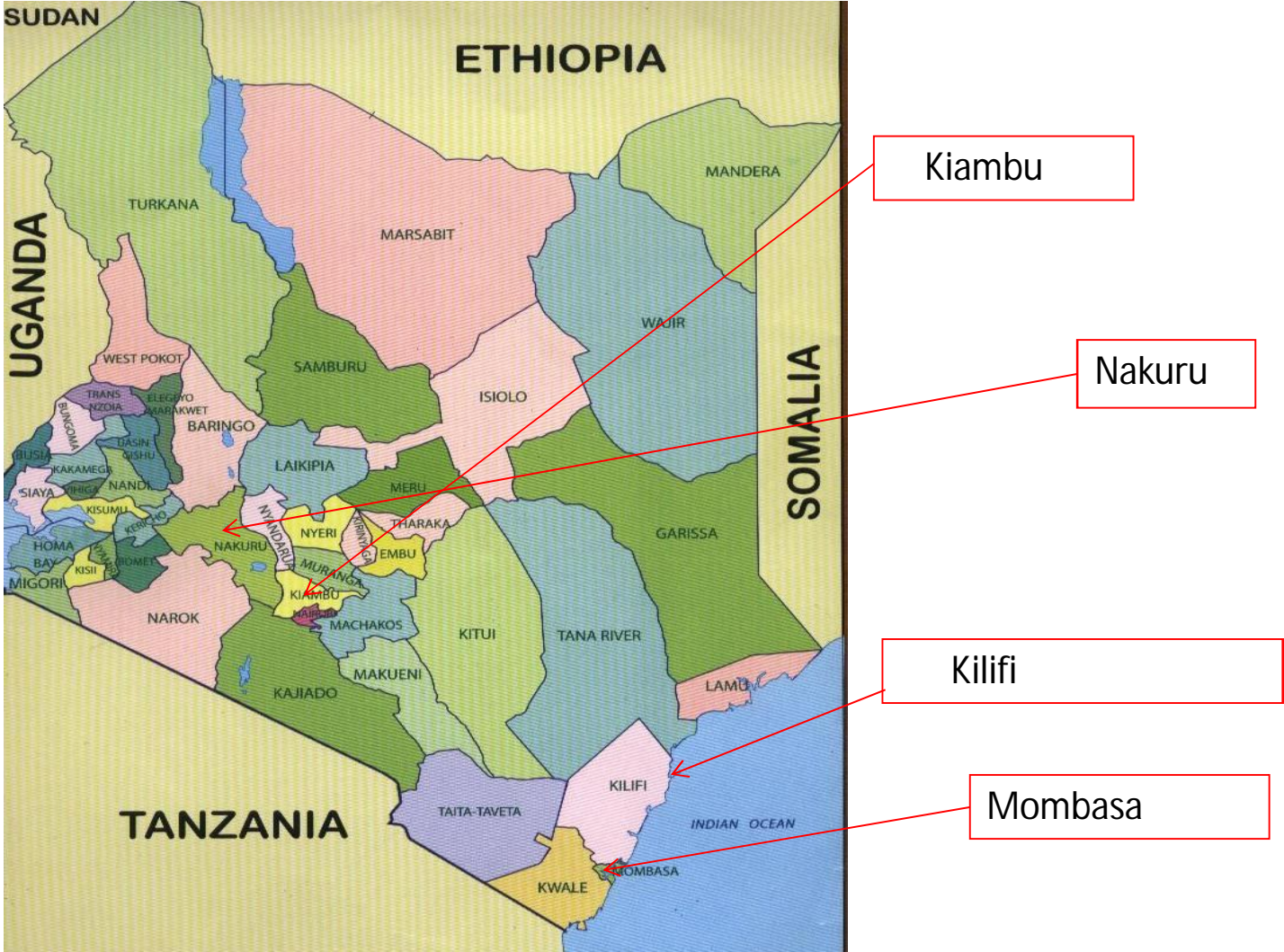


# BACKGROUND

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- 4th March 2013: First election in Kenya under 2010 Constitution
- Historical changes : political, fiscal and administrative devolution
- Hoped to address over centralization of state and ethnic violence and to improve local development
- What will devolution deliver? Will it change politics and local development?

# FIELDWORK 2013



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- Phase 1. Pre-election (January to March 2013)
  - **Data:** Interviews, speeches at election rallies and other official debates, newspapers,
- Phase 2. Post-election (July 2013)
  - **Data:** newspapers.
  - Interviews:
    - Local journalists
    - Members of the campaign teams
    - Governor candidates
    - Various political parties in each county

Phase 3. Workshop (June 2014)



# FINDINGS

Devolution has been implemented:

- August 2013: Executive order implementing devolution passed 2 years ahead of schedule
- 32% of National Budget to counties
- Governors have become powerful players

# FINDINGS

Devolution has been implemented ***because it has decentralized corruption:***

- Patronage politicians won new seats:
  - *'When we go there, hoping that I could help them learn how to fish. But they wanted fish and they wanted to be promised more fish'*
- New county governments behaving like national government:
  - *'We have created many kingdoms. We have mini, mini presidents'*
  - MCAs – foreign trips, cars, lavish offices

# FINDINGS

- Devolution has given more groups access to resources

	<b>Group members in home counties</b>	<b>Group members outside home counties</b>
<b>Groups in central government</b>	1. winner, winner 11.6 m, 30% of pop	2. winner, loser ?
<b>Groups out of central government</b>	3. loser, winner 24 m, 63% of pop	4. loser, loser 2.9 m, 7% of pop

# FINDINGS

- Devolution has given more groups access to resources ***but further entrenched ethnic politics:***
  - *'If you get elected as a Giriama it's time for Giriamas to eat the national cake.'*
  - National Cohesion and Integration Commission Audit: governors employing dominant groups, ignoring minorities
  - *'So we have therefore a devolution that I believe will lead to the eventual balkanization of the country'*



# CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

- Reform 'with the grain': reforms implemented because they went with the grain of Kenyan politics
- Reform without change: rebalancing of power, but local politicians behaving like central politicians
- Cannot ignore political context, but it is very difficult to change it