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Governing Through Development Narrative in the Era of 'Africa Rising'

Interrogating the County Integrated Development Plan of
Kisumu, Kenya

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Abstract

The first decade of the 21st century saw a shift in the way Africa is being presented in the media and in major events where development issues of the continent are discussed. The narrative is accompanied by ambitious utopian like ‘vision’ of countries across the continent. This study is aimed at understanding how the narrative of development, during the time when the ‘Africa Rising’ narrative is prominent, is used by the government to govern societies in Kenya by taking the case of Kisumu. The Kisumu County Integrated Development Plan (2013-2017) document, end term review report of the plan period and elite interviews with the local government officials are used as the sources of data. Within the broader governmentality conceptual framework of Foucault, Tania Murray Li’s concepts of problematization and ‘rendering technical’ are used to understand and locate how power operates in the development arena in Kisumu, Kenya during the period 2013-2017. The findings of the study indicate that ‘mosaic’ planning, public participation and narratives of devolution are the mechanisms by which power operates in the field of development in Kisumu county. This will hopefully contribute to the ongoing theoretical debate on the relevance of the governmentality concept in contexts outside the Western liberal world. Further research through ethnographic approach will allow in depth investigation and also gain understanding of the reaction of the people to this form of power. Similar studies at national and regional level will also allow us to understand the trend at meso and macro level.

Key words: Africa Rising Narrative, Development Planning, Participation, Devolution, Kisumu, Kenya

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Map: Location of Kisumu in Kenya (source: ResearchGate)



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1 Introduction

As can be seen from the title, this study is aimed at understanding how power operates through narratives of development by taking the county of Kisumu in Kenya as a case. Kisumu county is one of the 47 counties of Kenya structured under the 2010 constitution. The county is located on the west border of the country by the eastern shore of Lake Victoria, across which Uganda and Tanzania are located (see map). The county has a population of around 1.1 million according to projections from the 2009 census. Kisumu city, the capital of the county and the seat of the county government, is the third largest city of the country with a population of around 500,000 according to projections from the 2009 census (Republic of Kenya 2013: 7-9, Kariuki 2014).

Since independence in early 1960s, the national development efforts of Kenya have been guided by successive national development plans and strategies. Starting from 1964 until 2007 there were nine national development plans each covering a five-year period. In 2008 came Kenya Vision 2030, a long-term national development plan to be implemented through successive five-year midterm plans. This is after the 2003-2007 Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation (ERSWEC), during which period Kenya was applauded for development successes and achievements including the reduction of poverty level to 46% in 2006 from what has been 56% four years back. This achievement was remarkable in view of the Structural Adjustment Programmes of 1990s that adversely affected the country's development efforts, like in many other developing countries. (Mwenzwa 2014, Aswani and Wekesa 2014, Gilbert Kiplimo and Patrick Amisi 2018, Nulty 2012).

Political crisis in 2007 following the general election had put the country in to a downward spiral. Kenya Vision 2030 is hence not only a continuation of the previous national development plan but also a political transformation agenda to address the political issues from the post-election crisis. The Vision, besides envisioning a structural transformation of the economy to achieve a middle-

income country status, also proposed constitutional reform. This constitutional reform was realized in 2010 under the first Mid Term Plan (MTP1 2008-2012) with the promulgation of a new constitution for the country. Among other things, it created a devolved structure of government with two tiers, i.e. the national government and 47 county governments. (Gilbert Kiplimo and Patrick Amisi 2018, Aswani and Wekesa 2014, Cornell and D'Arcy 2016).

The narrative of development that shifted in Kenya, accompanied by ambitious 'visions', since early 2000s is not unique, it is a trend throughout the continent. The mainstream media started portraying the continent in a completely different narrative than the one it used only a few years back. This is accompanied by reports from international development agencies affirming the 'Rising' of Africa through impressive statistical reports. Governments of the countries throughout the continent were also publishing reports of their impressive growth performances through the years with even more ambitious plans for the future that go beyond the usual poverty eradication target and aim at structural change of their economies (Brooks 2017, Taylor 2016, McKenzie 2016).

This study is an attempt at understanding this trend as a phenomenon by itself and tries to understand how governments use the development narrative as a field to exercise power. For this purpose, the county of Kisumu in Kenya is taken as a case. To achieve this aim, the study will try to address the research question '**how are narratives of development used by the government to govern societies in the county of Kisumu, Kenya?**' I did this through adopting a case study design and gathering data through elite interviews and document review. Basing on the broader concept of governmentality, I borrowed concepts of problematization and rendering technical from Tania Murray Li's work 'The Will to Improve' to make sense out of the gathered data.

After providing a brief background on the narrative of development in Africa and Kenya in the next section, I present the theoretical framework adopted for this study in part three. In addition to presenting specific concepts employed in this study, in the theory discussion I also tried to point out current debates surrounding the use of governmentality as a concept in the context of Africa. Following that, I present and discuss the methodological design and methods employed to undertake the study and why these choices are relevant. The analysis part presents the major findings from the study analysed through the conceptual

lenses discussed in the theory section. Finally, I draw conclusions and try to point out practical and theoretical implications of the study, offering potential areas for further research on the topic.

2 Narratives of Development in Kenya and Africa - Brief Background

Conventionally, the narrative of development regarding post-independence Africa is one that portrays the continent as a hopeless, war ravaged, hunger stricken, poverty ridden dark place (Brooks 2017, Taylor 2016). Images of victims of famine, civil wars and poverty were featured not only on the media but also on continuous campaigns by development agencies in their appeal for charity (Campbell 2012, Nathanson 2013). Multiple development and governance interventions including the famous Structural Adjustment programmes of the IMF and World Bank took place throughout the continent in post-independence Africa with the premise of the continent's inability to escape poverty, famine, war etc. This continued into the first decade of the 21st century. The East Africa country of Kenya, where Kisumu, the case of this study is found, is part of this bigger narrative that reflects the image of Africa.

Like many other African countries, Kenya has a colonial history the legacies of which, many argue, still affects the country in many ways. The British colonial rule that lasted from 1895 until 1963, Fahnbulleh (2006) argues, has left legacies of underdevelopment and policy inheritance. Even though post-independence realities have shaped the path of the country, these two legacies of the colonial period have significant contribution to that path (Fahnbulleh 2006). As Fanon (1970 cited in Nzau 2010) remarks, the colonial period was brutal and exploitative in Africa and Kenya has also experienced this through the authoritarian colonial government instilled in the country that safeguarded the privilege of settlers while exploiting and abusing the native population (Hyden et. al. 1970 cited in Nzau 2010, Tordoff, 2003:137-150).

Unlike the general trend in Africa, Kenya did not experience civil wars, coup d'etats and military rules that swept the continent in the post-independence period. Over the years Kenya remained a stable country surrounded by countries

that experienced conflict and unrest. On the other hand, internally, the national growth trend in post-independence Kenya was filled with decades of ups and downs of the national economy. While the first decade after independence saw substantial growth, in the 1970s there was a sharp decline leading to political turmoil which was a reflection of unequal distribution of the benefits of the growth in the previous decade. The 1980s saw further decline in the economy as a result of huge expenditures made by the state in an attempt to recover the economy through a state-led economic model. The decline in the 1980s led to the intervention of international financial institutions, like in many developing countries at the time, and the subsequent Structural Adjustment Programmes of the 1990s (Fahnbulleh 2006, Lower 2012).

The first decade of the 21st century saw a surprising shift in the way Africa is being presented in the media and in major events where development and governance issues of the continent are discussed. The mainstream media started portraying the continent in a completely different narrative than the one it used only a few years back. This is accompanied by reports from international development agencies affirming the ‘Rising’ of Africa through impressive statistical reports. Governments of the countries throughout the continent were also publishing reports of their impressive growth performances through the years with even more ambitious plans for the future that go beyond the usual poverty eradication target and aim at structural change of their economies (Brooks 2017, Taylor 2016, McKenzie 2016).

During the period when many African countries experienced substantial growth and the ‘Africa Rising’ narrative have been prominent, Kenya have also been recognized as one of the ‘Africa Lions’ for the progress the country made since early 2000s. This has been credited to the country’s dominant economy in the East Africa region that fostered technological innovation which in turn benefited the country from the advancements in the service and financial sector. Additionally, tourism and export of horticulture products also make the basis of the country’s gains in the years since early 2000s. Its strategic location is also considered a potential to serve five landlocked countries (South Sudan, Ethiopia, Rwanda, Uganda, and Burundi) in the region. The discovery of oil is also expected to spur growth of the country. This achievement in growth in Kenya is against the backdrop of a 0.6% growth rate of the national economy in 2000. The

growth trajectory that saw a peak of 7.1% growth rate in 2007 was interrupted due to the post-election conflict that occurred the same year. This has made Kenya to be recognized as one of the fastest growing countries in Africa (Kimenyi et. al. 2015, Odero et. al. 2016).

As much as this relatively new narrative of Africa portrays an optimistic view of the continent, there are some who question its validity, and for varying reasons. For instance, Fioramonti (2014) argues that the registered growth in the continent in terms of GDP, which by itself is unreliable in many ways, should not be confused with development, which is a much broader aspect; looking at it from a feminist perspective, Davies-van Es (2014) argues that women are not benefiting from the ‘GDP miracle’, Bassey (2014) on the other hand argues that the registered growth, by taking Nigeria as an example, is at the cost of the environment and natural resources, thus not sustainable. The growth, for Taylor (2016), is rather superficial and is based on mainly resource extraction rather than value adding production which is further pushing the continent in to dependency in the international political economic system; for McKenzie (2016) there is a disconnect in the narrative that puts a bright image of Africa as the fastest growing region in the world while migrants from this same region put their lives at risk to cross to Europe; and according to Brooks (2017), the political elite (of Mozambique) who act as intermediaries between the local business elite and the international businesses used the narrative of Africa Rising for their own interest, ‘as a means of enabling extraversion’.

The human development index of Kenya, according to the human development reports over the years, have shown steady increase since early 2000s. Despite this record and their recognition of the country’s achievements, Kimenyi et. al. (2015) point out that the country did not transform. Employment is predominantly in the agriculture sector, poverty levels are very high, the increase in labor productivity is at a very low rate, inequality is increasing, and unemployment rates have been high (Kimenyi et. al. 2015). World Economic Forum’s 2017 report on inclusive growth and development puts the country 65th out of 79 developing countries in its inclusive development index (IDI). The report points out that wealth inequality has been increasing over the years and amongst the low-income countries that are grouped together, Kenya has the largest middle class (World Economic Forum 2017: 58). Despite a bulk of reports

on the progress made by the country and studies that counter argue these claims of progress and development for various reason, reviews made on relevant literatures show lack of studies that attempt how this development narrative have been used to exercise power by the government.

The studies that are critical of the ‘Africa Rising’ narrative from different angles are mainly focused on explaining why the narrative is ‘misplaced’, or is a partial representation of the reality, or even inaccurate altogether. Some, like Brooks (2017) and Taylor (2016) go further and try to explain the underlying processes that created the narrative. In this regard, it could be said that the studies have not made enough attempt at understanding how the narrative is being employed by national governments or the political elites to continue maintain their power. Reading on works in the Foucauldian tradition allows us to understand that, besides law and institutions, different mechanisms and techniques are used by those in power to govern societies. For example in the book *The Will to Improve*, which discusses people’s never ending journey towards creating better conditions of life, Tania Murray Li (2007) explains how power, in this regard the mechanism by which the agents of development, a cooptation amongst different elites, use a combination of violence, law and resources at their disposal to impose their wills upon their development subjects, i.e. the society at large, in order to advance their own other interests.

3 Governing Mentalities Through Development - Theoretical Framework

Mainly basing on the broader concept of Foucault's governmentality, this study used concepts of problematization and rendering technical developed by Tania Murray Li (2007) in her work *The will to improve: Governmentality, development, and the practice of politics* to guide the data gathering and analysis of the study. Li (2007) used governmentality as a concept in her study of development interventions in the highlands of Sulawesi in Indonesia. In her work, she came up with the concepts of problematization and rendering technical, concepts which are used in this study. Before moving to discussing these specific concepts, initially I introduce the broader concept of governmentality and argue how it can be relevant.

3.1 Governmentality

As much as it has gained wider acceptance over the years, the concept of governmentality has also been questioned especially in its ability to help understand power outside of the 'liberal world' context (Death 2011, Magrath 2010). Despite the criticism and claims of the concept's limitations, there is a growing body of literature that employs governmentality as a conceptual framework in the field of development both at a national level outside the 'liberal world' and in international relations/development (Ove 2013, Magrath 2010).

First articulated by Michel Foucault, the concept of governmentality is the way how he understood and explained the contemporary mode of government that uses technologies of knowledge to conduct the way people conduct their lives, making them govern self as against the mode of government that uses dominant power to control the actions of everyone (Andreucci and Kallis 2017).

Governmentality refers to the creation of self-regulating individuals through subtle strategies of normalization to achieve social control rather than direct domination through constraints and repression, which are other forms of power widely discussed in previous works of Foucault (Häkli 2009). Ove (2013) further explains that the concept of governmentality in the works of Foucault is the linkage that connects his understanding of the ‘genealogy of the state’ and the ‘genealogy of the subject’. A merger of governing (“gouverner”) and modes of thought (“mentalité”), Foucault’s concept of governmentality allows us to understand power and its technologies together with the rationalities and thinking or mentalities behind it. Foucault also further uses a broader understanding of what government is than the one used contemporarily which is limited in the realm of politics only. For Foucault, this limited usage of the concept or understanding of government only originates in the 18th century, before which the meaning of government can range from ‘government of the self’ to ‘governing others’ and also including family guidance, household management, etc. (Lemke 2002).

In his 1977-78 lectures on ‘Security, Territory and Population’, Foucault explained what he referred as governmentality in three related meanings: 1) as a complex form of power targeted at the population, with political economy as its principal form of knowledge, and through the apparatus of security as its technical means, formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses, and reflection, and exercised through calculations and tactics; 2) the way how discipline and sovereignty as a form of power are being replaced by governmental power that employs specific governmental apparatuses and knowledge; and 3) changes in states that resulted in administrative, governmentalized states of the present era (Ove 2013). Although the concept of governmentality originates from this, many scholars later on have also contributed and expanded the concept. In addition to the understanding of governmentality in terms of the genealogy of governmental thought and practice as used by Foucault, for example Mitchell Dean (1999 cited in Ove 2013) identifies another broader meaning of the concept of governmentality used with in the literature. This, Dean (1999 cited in Ove 2013) presents, is an understanding of governmentality as dealing with the various mentalities of or the way we think about governing. According to this,

governmentality concerns with the thought and practice of government without the historical or genealogy approach which Foucault used (Ove (2013).

Foucault traces back to the 18th century to show that the concept of governing and government was not only limited to the politics of state as it is currently. Rather, government historically refers to a concept that can be used to explain the management or control of various aspects at various levels ranging from self-control to family management and governing of population (Häkli 2009). By doing so, Foucault identifies two inseparable sides of the concept of governmentality, i.e. self-government of individuals (technologies of self) and the government of population (technologies of domination), in understanding the concept of power. By tracing the history of how the modern state is governmentalized and by presenting the concept of governmentality, Foucault puts the concept within the frame of Western liberal societies where the state appears as the provider of welfare for the population (Death 2011, Magrath 2010, Häkli 2009).

Although there are scholars in the field of development who employed concepts from Foucault, especially those who fall under the category of post development like Escobar (1995) and Ferguson (1994), yet the level of analysis when employing this concept of governmentality has only been limited to the national level, indicating limitations in the use of the concept in global dimensions. Recently, there is a growing interest in using the concept of governmentality at a global level, contrary to the usual usage of the concept at a national level, and also within the context of the non-Western (liberal) world (Death 2011, Magrath 2010, Ove 2013).

To make better use of the governmentality concept in the context of the study of international development, Ove (2013) adopts ‘developmentality’ as the term and concept to understand the problematics of development. Scholars also have used this concept of developmentality to study and analyze the power relationship between countries in the global South and international development agencies that use different policies and practices to make those countries self-govern. Lie (2011), for example studied how a new aid architecture is used as a technique of development governmentality or developmentality in the power relationship between Uganda and the World Bank. Another similar study is also by Mawuko-Yevugah (2014) who used developmentality as a concept to analyze

and understand how the aid and development programmes of international financial institutions like the IMF and WB are using different techniques like participation and country ownership to legitimize paradigms of neo liberalism in the case of Ghana.

Another interesting and relevant study that uses the concept of governmentality is one by Diego Andreucci and Giorgos Kallis. Using the concept of governmentality, Andreucci and Kallis (2017) analyzed how development based on resource extraction in Peru during Alan García's rule (2006–2011) is naturalized through discourses and narratives of sustainability and improvement. In using Foucault's governmentality concept, they argued that the concept provides a framework for analysis of and understanding and explaining the resource extractive development legitimization and naturalization through discourses and narratives, which is also accompanied by an oppressive form of power. Through the use of power from a distance in a calculated means to shape how individuals conduct themselves, biopolitical governmentality operates through the goal of the wellbeing of the population, not for the sake of the population but for the sake of the political economy. Bringing this concept of governmentality in their analysis, Andreucci and Kallis (2017) in their study of the resource extractive development in Peru during Alan García (2006–2011) concluded that the promises of development and improvement which are also driven by the international organization the World Bank was operated through the use of oppressive violence. Furthermore, they also concluded, the narrative and discourse of development and improvement and sustainability were used as techniques of legitimizing and naturalising the resource extraction that generates resistance due to its negative effect on the society and the environment. (Andreucci and Kallis 2017).

Many have criticized Foucault and his concept of governmentality questioning the concepts ability to explain how power operates outside the liberal world. For instance, Magrath (2010), in this regard, argues that governmentality could not help us understand how power operates in weak and fragile countries like Ethiopia, Indonesia and Lesotho due to the weak and fragile nature of the government that limits the exercise of governmental power. Magrath (2010) argues, Foucault's concept is applicable in these countries to rather show lack of governmentality as a form of power. Furthermore, he suggests, it is rather

sovereign form of power that is more appropriate to explain how power operates in these contexts. This argument is ironic in that specially the two countries, i.e. Indonesia and Lesotho, are countries in which Li (2007) and Ferguson (1994), respectively, undertook their studies applying governmentality as a conceptual framework to come up with their widely acknowledged works.

In providing counter argument for criticism against Foucault's concept of governmentality, mainly based on works of Joseph (2010 cited in Death 2011), Death (2011) makes distinction between critiques of governmentality in international relations and critiques of governmentality in the context of certain parts of the world that have not reached 'advanced form of liberalism'. In responding to the latter criticism, Death bases his argument on the lack of empirical evidence to the Joseph's claim by citing works from various authors (like Agrawal 2005, Chatterjee 2004, Comaroff 1998, Duffield 2001, Ferguson 1994, Ferguson and Gupta 2002, Jackson 2005, Mbembe 2001, 2004, Robins 2002) as testimonies that show the applicability of governmentality as a concept to understand how power operates outside the Western liberal world. By indicating that Foucault was in Tunisia during the student movement period and that he has been politically active, Death (2011) claims that Foucault was not detached from the nonwestern world as claimed by many critiques. Death's (2011) main argument in showing the relevance of governmentality as a concept focuses on the narrow understanding of the concept by many. For him, governmentality need to be understood as an approach to understand 'liberal or neoliberal rule relate to other disciplinary, sovereign, pastoral, bio-political and police forms of power'.

In depth engagement with such theoretical debates requires expansive reading and review of various literatures which might go beyond the scope of this study. What could be said in general is that despite the criticism in using the governmentality concept outside of the western liberal world, there are substantial empirical studies that indicate the contrary. Moreover, from a general and broader understanding of governmentality as a form of power targeted at the larger population rather than either the control of the individual (disciplinary power) or the use of coercive power (sovereign power), it can be said that the fragile and weak nature of the government especially in the context of Africa makes the use of governmentality as a form of power easy. With the expanse of the neoliberal

ideology beyond the non-Western liberal world after the end of the cold war, successfully or not, is also another crucial point to consider in arguing the applicability of governmentality as a concept in understanding how power operates in contemporary Africa.

3.2 Problematization and Rendering Technical

Li (2007) used governmentality as a concept in her study of development interventions in the highlands of Sulawesi in Indonesia. The title of Tania Murray Li's book '*The Will to Improve*' (2007: 1) refers to people's never-ending journey towards creating better conditions of life. The journey, according to Li, takes a form of vicious circle in which development programs/improvement plans or interventions that are designed and implemented to better the conditions of life create other conditions/problems that again calls for other development programs/improvement plans or interventions. 'Power', in this regard, refers to the mechanism by which the agents of development, a cooptation amongst different elites, use a combination of violence, law and resources at their disposal to impose their wills upon their development subjects, i.e. the society at large, in order to advance their own other interests.

As Li (2007: 1) claims, the aim of her work is not directed at discrediting and condemning the efforts that are made in the name of improvement and development since the outcomes of these schemes are not always negative. She recognizes from the start that there are changes that occur from improvement programmes, changes that people benefit from. Rather, her work is targeted at offering a critical understanding at how power operates in the sphere of development programmes. '*The Will to Improve*' for Li (2007: 1) represents both the 'inevitable gap between what is attempted and what is accomplished' and the 'persistence of this will— its parasitic relationship to its own shortcomings and failures'.

In the will to improve, 'trustees' are those possessing the agency and the claim to improve the condition of others. These trustees have 'utopian' and 'benevolent' intentions and employ subtle mechanism and methods in their

actions to their claim of knowing what is best for others. This process makes their actions of improvement to appear as the natural course of action rather than impositions from the outside. This process that defines the will to improve, for Li (2007: 5), is an exercise and/or claim of power which is located within Foucault's conceptual understanding of power as the 'conduct of conduct', i.e. governmentality as a form of power in Foucauldian understanding. This form of power is different from other forms of power (sovereign, discipline), in that it operates 'to shape human conduct by calculated means' and is targeted at that larger population. Li (2007: 5)

Li (2007: 7-8) identifies two related and intertwined practices that are required to materialize 'the will to improve'. 'Problematization', the identification of problems or areas of intervention is the first. Then follows the practice of 'rendering technical' which refers to the framing of the identified problems into technically solvable challenges. Li, in the book, gives the example of how, during Suharto's New Order regime in Indonesia, the political demands of the country's peasantry about land tenure were 'rendered technical' by framing them as problems of farming conditions that need improvement.

These two practices are inseparable. The practice of problematization is linked with the availability of solutions which in another way refers to the availability of expertise and techniques of delivering solution. On the other hand, the practice of rendering technical also relates to the practice of the trained expert in delineating the boundary between the trustees and those subject to the prescribed solutions for the identified problems. This delineation of boundary by expert confirmation is one dimension of what Li called 'rendering technical'. Another dimension is that problems that are rendered technical are at the same time 'rendered nonpolitical'. This is expressed through the exclusion of political-economic structural prescriptions from the solutions provided by the experts in their claim to improve the conditions of others. A third dimension Li identifies in the practice of 'rendering technical' is the use of improvement programmes to dilute and contain political questions and challenges.

Li's work provides a comprehensive conceptual framework to understand how power operates in the field of development. Li (2007: 17-19) recognizes the theoretical limits of using governmentality as a concept. She claims that governmentality as a form of power is not totalizing control as claimed by

Foucault. Rather it is a form of power that needs optimization of the population's conduct which is much similar with the Marxian understanding of how the state operates through market forces. Furthermore, she argues that even though Foucault explains how power is exercised by those possessing it, he does not provide a conceptual explication as to how the population reacts and responds to this form of power, which she claims, Gramsci has better articulated. This makes her conceptual approach more comprehensive and relevant for this study.

4 Methodology

For this study I employed a case study design by taking Kisumu county of Kenya as a case to investigate how power operates in the field of development at the local level. Qualitative approach is taken to gather data and make the analysis to address the research question formulated initially. Choices and decisions made regarding methodology in conducting this study are presented and argued for in this section. Intersection of the methodological framework employed, and the theoretical lens utilized for this study is also discussed. Moreover, ethical considerations taken and reflections on the role of the researcher are also discussed under this section.

4.1 Research Design

Given the aim of this thesis, which is understanding how local governments govern societies through the use of development narratives, intrinsically an investigation in to power relations, a qualitative research design is employed. This has allowed to gain deeper understanding of the research problem, mostly issues that cannot be captured through a quantitative design. There are several reasons to employing a qualitative design including to avoid the power relationship between the researcher and the researched, its rhetorical use, to further understand the contexts and details of a quantitative research and when there is a need to look in to the details or particulars of a topic issue (Creswell 2007: 35-41). The research question posed at investigating how governmental power operates in the field of development by taking Kisumu as a case is a qualitative question that tries to understand the ‘how’ of the problem. This required a deeper level of understanding through inductive process, hence the use of a qualitative approach.

The choice of a qualitative approach to this study is also a result of certain philosophical assumptions held concerning theory of science. Creswell (2007: 15-

35) elaborates on what these philosophical assumptions mean in choosing to use a qualitative approach to a study. Ontologically, a qualitative approach entails making the choice to hold the view that reality is not single and objective but rather subjective and multiple that also depends on the views of the research participants. Making the choice of narrowing down the distance between the researcher and researched is the epistemological choice made when choosing a qualitative approach. Regarding axiology, acknowledging that the research is value laden, with some level of bias and reflecting and discussing these biases and values is another choice of assumption made when deciding to use a qualitative approach of conducting a research. Qualitative research also entails the choice of using informal style and use of qualitative terms with regards to rhetorical choice. Another philosophical choice made when using a qualitative approach is concerning methodology, which indicates the use of inductive method that focus on the particular rather than concern with generalization. (Creswell 2007: 15-35). The choice and decision to use a qualitative approach in investigating the research problem in this study is also informed by these philosophical assumptions and commitments that form the basis of inductive research.

Amongst the various designs of qualitative approach to conducting a study, a case study design is used for this study. For Creswell (2007: 53 - 85), case study involves in depth study of a specific 'bounded system' or a case through multiple sources of data and is aimed at gaining an in-depth insight and understanding to a problem within the bounded system or case. Due to the focus of the aim of this study on a specific case, i.e. the case of Kisumu county in Kenya, a qualitative case study approach or research design is used as the appropriate design. Depending on the intent of the analysis of the case, case studies could be of variant types (Creswell 2007: 53-85). The research problem to be investigated in this study is not unique to the case chosen, rather the case is being used as an illustration to the research problem, hence an instrumental case study variant.

4.2 Sampling and Data Collection

Data gathering in a qualitative case study starts with identifying the site or bounded system/s or case/s that is/are to be studied (Creswell 2007: 117 - 120). Convenience purposeful sampling strategy is used in selecting Kisumu, Kenya as a case of investigation; availability of funding, time and the student's interest being some of the factors contributing in this decision. Sampling could be done in different ways in qualitative inquiry, including the choice of the cases, yet these sampling strategies in qualitative inquiry are basically purposeful strategies (Creswell 2007: 117 - 147, de Vaus 2001: 240). Kenya represents the largest economy with a relative degree of democratic governance in a region marked with conflict and low level of development (Kimenyi et. al. 2015, Odero et. al. 2016). Kenya Vision 2030 is one of the 'vision' national development plans that flourished in various countries throughout Africa since 2000s setting an agenda of transformation and prosperity, beyond the poverty reduction agenda of previous national development plans (Kimenyi et. al. 2015). This phenomenon aligns with the prominence of the 'Africa Rising' narrative during the same period (Brooks 2017, Taylor 2016). In this regard, Kenya is interesting case to look at given its relative degree of development and stability in the Eastern Africa region. Beyond this, looking at how power operates in a developing country context using governmentality as a theoretical framework has been a center of academic debate. Some (for example see: Magrath 2010) have argued that the concept of governmentality is not applicable in 'weak' and 'fragile' government contexts of developing countries. Taking Kisumu, Kenya as a case in this regard provided an interesting case to investigate the extent to which governmentality as a concept can explain how power operates in a developing country context. Focus on local government is because of its nature of being the lowest level of government structure where state-society interaction operates closely. Kisumu county in Kenya is unique in many ways and provides an interesting case to investigate how power operates in the field of development. An opposition strong hold since independence, Kisumu has seen major development intervention mainly from NGOs and neglect from the central government. The devolution that came along the 2010 constitution of the country offered the county of Kisumu to take more

control over its development works and relative political autonomy (Odero et. al. 2016). These add up to make Kisumu as an interesting case to investigate how power operates in development at the local level.

Even though the need for data is mainly guided by the aim of the study and the question the study tries to address, data gathering for case study approach could be done through multiple tools. This is mainly because the choice of a case study approach in qualitative study implies the intent of gaining deeper understanding of the research problem which in another way implies the need to gather sufficient data through different mechanism like observation, interview, and documents (Creswell 2007: 117-147, de Vaus 2001: 231). To increase the depth of analysis and understanding for this study, interviews and documents are used as the sources of data.

The data gathering for this study is mainly guided by the theoretical framework, i.e. the concept of governmentality broadly. May (2001: 29), in this regard, claims that theory and method are intimately related in the field of social sciences. The theory guides what kind of data are needed and more importantly, it is through the theories that the data gathered and analysed can be understood. According to Kendall and Wickham (2004: 129-138), even though governmentality is more of a theory than a methodological approach, there are few methodological implications that can be identified in this concept specifically and in the Foucauldian tradition in general. The use of governmentality and a Foucaultian framework as a concept in a study implies the need to focus on the ‘how’ of the problem than other questions like ‘why’. It also implies the need to investigate documents that are ‘programmatic’, i.e. documents that are concerned with plans that put forward a ‘vision’ sketching the future regarding the problem under study (Kendall and Wickham 2004: 129-138). The decision on which kinds of documents to use and what kind of interviews to conduct are made by putting this theoretical guide in to consideration.

Accordingly, the main plan document of the local government of Kisumu county, i.e. the first Kisumu County Integrated Development Plan (CIDP) 2013-2017 and the corresponding Review Report prepared at the end of the plan period are used as sources of data. Even though the problem under study is of current relevance, according to Kendall and Wickham (2004: 129-138), the use of governmentality as a concept also bears the methodological implication of looking

at processes that happened in the past that gave rise to or created the condition for the problem being investigated. This is in line with Foucault's methodological approach to his investigations of power, i.e. 'archeology'. This refers to historical investigation of relations, practices and knowledge in the past rather than those currently happening (Kendall and Wickham 2004: 129-138). Prominent works that used the concept of governmentality to understand how power operates in the field of development (for example see: Li 2007, Ferguson 1994) employed anthropological approach as a methodology. This has allowed them to trace the mechanisms by which power operates in detail for extended period of time. Conducting such extended in-depth investigation of the case for this study was unrealistic due to resource and time limitations. The Review report that was prepared by the county government of Kisumu at the end of the plan period was found to be very important document in this regard by providing in depth insights.

Interviews were also conducted with local government officials that have decision making power/authority to set out plans for the society in their constituency. Conducting interview in a qualitative [case] study could take different forms: unstructured, semi structured, focus group, or a combination of these all (Creswell 2007: 117-147, Edwards and Holland -2013: 2-3, May 2001: 121 - 126). It can also be conducted face to face, through email, or telephone. Moreover, interviews in such a study could also be recorded using and transcribed later on or interview notes can also be taken. Even though these different interviewing options have their own strengths and limitations, the choice of the interview technique is mainly guided by its relevance to answering the research question (Creswell 2007: 117-147). For this study, face to face interviews with Kisumu county officials took the form of semi structured interviews, so as to allow broader and in-depth data gathering and understanding of the specific contexts. Semi structured interviews, interview approaches that are mostly used in qualitative studies, are flexible and do not have structure, allowing deeper investigation and broader data gathering (Edwards and Holland 2013: 2-3). Both recording and note taking were used in interviewing process to avoid error in data collection to the possible extent.

More specifically, the interviews conducted with Kisumu county officials took the form of elite interview. This is a tool that allows to conduct in depth investigations on issues concerning politics and policy from sources directly

involved in the processes (Beamer 2002). This, according to Beamer (2002), will allow to investigate issues that concern politics in a way no other tool can allow. For this study purpose, elite interviews were conducted with eight (8) officials of the Kisumu county. They hold senior positions in the county government structure and have in one way or another decision-making power regarding the development planning and implementation works of the county. To keep anonymity and confidentiality of the interviewees, details of their specific positions will not be disclosed in this study. Power being the central investigation topic, the questions mainly were political in nature. Dexter (1970 cited in Harvey 2010), a pioneer in elite interviewing method, argued that this method is rather to be used by a seasoned researcher than a beginner since it requires experience and systematic preparation. As a masters programme thesis by a graduate student with limited time and resource available, the level of preparation and experience needed to conduct elite interviews with the county officials was challenging. The main approach taken to overcome this challenge was to gain the interview access through an organization that works in partnership with the county government. This has helped to gain access to a relatively large number of interviewees that helped to gather as much in depth data as possible with in relatively short period of time (a five-week fieldwork). Moreover, due to the access to interviewees through the organization they have been working with, interviewees were cooperative and willing to discuss topics which might be difficult in other ways. Being an outsider had also its advantages (Harvey 2010) in allowing the respondents to express their views on issues that might be sensitive due to fear of consequences that emerge from political opinion, ethnic background etc.

Following a guide by Beamer (2002), interview questions for the county officials were prepared after defining the concepts that form the core of the research question. This, besides helping to identify the appropriate type of interviewees, has also helped to categorize the main topics of questions after which more specific questions were developed. Any jargons or academic words were avoided to create clarity. Other strategy used to increase the validity of the instrument is also to repeat certain questions in different contexts to see the interviewees' consistency (Beamer 2002).

A contact who works with the organization which financed the fieldwork, also a resident of Kisumu with close contacts at the county office, was

instrumental in helping identify the interviewees and making the initial contact. Since qualitative [case] study approach is not aimed at making generalizations, rather is more focused on gaining deeper understanding of the particulars, determining the size of the sample is not mainly targeted at representation of the general, rather with the intent of gathering the needed detailed data of the particular (Creswell 2007: 117 - 147, de Vaus 2001: 240). Again here, purposive convenience sampling is employed in identifying the interviewees. Purposeful in that the interviewees are all officials in the county government structure assuming positions of authority and power. The sampling was also based on convenience that as much interviewees as possible were contacted and those willing and able took part in the interview. As mentioned above, a total of eight (8) county government officials were interviewed. They hold positions as heads of different sector/department offices, assembly whips and opinion leaders (loosely translated as party officials) with in the county government structure. Interviews took place at the working places of the interviewees using English language, official language of the government. In average every interview took between 45 to 60 minutes and all interview sessions are recorded except one in which case note taking was applied.

Data gathered from the CIDP and the Review report documents is supplemented by elite interview conducted with eight county government officials of Kisumu. Due consideration is given to research ethic and positionality of the researcher (see below) in preparing the data gathering instruments and in gathering the data. This is also applied in analysing and interpreting the gathered data.

4.3 Analysis and Interpretation

After transcription and study of interview records and thorough engagement with the CIDP and Review Report documents, the data are analyzed using thematic analysis approach. A holistic approach to analysis (Creswell 2007: 53-84) of the whole cases is taken. This choice of approach to analysis is mainly based on and

aimed at addressing the research question, which focuses on holistic view of the case than a specific issue with in the case.

The thematic analysis approach focused on finding major themes that would allow understand the complexity of the case. This is through finding similar themes across data sources used for studying the case (Creswell 2007: 53-84). The analysis followed a step by step procedure of thematic analysis offered by Herzog and et. al. (2017: 8-11), a procedure developed for research in policy areas which is found to be relevant for this study. The procedure followed involved a deductive and theory driven coding procedure followed by the categorization of these codes broadly. Themes and sub themes emerged later on by merging similar codes together.

The results of this thematic analysis are presented and discussed under the next section of this study. Concepts developed by Tania Murray Li (2007), i.e. the concepts of problematization and ‘rendering technical’, important concepts adopted for this study to explain how power operates in the field of development, are used to make sense out of the gathered data.

4.4 Ethical Considerations

As a social research, the proposed study relied on information gathered from humans, aside from the document review. This entails the need to have basic ethical principles that need to be followed throughout the research process. Avoidance of exploitation, just distribution of benefits and burden, beneficence, respect for persons, respect for human dignity, scientific validity, social value, the rights and interests of research participants are overarching ethical principles of any scientific research (EU Commission 2010). For this study, to protect the interest and privacy of the research participants, any information gathered is used and kept confidentially. Analysis and reporting of findings is made anonymously.

Being open and honest about the research, as well as obtaining informed consent from the research participants is another guiding ethical principle in social researches (AAA Ethics 2016, Ryen 2004). The aim and nature of the research is explained for participants of this research and they were also requested to give

their voluntary and informed consent before taking part in the interview. It is in this consent where the rights of the participant, anonymity, confidentiality, voluntary participation, right to withdraw, and access to results, were outlined. This is readout for all interviewees of this research.

An important concern raised by two interviewees in this regard is the disclosure of findings to the county government. The interviewees claimed multiple previous researchers that conducted interviews never provided copy of their reports to the county and that has created skepticism and lack of interest on their part. The final report of this study will be provided for the county office and the interviewees to ensure transparency and accountability.

4.5 Reflexivity

Here, I will try to reflect on my research planning process by employing O'Reilly's (2009: 189) definition of reflexivity as "the requirement to think critically about the context and the acts of research and writing and involves thinking about what we read...thinking about what we write and how; and acknowledging we are part of the world we study". This, according to Spencer (cited in O'Reilly 2009: 189), is required because as human beings, we make choices about what to research, interpret what we see and hear, decide what to write and how, and that we do all this in the context of our own 'personal biographies and often ensconced in scientific and disciplinary environments'.

My educational background in political science, I believe, have influenced me to focus on the political nature of the research problem. This influence is reflected on how I wanted to use the theoretical/conceptual framework by focusing on power relations between state (the local government of Kisumu county) and society. I am also influenced by my social background in the process of trying to understand the research problem. Being from the global South, I am gravitated towards thinking the research problem from the perspective of the global South. The worldview that I hold is also another factor that shapes my way of thinking. This is reflected on the preferences of concepts and theories I made in order to explain the research problem. I tried to see the research problem from a

critical tradition perspective, which I believe is rather a better tool to explain and understand reality. The fact that I am directly or indirectly part of the target of the research is also another factor. This means I have my own assumptions and biases about the data to be gathered and the interpretations and conclusions to be reached at.

What these all tells is that my research planning undertakings (and its findings) need to be understood by taking these reflections under consideration. It means that I have made methodological and theoretical choices; choices on what to read, what and how to write. In my view, all these should not be taken to invalidate the value of the research findings and the scientific procedures employed in the process. For me, it means that I should not hold any definite claim on the research problems and that the findings are not the ultimate truth. It only means that so much as there are scientific methods to be used in this research process, my role should also be taken in to consideration.

5 Analysis - Governing mentalities through development in Kisumu, Kenya

Several themes emerged during the review and analysis of the interview transcriptions and the two documents, i.e. the CIDP document and the Review report document. Themes that are similar and strongly linked to one another are grouped together to come up with the three major themes that are discussed in this section of the thesis. Borrowing concepts of problematization and ‘rendering technical’ from Tania Murray Li, I argue that these three major themes, i.e. ‘mosaic’ planning, public participation, and narratives of devolution, are the mechanisms by which governmental form of power operates in the field of development in Kisumu, Kenya.

After the coming to effect of the 2010 Kenya constitution, county governments were established in 2013 following the County Government Act of 2012 that sets out the detailed functions and mandates of county governments. The former province of Nyanza with its capital at Kisumu city was also rearranged according to the new constitution and the County Government Act of 2012 to form six different counties, amongst which the county of Kisumu is one. The first national Mid Term Plan also came to an end in 2012 giving way to the second MTP for the period 2013 to 2017. According to the County Government Act, development activities and service delivery works of the county government need to be planned out for five years in alignment with the national plan. This is through county integrated development plans that among other things shall identify strategies and programmes for the development of the county. (Republic of Kenya 2013, Mwenzwa 2014, Aswani and Wekesa 2014)

Multiple complicated development challenges compound the county of Kisumu. These are manifested through a poverty level (60%) which is much higher than the national average (45.2%), very low level of access to clean and safe water (0.7%), high level of HIV/AIDS prevalence rate (11.2%) that is higher

than the national average of 6.3%. To tackle these development challenges and address other social, economic and political issues, Kisumu county formulated a County Integrated Development Plan in 2013. The County Integrated Development Plan (2013-2017) of Kisumu is the first of its kind under the new devolved structure of government. In line with the national Vision 2030 and second Mid Term Plan (2013-2018), the County Integrated Plan of Kisumu sets out a county level vision of ‘a prosperous and dynamic county that is harbour of excellence’. This plan has a mission of ‘...transform[ing] the livelihood of the people of Kisumu County on a foundation of integrity through accountable, efficient and effective leadership that invokes participation and pursuit of quality service, for a prosperous county.’ Food security and agriculture, industrialization and enterprise development, tourism, technology, and sport and talent are also set out to be the pillars of this five years county level development plan. (Republic of Kenya 2013, Mwenzwa 2014).

5.1 ‘Mosaic’ Planning

One of the major themes that emerged from the data gathered from the documents and the interviews with officials is what I rather called ‘mosaic’ planning. This refers to the unrealistic and ambitious nature of the CIDP that resonates with Tania Murray Li’s understanding of ‘trustees’ and their intentions that appear utopian and benevolent to improving the conditions of others. She found this to be located in the sphere of power which Foucault termed governmentality, a form of power that operates targeting the welfare of the whole population (Li 2007: 5-7).

The Kenya Vision 2030 aims at making Kenya a middle-income country with modern and globally competitive economy that ensures high quality of life for the citizens. Economically, Kenya Vision 2030 envisions an average annual 10 percent GDP growth rate until 2030. Building cohesive and just society in a secure and clean environment and with social equity is envisioned by Kenya Vision 2030 as its social pillar. Politically the vision is building a political system that is democratic and that respects the fundamental rights and freedoms of the population by ensuring the rule of law (Republic of Kenya 2013: 50). Starting

from 2008, Vision 2030 is planned to be implemented through successive five-year midterm plans. The first CIDP of Kisumu corresponds the second Mid Term Plan (MTP) for the years 2013 to 2017 of the Vision 2030.

The CIDP is prepared to set out Kisumu County's role in fostering and increasing socio economic development by way of improving and enhancing the overall quality of life of all the people. Addressing poverty, security, social injustice, and inequality while at the same time allowing citizens own the course development through participation is stated as the core of the CIDP (Republic of Kenya 2013: xii). The vision and mission statements of the CIDP (Republic of Kenya 2013: iii) read as follows

Vision “A prosperous and dynamic county that is a harbour of excellence”

Mission “To transform the livelihood of the people of Kisumu County on a foundation of integrity through accountable, efficient and effective leadership that invokes participation and pursuit of quality services, for a prosperous county.”

The Review report prepared after evaluating performance during the plan period found out that the number of Programmes, Projects and Initiatives (PPIs) proposed under the CIDP for implementation were unrealistic and highly ambitious. Another major finding of this Review Report is with regards to the plan for the financing/funding of PPIs under the CIDP. Relative to the PPIs proposed, the funding mechanism and financing strategies set out were found to be simplistic, indicating due consideration was not given regarding implementing the proposed PPIs. This reinforces the finding that the CIDP was unrealistic and highly ambitious. Another finding under the Review report that further indicates the unrealistic and highly ambitious nature of the CIDP is the delivery mechanism or structure that was proposed to implement the CIDP which was unrealistic and inconsistent with the organizational structure of the County Government of Kisumu. Moreover, the Review report also found out that during the five years of the plan period, implementation followed and more attention was given to projects identified under Annual Development Plans (ADPs) than those originally in the CIDP (Kisumu County Government, 2017: 2-3).

An official at the county government office agrees with the findings of the Review report that some of the PPIs proposed in the CIDP were not realistic and

does not reflect the local context. The official concluded saying ‘you cannot implement a five-year plan that you don't know’, the reason being the preparation of the CIDP by external consultants. The official rather argues that the CIDP should have been prepared as a form of a social contract, between the elected leader and the people who voted, up on which by the end of the term the elected would be evaluated. This, according to the official, was not the case with the first CIDP (Interview 7).

Some of the PPIs proposed under the CIDP were found to be against the constitutional provisions that demarcates the mandates of the national government and that of the county government. Section Four of the Constitution assigns fourteen (14) broad functions to the County Governments. Even though the majority of the PPIs in the CIDP fall under the mandate of the county governments, there were some PPIs proposed that do not fall under the county government's mandate. For example, in the energy sector, the “Katito electrification scheme” was identified in the CIDP as one of the projects for implementation yet the mandate for such project belong to the national government. Additionally, provision of primary and secondary education is the mandate of the national government. Under the Department of Education, the CIDP identified a number of projects that fall under the mandate of the national government (Kisumu County Government, 2017: 22).

The CIDP understandably makes a strong reference to the national strategic plan, Vision 2030. The Review Report on the CIDP claims that this attempt by the CIDP however fails to indicate the specific projects that the CIDP targeted for implementation to advance the aspirations of Vision 2030. Rather than explicit and specific linkages, the CIDP makes a general statement that “counties will need to identify specific projects and programs for implementation over the medium-term period towards the achievement of the Kenya Vision 2030 and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)” (Kisumu County Government, 2017: 23).

The attempt made by the CIDP to make linkages with the then global development goals, i.e. the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), is also found to be superficial and unrealistic by the Review report. For instance, the interventions proposed to address “achievement of universal primary education” and those proposed to address “gender equality and women empowerment” fall

within the mandate of the national government. Other instances of such unrealistic planning nature are the development of a “National Policy on Gender and Development” and also the development of a “National Land Policy” proposed under the CIDP even though these fall under the national government’s mandate (Kisumu County Government, 2017: 23).

Another important finding that put the whole planning process in to question is the nonexistence of clearly stated development objectives and goals under the CIDP. To discern the development objectives for Kisumu as initially thought out, one has to look at the situational analysis in the CIDP which identified the development challenges of the county. It is out of these development challenges that projects were identified and grouped into sectors for implementation. Logically, out of the situational analysis, the CIDP should have outlined the development priorities and objectives but this was not the case (Kisumu County Government, 2017: 23). Following the vision and mission, the CIDP identified five (5) aims which include;

- Creating employment,
- Raising average per-capita incomes,
- Improving labour force distribution,
- Raising county human development and gender equality indicators, and
- Developing and improving the model county that is competitive and aspiring to achieve higher levels associated with middle income countries.

Additionally, the county identified seven pillars of development which include;

- Agriculture and food security,
- Industrialization and enterprise development,
- Tourism,
- Technology,
- Sports and talent development,
- Health, and
- Education.

Besides the nonexistence of specific and clear development goals under the CIDP, the five aims and the seven pillars identified does not have a strong clear linkage established indicating the attainment of which supports which. According to the Review report, the absence of development objectives and goals that correspond the identified development challenges discussed in the CIDP has posed difficulty

in two ways. One is difficulty to cascade specific goals and objectives annually and in the different sectors, which is evidently observable in the absence of clear and specific goals and objectives both in the ADPs and in sectoral plans. Closely linked is the difficulty posed in tracking performances both against a specific time frame or with in a specific department/sector (Kisumu County Government, 2017: 23-24).

The Review report have found out that a number of PPIs implemented throughout the plan period were never originally proposed in the CIDP but were identified and incorporated in the ADPs. While this could be attributed to emerging needs of the society captured in the ADP planning process, it is also due to the fact that the CIDP was originally developed in a hurry and thus a number of PPIs as proposed were challenging to implement. With new projects being proposed annually, an emerging trend arose where the ADP guided the CIDP in the hierarchy of the planning process instead of the reverse. Evidence shows that the PPIs annually identified through the ADP took precedence over PPIs originally proposed in the CIDP. One official aptly captured this planning process as;

“In the current CIDP you will find so many projects that were not implemented. Now we had to proceed in every year using the ADP, we would look at the CIDP projects and get proposals on the ADP projects and comparing this to those in the CIDP. So, that is why even the 2013 - 2017 CIDP you will find the discrepancy between this and the CIDP, because immediately the public was sensitized on the need for Public Participation on choosing their projects they would say that some of the projects in the CIDP we did not propose them, we don’t want this, we want this. And since this is a requirement we have to consider it” (Kisumu County Government, 2017: 24).

Two different explanations were given by two interviewees regarding the reason why the proposed PPIs in the CIDP were not followed through accordingly. One of them said there exists a contradiction between the sector’s plan under which the interviewee works and the plans proposed in the CIDP. This interviewee further explains that since the sector’s strategic plan is more realistic and practical, the department follows that rather than the CIDP (Interview 3). For the other interviewee, it is rather more of a governance and political issue. According to

this interviewee, the local government administration during the CIDP period has failed due to lack of ‘focus’. Explaining this further, the interviewee claimed that even though the administration managed to adopt the CIDP, during implementation it has diverted from the CIDP to rather implement PPIs motivated by political goals of securing popular support for the next term of office (Interview 6).

Looking at the resource mobilization and financing strategy and plan set out in the CIDP is another area that indicates the unrealistic and overly ambitious nature of the plan document. The Review Report in this regard concluded that the resource mobilization/financing strategies identified to finance the CIDP were ‘inadequate and simplistic to say the least’ (p 30). The identified PPIs require detailed and realistic capital investment strategies that generate alternative and not ordinary revenues. Although the CIDP enumerated a number of PPIs in each sector, it is silent on the exact amount of money that would have been required to finance the CIDP (Kisumu County Government, 2017: 30).

Most of the interviewees agreed with regards to the challenges encountered due to resource limitation, while some of them provided further explanation. An official in one of the departments at the county government explained that there were much greater number of PPIs under the CIDP than the allocated budget would cover which resulted in problems in quality of output. This, accordingly, has resulted in complaints from the people regarding the quality standards and costing of PPIs. Besides complaints with quality and costing, the shortage of resources also has forced the county government to prioritize certain PPIs which sometimes means the need to compromise interests of different segments of the society (Interview 1). Failing to implement a certain project due to lack of resources is one reason for public discontent, agrees another official. The reason for this lack of sufficient resources could be the county government’s inability to collect own revenue as projected and/or the national government is not releasing devolved funds/budget as planned (Interview 6) A former government whip during the CIDP period also concurs claiming that the county government’s inability to generate the resources/revenue as projected in the CIDP has been ‘one major impediment to development’ (Interview 6). Furthermore, the shortage of budget and resources have hindered public

engagement and participation, as stated in the country's constitution, to a satisfactory level (Interview 6).

Generating revenue from own sources is one of the key challenges the county of Kisumu has been facing. In light of the challenges in terms of generating revenues, the CIDP is overly ambitious in forecasting revenue. After looking into the actual revenue generated in the plan period, the Review report found out that, although the county own source revenues have grown, the growth is not commensurate with the funding demands for the implementation of the CIDP. In its first fiscal year 2013/14, Kisumu's internally generated revenues increased to Ksh.612.9 Million which was 35.7% lower than projected. In 2014/15 FY the revenues rose considerably to Ksh.970.9 Million which was 64.7% of the targeted revenues. In 2015/16 the revenues rose marginally to Ksh.978.89 Million which was 52.4% of the projected revenues. The Review Report concluded that with these levels of internally generated resources, the funding for PPIs in the CIDP from own source was 'grossly overestimated' (Kisumu County Government, 2017: 30). Due to this, budget deficit has been a huge burden for the county government resulting in the interruption of a number of PPIs work pending payments to contractors (Kisumu County Government, 2017: 30).

Another very important element of the CIDP is the monitoring and evaluation plan it proposed. Although Chapter Eight of the CIDP recognize the importance of a monitoring and evaluation (M&E) system, it does not create one that would help track progress in the implementation of the CIDP. This is mainly due to the absence of clear and specific development objectives and goals as discussed previously. The Review Report, after evaluating this, concluded that the M&E system proposed in the CIDP was 'utopian/idealistic' and that it ignored the constitutional provisions of devolution. The M&E coordinating structure identifies community M&E committee, Sub-county M&E committee, County-level M&E committee, Regional M&E committee and the National government's Ministry of Devolution and Planning. This hierarchy, according to the Review Report, is reminiscent to the centralized M&E system under the old constitution. Given the non-existent and inoperability of such M&E organizational structure, it was found out that M&E of the PPIs in the CIDP has largely been ignored (Kisumu County Government, 2017: 32). An official at the county government

strengthens this by claiming that the M&E framework developed in the CIDP is not realized. According to this official the M&E should have been conducted internally by the responsible team rather than external consultants (Interview 1).

In defining the concept and practice of problematization, Li (2007: 7-8) articulates that it involves the formulation of problems which are directly linked with the intent and capability of offering solutions through intervention. For her, this is related to what Ferguson (1994 cited in Li 2007: 7) referred as ‘intelligible field’, a field where intervention takes place through expert knowledge. We find this practice of problematization in the planning process of the CIDP that is mainly a product of experts (i.e. external consultants), based on expert identified challenges without any specific goal setting which offers unrealistic and ‘mosaic’ interventions (PPIs). In explaining the circular nature of development interventions, Li (2007: 6) identifies that inability of ‘trustees’ to deliver promises of interventions opens up a space for further intervention. This process is manifested in Kisumu through the Annual Development Plans (ADPs), which rather guided implementation, that are used as corrective measures against the unrealistic PPIs of the CIDP.

As can be seen from this, the CIDP was rather a ‘mosaic’ plan that proposed a ‘utopian’ course of action detached from the reality. The five years of implementation that diverged from the CIDP and followed the yearly planning practices is one testimony. The CIDP in this regard can only be seen as an instrument to exercise power by claiming welfare for the targeted population. This corresponds with the Foucauldian understanding of governmentality as a form of power in general and Tania Murray Li’s conceptualization of how this form of power operates in the field of development more specifically.

5.2 Public Participation

The other major theme that emerged from the gathered data is the issue of public participation in relation with the CIDP. The gathered data makes distinction between public participation during the CIDP preparation phase and during the five years of implementation phase. Even though claims of public participation

appear to be strong, deeper investigation on their nature and context highly relates to what Tania Murray Li refers as ‘rendering technical’ and the role of experts in development programming (Li 2007: 7).

The CIDP planning used a Comprehensive Integrated Development Planning approach, aiming at ensuring the involvement and contribution of all citizens in planning the development works (Republic of Kenya 2013: xii). Citing a County Government Act (2012 section 115/1), that makes public participation mandatory in the county, the CIDP lists out the dates and sub counties where public participation forums were undertaken towards the preparation of the CIDP. Accordingly, the nine sub counties of Kisumu held public participation forums from 9th to 13th of September. A one full day public participation forum was undertaken in each sub county the result of which was the identification of sub county challenges, opportunities and proposed projects for the CIDP period (Republic of Kenya 2013: 234).

Public participation dominates the CIDP document throughout the various sections starting from the initial mission statement ‘[t]o transform the livelihood of the people of Kisumu County on a foundation of integrity through accountable, efficient and effective leadership that invokes participation and pursuit of quality services, for a prosperous county.’ (Republic of Kenya 2013: iii). The document further declares from the start that it is the result of public participation of the county’s citizens ‘who were extensively consulted in conformity to constitutional provisions’ (Republic of Kenya 2013: xv). Public participation in identifying the PPIs under the CIDP is also identified as the main guiding principle for sustainability in the county (Kisumu County Government, 2017: 4).

The CIDP document retreats to the 2010 Constitution of Kenya to make reference to the values and principles enshrined in the Constitution regarding sharing and devolution of power. This is through the establishment of two tiers of government: the national and the county levels of government. Under section four, the Constitution identifies the functions and mandates of the two levels of the governments. Of the 14 functions of the county level government listed under this section of the constitution, the 14th function gives an explicit mandate for the county government to ‘ensuring and coordinating participation of communities and locations in governance at the local level and assisting communities and locations to develop the administrative capacity for the effective exercise of the

functions and powers and participation in governance at the local level' (Republic of Kenya 2013: 66).

On the contrary, the evaluation conducted found out that even though the CIDP claims to have been developed through extensive public participation, implementation followed mainly the PPIs identified under the ADPs rather than those under the CIDP. (p 4). Absence of adequate involvement of the citizens in the CIDP formulation that led to their lack of knowledge towards the CIDP is identified by the Review report as the main challenge in this regard (Kisumu County Government, 2017: 13).

One of the central points that emerged from the interviews with the officials at the county government office is the issue of public participation. The responses of the officials that centered around public participation can be seen at two levels. First involves their replies regarding public participation in the planning/preparation of the CIDP while the other is the replies they gave regarding participation of the public during the implementation phase of the CIDP.

Almost all of the interviewed officials pointed out that the CIDP was mainly prepared by an external consultant. An official stressed that the role of officials at the preparation of the CIDP was to adopt and approve the list of PPIs that were identified by the consultants. This official also mentioned that the county government has been arranging stakeholder meetings with community representatives and NGOs to initially identify certain PPIs which later on the consultants used to formulate the CIDP (Interview 2). Another official also agrees that there was a limited involvement of certain county officers directly or indirectly in the planning process (Interview 6). The CIDP preparation process lacked participatory approach and was not inclusive, against Art. 220 of the constitution, according to one official at the county government. This official further explained, the constitution stipulates that the national ministry in charge of planning will provide a guideline that should be followed. This guideline, among other things, requires planning to be inclusive and participatory which was not the case in the CIDP preparation. Also, by mentioning the findings of the Review Report regarding the lack of participation in the CIDP preparation, the official asserted by saying 'you cannot implement a five-year plan that you don't know' (Interview 7).

According to the Review report, what has been described extensive public participation in the CIDP was rather the mere identification of list of PPIs by the citizens which they wish to see implemented in their areas. Since this lacked deeper discussion and prioritization, during implementation phase it was observed that the PPIs under the CIDP were pushed aside to be replaced by those new PPIs that emerged during ADP preparation (Kisumu County Government, 2017: 13). Moreover, the Review Report also found that since the CIDP was prepared in a short period of time in a hurry, many of the PPIs proposed were unrealistic and challenging to implement. This has resulted in the emergence of new PPIs under the ADPs replacing those under the CIDP (Kisumu County Government, 2017: 25).

From the assessment, the Review Report concluded that even though there was public engagement during the CIDP preparation, their participation was symbolic and limited to the validation of already identified PPIs. There is scanty evidence that the public was fully engaged in the design and conceptualization of some projects and programs. Moreover, some of the PPIs under the CIDP were simply carry-ons from the former local authorities, Constituencies Development Fund (CDF) and national government programs some of which had little input from the citizens (Kisumu County Government, 2017: 25).

Despite these, many of the interviewees have emphasized on the value of public participation in development activities and how the county government was able to ensure that in the five years of the CIDP. This refers to the public engagements that took place in the annual development plan preparation process. One official at the county claimed that healthy relationship between the local government and the society is fostered because the local government ensured public participation in every budget cycle. This public participation is in the five different stages of budgeting process; ADP-Annual development plan, CBRP-County Budget Review Paper, CFSP- County Fiscal Strategic Paper, Budget Estimates, and Finance Bill (Interview 1). Another official agrees with this assertion and further claims that ensuring public participation is the constitutional duty of the county government and ‘the county government has been doing that perfectly even though it is not to the level we wanted because of lack of resources’ (Interview 6). For another official, ‘the local communities are very impressed with the local government despite the challenges. Specially because of

the public participation we do' (Interview 2). Others see the public participation as a positive outcome of the devolution that followed the 2010 constitution of the country. One official stated 'when the devolution comes a lot of things come. One of them is how to manage the county. Public participation is one of the things. The planning was started from the wards and upwards up to the county level' (Interview 7). The following is how another official (Interview 4) explained how public participation works after devolution comparing it with prior to devolution:

"The county government is running the government on behalf the people. Giving services to the people, to the community. Whatever development activity that is going to be done, the people are first of all involved so that they give their opinion, to say what kind of development that they want. That is what the county government ends up implementing. It starts from the people. In the past, before devolution, it was top down. The projects come from the top. That was difficult because there was no ownership feeling. Theirs project."

Further inquiry in to what this public participation entails and how it works shows that periodic (quarterly) community meetings are the main public participation forums (Interview 3). These are arranged/organized by administrators or officers of the county at different levels (county, sub county, ward, village) of the local government structure (Interview 2). This periodic meeting for public participation rather seems what is in principle rather than the practice. One official noted that public meetings are conducted when there is a need, not regularly (Interview 5). This corresponds with another interviewee's claim that there are some elected leaders that consult their constituency only once in their term, while ideally an elected leader is expected to at least organize consultation forums quarterly (Interview 8).

Even though the CIDP was not prepared through this form and with this magnitude of public participation as the Review Report and the interviewees indicated, the annual planning and budgeting process rather has seen a certain level of public participation. Yet, some important issues arise in the interview regarding the nature of the public participations and how they were conducted. One issue raised by an official during the interview is that most of the public participations were not structured. By structured, the official explained, it means that people who come to public meetings should have been those who can have

substantial contribution. While what is happening is, according to the official, that everyone is invited and that is a challenge. This official also adds that limitation of resources is another challenge in conducting public participation the satisfactory level (Interview 7). Another official also identified lack of resources, distance and low level of turn out from the society as main challenges of public participation (Interview 6).

Other highly relevant main points raised by the interviewees while discussing public participation are roles played by technical experts, opinion leaders and traditional structures of the society. This were discussed while questions of how diverging priorities of the different segments of the society and the priorities of the local and/national government were negotiated. One official pointed out the government might want to invest on strategic areas while the community asks for investments that benefit their specific community which might lead to a process of ‘negotiation’ and ‘re engagement’ (Interview 6). It is with reference to such cases that another official said, ‘there is a lot of sensitization that needs to be done on the people’ (Interview 7). With regards to the role of experts and technical personnel, this official explained further that the community might have an idea of what they want but at the end it is the role of the technical person or the expert to translate that in to a project for implementation (Interview 7). In agreement with this assertion, another official (Interview 4) said the following

“The main challenge comes from the people. The community themselves. They may want something, but they may not know the technical, the abouts of the whole project. So, they know the general thing they want but they don’t know the ABC’s involved in arriving at this. To solve this, we have our people at the ground, the ward administrators and officers, they are used as a reference point. Any clarification they want, these officers tell them what it means through meetings.”

Opinion leaders, who are mostly political party cadres, are other important role players besides the experts/technical persons that are within the government structures. One opinion leader interviewed for this study noted their role in public participation saying ‘as opinion leaders we ensure that community’s interests come first. But if the plan of the government is necessary, we will try to convince them and try to make them understand.’ (Interview 5). An addition to this is the

role of ‘gatekeepers’ of the society. One official (Interview 6) put it in the following manner:

“one important thing is gatekeepers. If you involve gatekeepers of that society, then things move on well. But if you evade/avoid them and go to the society even if good issues are being discussed then they can create resistance. Gatekeepers are very influential. The gatekeepers are the local chiefs employed by the government, local structure, local political leaders, local elders. The youth in our society listens to elders.”

To this end of ‘sensitizing the people’ or ‘make[ing] them understand’ or ‘clarification’, besides the public meeting forums, there are other channels and mechanisms that are employed by the local government. These include ‘through local radios using local dialect, also print media, also announcement using local motor bicycles (also referred as *Boda Bodas*), speakers mounted on them’ (Interview 4), ‘...talk shows in the local media...’ (Interview 7), and ‘...every opportunity we get for example funerals, where the community gather to announce calls for forums and dissemination of information’ (Interview 5). Two of the interviewees agreed that these works have generated political support for the government in due course (Interview 7, Interview 8).

Public participation has emerged as one of the major themes from the data gathered regarding the CIDP of Kisumu. The much-emphasized public participation in the CIDP document is found to be rather symbolic and the role of external consultants in the CIDP preparation is found to be dominant. What one can also observe from the CIDP document is the absence of the name/s of the consultant/s anywhere in the CIDP document, not even in the Acknowledgement section where a list of individuals and offices that made contribution were acknowledged. The public participation practiced during the five years of the implementation is found to be in congruence with practices which Tania Murray Li refers as ‘rendering technical’ (Li 2007: 7-8). This ‘rendering technical’ practice, according to Li, involves the practices of trustees using expert knowledge to framing problems in to technically solvable issues, at the same time rendering these problems nonpolitical by avoiding political economic structural prescriptions and rather focusing on capacity building of the target population. Moreover, the rendering technical practice also involves the use of development plans and programmes to dilute questions that have political nature. What can be

observed from the interviews and the documents is the role of the trustees, in this regard officials in Kisumu, during the CIDP period, using different mechanisms and expert power to shape the outcomes of development planning in the name of public participation.

5.3 Narratives of Devolution

Another main theme that emerged in the analysis of data from the documents and interviews is the issue of devolution and devolved government. The continued implementation of the 2010 constitution of the country which is mainly characterized by the introduction of devolution creating two tiers of government is one of the key focus areas of the second MTP of Vision 2030. As noted previously, the first CIDP of Kisumu County corresponds with the national second MTP. This makes the CIDP the first of its kind in a way that the county government exercises more authority due to the greater mandate it possesses according to the new constitution (Republic of Kenya 2013: 65).

Based on the 2010 Constitution of Kenya (cited in (Republic of Kenya 2013: 65), the two tiers of government (i.e. the national government and the 47 county governments) will have separate mandates and functions in accordance with the declared national values and principles of devolution and sharing of power. According to section four of this constitution, 14 functions are devolved to the county government which will have the mandate and power over these areas;

1. Agriculture
2. County health services
3. Control of air pollution, noise pollution, other public nuisances and outdoor advertising
4. Cultural activities, public entertainment and public amenities
5. County transport
6. Animal control and welfare
7. Trade development and regulation
8. County planning and development

9. Pre-primary education, village polytechnics, homecraft centers and childcare facilities
10. Implementation of specific national government policies on natural resources and environmental conservation
11. County public works and services
12. Firefighting services and disaster management
13. Control of drugs and pornography
14. Ensuring and coordinating participation of communities and locations in governance at the local level and assisting communities and locations to develop the administrative capacity for the effective exercise of the functions and powers and participation in governance at the local level.

The CIDP (Republic of Kenya 2013: 66) identifies the following five laws, that are enacted towards the realization of the devolution, as the legal frameworks that form the basis of the planning process

1. Urban Areas and Cities Act, 2011
2. The County Governments Act, 2012
3. The Transition to Devolved Government Act, 2012
4. The Intergovernmental Relations Act, 2012
5. The Public Finance Management Act, 2012.

The preparation of a medium-term county integrated plan is the mandate and obligation of the county government according to the Public Finance Management Act 2012. Specifically, Article 125 and 126 of the Act requires a county government to prepare an integrated development plan as part of the budgeting process of the county and also to identify the strategic priorities of the county and to identify the PPIs to be delivered. The CIDP document explicitly states out that the document is prepared in compliance with the Public Finance Management Act 2012 and the constitutional mandates given to the county government through the 14 functions listed above (Republic of Kenya 2013: 66-67).

Another obligation of the county government with regards to integrated development planning in under the new devolved government structure is ensuring the harmony of the county integrated plan with other plans at different levels and sectors of the government including the national plan, sectoral plan, spatial plans, and urban and city plans. This is in accordance with the County Government Act 2012 which forms another legal basis for the preparation of the

CIDP document (Republic of Kenya 2013: 90). The preparation of the integrated development plan by the county government is also a precondition for the release of budget resources that come from the national government (Republic of Kenya 2013: 90).

All the interviewees in one way or another appreciated the devolution that followed the 2010 constitution of Kenya. Some of the interviewees associated the availability of more resources from the national government and the infrastructures built during the five years of the CIDP like roads, bridges and drainages with the advent of devolution in the same period of time. (Interview 2, Interview 4, Interview 5, Interview 6, Interview 8). This devolution, according to one official, has enabled the county government to become the largest role player in the development of the county (Interview 1). Some of the interviewed officials further claimed that the devolution has brought a sense of ownership and more participation. By comparing with what it used to be like before the coming of devolution, one official (Interview 4) explained this as follows:

“The county government is running the government on behalf the people. Giving services to the people, to the community. Whatever development activity that is going to be done, the people are first of all involved so that they give their opinion, to say what kind of development that they want. That is what the county government ends up implementing. It starts from the people. In the past, before devolution, it was top down. The projects come from the top. That was difficult because there was no ownership feeling.”

The Review report has on the other hand pointed out issues in the CIDP and during implementation that put in question the authenticity of the devolution project. One of these findings is that some of the PPIs proposed under the CIDP were found to be against the constitutional provisions that demarcates the mandates of the national government and that of the county government. Section Four of the Constitution assigns fourteen (14) broad functions to the County Governments. Even though the majority of the PPIs in the CIDP fall under the mandate of the county governments, there were some PPIs proposed that does not fall under the county government's mandate. For example, in the energy sector, the “Katito electrification scheme” was identified in the CIDP as one of the projects for implementation yet the mandate for such project belong to the

national government. Additionally, provision of primary and secondary education is the mandate of the national government. Under the Department of Education, the CIDP identified a number of projects that fall under the mandate of the national government (Kisumu County Government, 2017: 22).

Even though the general impression that can be observed from the interviews is positive, further insights were provided by two officials during the interviews. One of these officials claimed that although the devolution plan looks good on paper, problems started during implementation. The following is what this official (Interview 8) said:

“...the main problem here I think is putting politicians to be governors. A politician will ever be a politician. Everything you are handling, you are handling it politically. You are elected to be first governor and you know you are staying there four or five years, then you start campaigning for another term. So, it brings a lot of confusion. And again, the areas that they lead, those they are putting in these positions, sometimes they don’t check their capability, the smartness of the job...now they employ according to who you know. They are just copying what the ... (central/previous) government is doing. So, I think this one is hampering the development processes.”

For the other official, the problem with devolution arises from not fully understanding what it means and how it works by the county officials. The official (Interview 6) further argued that

“[t]he county government is a new thing. The local authorities have failed in many ways because the people did not understand. Even though they are independent, they are not independent at all. They are being managed by people from Nairobi in ministerial positions. But the devolution has brought a situation where people can make decision and spend resources at the government level. We need to have a lot of capacity building for government officials in effective running of this government.”

With regards to the obligation and mandate of the county government, to create harmony between the county integrated plan and other plans is found to be problematic in the CIDP. The CIDP understandably makes a strong reference to the national strategic plan, Vision 2030. The Review Report on the CIDP claims that this attempt by the CIDP however fails to indicate the specific projects that

the CIDP targeted for implementation to advance the aspirations of Vision 2030. Rather than explicit and specific linkages, the CIDP makes a general statement that “counties will need to identify specific projects and programs for implementation over the medium-term period towards the achievement of the Kenya Vision 2030 and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)” (Kisumu County Government, 2017: 23).

The attempt made by the CIDP to make linkages with the then global development goals, i.e. the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), is also found to be superficial and unrealistic by the Review Report. For instance, the interventions proposed to address “achievement of universal primary education” and those proposed to address “gender equality and women empowerment” fall within the mandate of the national government. Other instances of such unrealistic planning nature are the development of a “National Policy on Gender and Development” and also the development of a “National Land Policy” proposed under the CIDP even though these fall under the national government’s mandate (Kisumu County Government, 2017: 23).

Beside these issues of mandate identified by the Review Report in relation with the CIDP, another crucial finding is that some of the PPIs under the CIDP were simply carry-ons from the former local authorities, Constituencies Development Fund (CDF) and national government programs some of which had little input from the citizens (Kisumu County Government, 2017: 25). Moreover, with regards to the monitoring and evaluation plan, the Review Report, concluded that the M&E system proposed in the CIDP was ‘utopian/idealistic’ and that it ignored the constitutional provisions of devolution. The M&E coordinating structure identifies community M&E committee, Sub-county M&E committee, County-level M&E committee, Regional M&E committee and the National government’s Ministry of Devolution and Planning. This hierarchy, according to the Review Report, is reminiscent to the centralized M&E system under the old constitution (Kisumu County Government, 2017: 32).

In light of Tania Murray Li’s understanding of how power operates in the field of development programming, this theme that emerged from the gathered data aligns with the third dimension of ‘rendering technical’ she discussed in her book. This third dimension, Li states, refers to the use of development programming as a tool to dilute and neutralize question that are political in nature.

The 2010 constitution of Kenya that introduced devolution is a result of post-election crisis that hit the country after the 2007 general elections. The documents and interviews used for this study portray the coming of devolution as the solution for everything while in practice both in the documents and the interviews indicated absence of fully functioning devolution structure.

6 Conclusion

In this study, I tried to investigate the mechanisms by which power operates in the field of development by taking the county of Kisumu, Kenya as a case. Kisumu offered an interesting case in this regard. Narratives of development both nationally and locally are found prominent, manifested through economic achievements since early 2000s and political reforms following the 2007 post-election crisis. This coincides with narratives of development in the rest of Africa, decades when words like ‘Africa Rising’, ‘Africa Lions’ etc are added to the development vocabulary. Aspirations and ‘visions’ of many African countries, Kenya included, have become focused on structural transformations and sometimes ‘utopian’ rather than the usual poverty eradication agendas. Time will tell if these visions would come true but as a phenomenon, these trends merit a closer investigation.

My attempt, with all the drawbacks, in this study, is to look at how these narratives of development make up a field where governmental power operates. This is conceptually informed by the broader concept of governmentality, Foucault's understanding of a certain form of power that operates on the larger population to conduct the way they conduct their life through calculated means. More specifically, Tania Murray Li's concepts of problematization and rendering technical, concepts that locate and articulate how governmentality as a form of power operates in the field of development, are used to guide the data gathering and analysis of this study. The study was aimed at addressing the research question formulated initially, i.e. how are narratives of development used by the government to govern societies in the county of Kisumu, Kenya? The findings are based on elite interviews conducted with county government officials and from document reviews conducted on the county integrated development plan of Kisumu and the end term review report of the plan period (2013-2017). From the gathered data and guided by the conceptual lens, I claim that ‘mosaic’ planning, public participation and narratives of devolution are the mechanisms by which

government uses to exercise governmental form of power in the field of development in Kisumu.

The gathered data indicates that the county integrated development plan of Kisumu, a midterm plan prepared to provide a comprehensive guide for the period 2013-2017, was ‘utopian’ like and detached from the reality. The planning was mainly conducted by external consultants and the level of participation required and/or stated in the document did not occur. Clear goals and targets were not set out affecting sectoral and annual cascading of the plan document. The revenue projection upon which a list of projects, programmes and interventions were planned was found to be unrealistic and did not materialize. The structure of the county government was not fully capable to carry out the implementation of the plan. Moreover, the monitoring and evaluation mechanism set out to follow up and trace performance was not employed. The intent and ‘vision’ of the plan that targets the welfare of the population creates a space where a form of power Foucault called governmentality operates. The role of experts in this regard is also what Tania Murray Li called problematization of development intervention, a practice by which governmental power operates in the field of development.

Public participation is considered a crucial component of development of the county both by the plan document and the interviews. Two things emerged from close investigation. First, the planning of the county integrated plan, despite the rhetoric of public participation in the document, was mainly prepared by consultants. Second, the nature of public participation that took place during the implementation phase, including during the annual development planning phases, was what Tania Murray Li termed the practice of ‘rendering technical’. The role of ‘trustees’ in defining and formulating development agendas was manifested from the interviews conducted with officials.

The 2010 constitution and the accompanying devolved structure of government has gained appreciation and acceptance according to the gathered data. Recent gains or achievements in development are also credited to this change. Again, closer look on gathered data indicated that structures and practices of the previous government are still manifest while the county government is heavily reliant on the central government. I looked at this trend as a practice of diluting political questions through narratives of development, one dimension of

the practice of ‘rendering technical’ according to Tania Murray Li’s articulation of governmentality.

The investigation in this study, as I mentioned previously, is aimed at understanding how power operates through development interventions. The findings and conclusions drawn from are by no means to undermine or discredit the development process, both the planning and implementation. Neither am I trying to offer prescriptions. Practical implications from this study mainly center in recognizing that development interventions are not apolitical process and development is a field where governmental power operates. More specifically, the study identified three mechanisms by which this governmental power operates in Kisumu county for the period 2013 to 2017.

This study could hopefully contribute to the theoretical debate surrounding the relevance of governmentality as a concept in explaining how power operates outside the western liberal world. As I tried to indicate in the theory section of this study, despite the growing interest in using governmentality to study power at a national level outside the western world and at international level, there are still debates. Lack of capacity of weak and fragile states is often cited as a reason that these non-Western countries are not capable to exercise or manifest governmental form of power. On the other hand, from Foucauldian understanding of forms of power, discipline and sovereign forms of power are those that require expansive capacity of the state to control individuals as against governmentality which uses knowledge (political economy) as an instrument of power exercise. Changes in the international political economy, especially since the end of the cold war, I would say, have enabled the non-Western world to acquire and dispense this mechanism of power more expansively. The trend in the past two decades in Africa in designing utopian like development plans and ‘visions’ that target the welfare of the population, in this case, could be a good manifest. At least we can argue that governmentalization, the trend towards governmentality as the main form of power, is taking root.

This trend merits closer scrutiny and investigation. Ethnographic studies in this regard will have advantages. Time and resource limitations have dictated this study to rely on secondary source, i.e. end term review report, to understand how the implementation of development interventions occurred in Kisumu county. Ethnographic approach will bring forth detailed accounts of the processes and

practices. Such an approach will also enable studies to capture the view of ‘subjects’. As Li (2007: 19) argues, people are not passive subjects and they contest power. This process could be captured by an ethnographic approach. The governmentalization trend, manifested through the utopian like ‘vision’ planning processes is a trend at continental level. Similar studies with wider scope , at national or regional level, will also allow us to see the bigger picture and help us to understand the trend.

Despite limitations and drawbacks, this study has made an attempt at addressing the initially formulated question ‘how are narratives of development used by the government to govern societies in the county of Kisumu, Kenya?’ Following the gathered data, the analysis indicated that ‘mosaic’ planning, public participation and narratives of devolution are the mechanisms by which government uses to exercise governmental form of power through development interventions in Kisumu.

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List of Interviews

Interview 1, county government official. 03 April 2018. Kisumu, Kenya.

Interview 2, county government official. 04 April 2018. Kisumu, Kenya.

Interview 3, county government official. 04 April 2018. Kisumu, Kenya.

Interview 4, county government official. 05 April 2018. Kisumu, Kenya.

Interview 5, county government official. 05 April 2018. Kisumu, Kenya.

Interview 6, county government official. 05 April 2018. Kisumu, Kenya.

Interview 7, county government official. 06 April 2018. Kisumu, Kenya.

Interview 8, county government official. 07 April 2018. Kisumu, Kenya.

Semi Structured Interview Guide

Introducing Aim and Nature of the Research

My name is Fisseha Tefera. This is a study being conducted as part of a masters programme study in development studies at Lund University in Sweden. The Swedish International Centre for Local Democracy (ICLD) has provided support for the field work in Kisumu, Kenya. The study aims at understanding how the narrative of a rising Africa (Kenya at country level) is used by governments to govern societies at the local level by taking the case of Kisumu county.

Confidentiality, privacy anonymity of identity of respondents

As a social research, involving the participation of human beings in data collection, there are basic ethical principles that need to be followed throughout the research process. Accordingly, for this study, to protect the interest and privacy of the research participants, any information gathered will be kept confidentially. Analysis and reporting of findings will be made anonymously. If need be, pseudo names will be used to differentiate the different respondents during analysis and reporting.

Consent

As a research participant as an interviewee, you have the right to anonymity and confidentiality of your identity. Your participation in this research is voluntary and you have the right to withdraw at any time in the process, request for explanation, and/or not replying to any question. Moreover, you also have the right to access results of this study. Depending on your preference, this interview will be recorded and additionally I will be taking notes. Otherwise, the interview can also be conducted without recording and/or taking notes. By continuing with this interview, it will be considered that you have given your informed consent for the interview.

Note: Plan period

All interview questions are focused on the time frame of the just ended second midterm plan and First County Integrated Development Plan (covering the period 20013 - 2017) in case of Kisumu, Kenya. This is due to the study's aim to investigate already completed development plan periods.

Questions/ Discussion Areas

1. Respondent background

- Position, name (optional)
- How long you worked at the decision-making role?
- Your main decision-making roles especially with regard to development planning and implementation?
- Your role in the planning and implementation of the second midterm plan and First County Integrated Development Plan (covering the period 20013 - 2017)?
- *Follow up questions*

2. General assessment of development progress

- How would you assess the development progress of the country in general and the local government in particular within the plan period as measured against the plans
- How would you assess the development progress of the country in general and the local government in particular with in the plan period as compared with the East Africa sub region and at the Africa region levels
- How would you describe and assess the role of the government (local and national), non-government organizations (local and international), private sector (local and international) in the development progress of the country in general and the local government in particular during the plan period?
- *Follow up questions*

3. Local level government and society relationship on development in general

- How do you assess the relationship between the local government and society regarding development planning and implementation during the plan period?

- How would you describe works done to increase/strengthen government - society relationship during the plan period?
- How do you view the divergence and convergence of development priorities of the local government and the society during the plan period?
- How would you evaluate society's acceptance/rejection of the development plan initially as compared to the society's feedback during/after implementation of the plan components?
- *Follow up questions*

4. Strategies, mechanisms, tools, activities of local government to ensure society's support of development plans and efforts

- What strategies, mechanisms, tools, activities etc were used to ensure that society's interests/priorities were incorporated in the development plan for the plan period? i.e. the planning process
- How were diverging development interests within the society compromised?
What kinds of strategies or mechanisms were used?
- When there are diverging development priorities between the local government and the society, what strategies, tools, mechanisms were used to negotiate/compromise?
- What strategies, mechanisms, tools, activities were employed by the local government to garner or gain support from the society towards the government's development efforts?
- How would you assess the effectiveness of these strategies, mechanisms, tools, activities?
- *Follow up questions*

5. Local level development planning, available documents and categories/types etc

- How does the planning process operate at the local level? And its relationship with national and global development goals?
- How is the progress of implementation of the plan monitored and evaluated?
- Which plan and report documents are available for the public?

- *Follow up questions*

6. Reflection on Africa Rising (Kenya rising) narrative

- To what extent do you agree that Africa in general and your country in particular is developing significantly? Why?

- *Follow up questions*

7. Additional remarks and point of discussion

- Considering the aim of this study, i.e. understanding how the narrative of development is used by governments to govern societies at the local level, are there additional points you would like to highlight and reflect up on?

- *Follow up questions*

Closing

Repeat the main points from the consent statement