

The Mission of the Church in Fighting Devolved Corruption in Kenya: Historicity, Milestones and Emerging Challenges

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Abstract

The church has a calling and a mission to fulfill in the society. Historically, Kenya realized its Constitutional dispensation in 2010, which entrenched a devolved system of a two-tier government: one at the national level and the other at the 47 Counties. The church has contributed immensely towards the realization of the devolved system of government. This article sets out to analyze the church's mission in the society, corruption being top on the agenda. The article examines the reasons for the runaway corruption when most Kenyans profess Christianity as a religion that condemns corruption. Other related corruption social ills and practices bedeviling the country both at the national level and the Counties include but not limited to, bad governance, negative ethnicity, and impunity. Which begs the question, is the church still the conscience of the state or has it been compromised? Methodologically, the article harnesses on existing literature and interviews from politicians and church leaders. Further, this work utilizes missiological models and orientations to draw challenges and discussions. Findings and conclusions have been drawn from the discussion emanating from literature review and interviews. In summary, corruption has been devolved in the counties because the same people who were in the national government are now in working in the counties, little checks and balances in a system that is corrupt.

Keywords: Corruption, Church, Mission, Governance, Constitution, Devolution

Introductory background

Devolution in Kenya was meant to check corruption at national level but not to devolve it. Since the colonial period, Kenya has experienced bad governance leading to indicators such as poverty, corruption, negative ethnicity, post election violence, inequalities, and economic stagnation, among others escalating (Cotrell & Ghai, 2007; CKRC, 2000). The one-party regime of Mzee Jomo Kenyatta and Daniel arap Moi could not deliver Kenyans to the Promised Land where there is no ignorance, disease, and poverty, the three enemies that they had pledged to fight. The much-expected multiparty democracy ushered in 1992 has not settled the grievances of Kenyans. Their hope became roused in the *Majimbo* or devolution, a concept that channels national resources, and governance to the grassroots (Mwenda, 2010). Devolution is a political arrangement where political administrative and fiscal power is distributed to semi-autonomous territorial and sub national units (Muia, 2008). This seems better compared to centralized government where power is the hands of few people (Mwenda, 2010). Devolution was the magic that was meant to deal with corruption and other national vices.

The history of devolution in Kenya goes back several decades after independence. According to Muia (2008), Devolution is not a new concept in Kenya. Kenya came full circle from pre-independence days when a form of devolution, then known as *Majimbo*, was introduced briefly in 1963 but scrapped soon after independence. *Majimbo* came following intense political battles between two independence parties — Kenya African National Union (Kanu) and Kenya African Democratic Union (Kadu) — as they negotiated the independence Constitution in Lancaster.

After years of sustained demands for the reinstatement of regional governments, devolution has taken root in the country, with 47 county governments and the national government. Devolution was at the core of the formation of the Constitution of Kenya Review Commission (CKRC) that was headed by Prof Yash Pal Ghai between 2000 and 2004 but pushed by church leaders like Dr David Gitari, Rev Timothy Njoya among others (Cotrell & Ghai, 2007).

The mission of the church to fight corruption and advocate for good governance set early in the Kenya history by these church leaders. The Constitution of Kenya Review Act 2000 required the CKRC to consider people's participation through the devolution of power; respect for ethnic and regional diversity and communal rights including the right of communities to organise and participate in cultural activities and the expression of their identities. It was to review the place of local government, the degree of the devolution of power to local authorities, and options for federal and unitary systems (CKRC, 2000).

Cotrell & Ghai (2007) contends that majority of Kenyans who gave their views to the CKRC team demanded a devolved government to check widespread alienation due to the concentration of power in the national government that was seen as corrupt and serving interests of a few people in government.

Mwenda (2010) argues that the feeling of being marginalized and neglected, deprived of resources and victimized for political or ethnic affiliations intensified the push for devolution. Areas that did not support the president were penalized in terms of development and resources and discriminated against. There was particular resentment of the Provincial Administration, which was accused of abuse of powers bestowed upon its officers.

The local authorities had failed to deliver services and had been turned into dens of corruption. This debate rekindled memories of the maneuvers that almost derailed independence after the Lancaster constitutional conference turned into a factional show down over whether Majimbo could be entrenched in the Constitution.

For example, while Kadu, led by Ronald Ngala pushed for regional governments, Kanu's Jomo Kenyatta who later became the founding President, his deputy Jaramogi Oginga Odinga and Secretary-General Tom Mboya, were opposed to the system. Ronald Ngala and his team who included Mr. Martin Shikuku, Masinde Muliro, Peter Okondo and William Murgor insisted there would be no Constitution, and therefore independence, without Majimbo. They were backed by colonial administrators – Wilfred Havelock, Michael Blundell and R.S. Alexander, the forces behind the push for Majimbo (Mwenda, 2010).

The acrimony that followed delayed the Lancaster conference for almost four months. The conference started on February 12, 1962 but lasted until May, when Kadu eventually had their way. Havelock and Blundell had convinced Kadu leaders that an independent Kenya with a Kikuyu and Luo majority would marginalise the smaller tribes. They argued that the only way to water down an all-powerful presidency and provincial administration was to form regional units (Mwenda, 2010). From this perspective and observation, the centralized government was systematically corrupt, lacked accountability, and only a few people close to the presidency benefited.

By pushing for Majimbo, the colonialists argued that the British Westminster parliamentary model, which they wanted Kenya to adopt, gave too much power to the majority.

They wanted the transfer of significant powers to regions, largely at the provincial level. The primary reason was to eliminate the Provincial Administration. But although defeated by Kadu in entrenching Majimbo in the Constitution, Kenyatta and his team did not give up the fight. When he eventually took overpower as the first Prime Minister and later as President in 1963, the Senate repealed the Majimbo clause in the Constitution in 1964. (CKRC, 2000).

The result was concentration of power in the presidency that eventually led to the political struggle that many have referred to as the Second Liberation. While Daniel arap Moi, a former Kadu member who joined Kanu and succeeded Kenyatta as President in 1978, the Majimbo debate largely died although he implemented some Majimbo policies through the District Focus for Rural Development programme (Mwenda, 2010). It's clear that past regimes administration was corrupt in the way they dished out resources based on ethnicity and political patronage and that the church stood against such vices.

Against that background, Prof Ghai's CKRC (Cotrell & Ghai, 2007) established detailed proposals for devolution, beginning with its objectives, and covering powers and institutions of devolved units, and their relationship with the national government, including funding for devolved activities. Several matters of detail were left to be dealt with in legislation.

But it did propose structures, right down to village level, which were discussed by delegates at the Bomas of Kenya, led by National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK), Catholics and other faith-based groups. One group favoured the district, the other the region; however, this division did not derail the mission of the church on corruption. (NCCCK, 2013). The CKRC had chosen the district but found some coordinating role for the province.

At Bomas a compromise was struck by giving provinces somewhat enhanced powers. 2010 was the year the new dawn, the dispensation of the new constitution happened. However, there must be political will to spearhead constitutional implementation to completion and allow citizens participation either to amend none working elements or give consensus. This will keep in check devolved corruption. The church was at the very center of this struggle as summarized below (Cotrell & Ghai, 2007).

The mission of the church in society

According to Mead, (1993) the church is the agent and an instrument of God's mission on earth. God in history has been actively interacting with his people. Thus, the character of the church, her vocation, her message and success of her missionary endeavor forces her to engage in conflicts and tensions of this world. In all these, God is concerned with the downtrodden (Luke 4; 18ff). The concept of holistic mission that is evangelism and social action is urgent in our world today.

The church in this twenty first Century has to embrace integral mission because of the challenges she is facing today: poverty, terrorism and insecurity, plundering of public funds by corrupt individuals, bad governance and negative ethnicity among others Costas (1974). With all these evils in our midst, the world is challenging the total task of the church. But which church are we referring to here?

The church is the body of Christ (2 Cor 5:17, Rom 8:1, Phil 3:9, Eph 1:4). God's people (1 Peter 2:10, 5:10-11). The mission of the church is to the world (Mat. 28:18-20, Mk 16:15, Acts 1:8).

The world of man has to do with his contemporary context: the political structures, social institutions, cultures and world views, Costas (1974). The church is also an institution. It has certain specific activities, rites, roles, goals, agenda distinct from other structures of society, (Acts 2:46), a multitude of men and women from all walks of life without distinction of race, nationality, economic and educational background. A community gathered from every tribe, tongue, and nation. It is a people called out of darkness into God's revealed and redeeming grace in Jesus Christ, to be God's own people, Christ's own body and the temple of the Holy Spirit in situations of everyday life. This is the root meaning of the church-Ecclesia "called out". But called out for what purpose? (Mead, 1993).

There are three main calling of the church: first to worship or do liturgical purpose (Rom 12:1, I Peter 2:5, Rev. 7:14:15. Secondly, the missionary purpose, (1 Peter 2:9). The church has been sent; from the Latin word "mission" into the world. Justice and righteousness remain top at the church's agenda. Justice and peace-shalom completes the soundness and well-being of a harmonious society.

The church has to give hope in a situation of hopelessness and suffering. At times justice and peace comes at the price of suffering (Isa 52:1). Thirdly, the Prophetic calling: to proclaim the wonderful deeds of God in salvation history. Lastly is the priestly role. It is against this backdrop that this work sets out to analyse the role of the church in fighting devolved corruption, unmasking powers opposed to God's work, Eph 3:10 (Mead, 1993).

Cotrell & Ghai (2007) The church in Kenya, as represented by, (NCCCK, Catholic, and Evangelical fraternity) leadership have always come together for a common purpose such as: presenting the full Gospel of Christ as a means to holistic salvation hence total liberation such as physical, spiritual, psychological, and with justice in tackling (Poverty, oppressive structures both cultural and political, sickness among others).

In the 1980s, the church was very vocal against ills committed by the government such as corruption. After devolution, the church has not been very vocal as expected. It should be noted that corrupt individuals are still captives of sin and Satan. If Kenyans are corrupt then it is Christians who are corrupt because they are the majority holding key positions in government and in politics. Given this mission, the church has been in the forefront through NCCCK and Catholic leadership in their contributions of constitutional drafts that bore the devolved system of governance. This mission has to continue glowing even in the counties (NCCCK, 2013).

Statement of the problem

The church has a mission or a role in the society to fight sin and related corrupt practices. The church was instrumental in the multiparty democracy and devolution exercise. However, this same spirit seems extinguished. Moses Omusolo in the Standard newspaper, 11th July, 2019 bluntly puts it that, “Kenyans blame devolution for runaway corruption. In this study, a third of the people sampled said that devolution has led to increased graft in the devolved units.

D’Arcy (2016) in another study in Kenya affirms that devolution and decentralization was to bring about accountability, transparency and equal distribution of resources but this has not been the case.

It is expected that the intervention of the church through her mission and as the conscience of the state would continue the historic fight against corruption but rampant corruptions leaves us questioning “So where is the prophetic voice of the church against evils like corruption”? The church was in the front line in the fight for democratic space, multiparty advocacy and devolution. It has to continue spearheading her mission for total implementation of the Constitution and fighting against ills like corruption, inequalities, and negative ethnicity. Good governance is the focus of the church in politics because the church believes in God the King who delegates leadership to humanity.

The church must set the standards and give Biblical response to contextual questions in Kenya, and the world at large. This article is a wakeup call to the church in Kenya to proactively play her holistic role in the devolved system of government of monitoring budgets, oversee full constitutional implementation, call the government to accountability as the watch dog of the people, fight negative ethnicity and retain her rightful position and past glory in the same spirit of earlier church leaders. The following objectives guided this paper to critically establish solutions to the problem stated herein.

Objectives

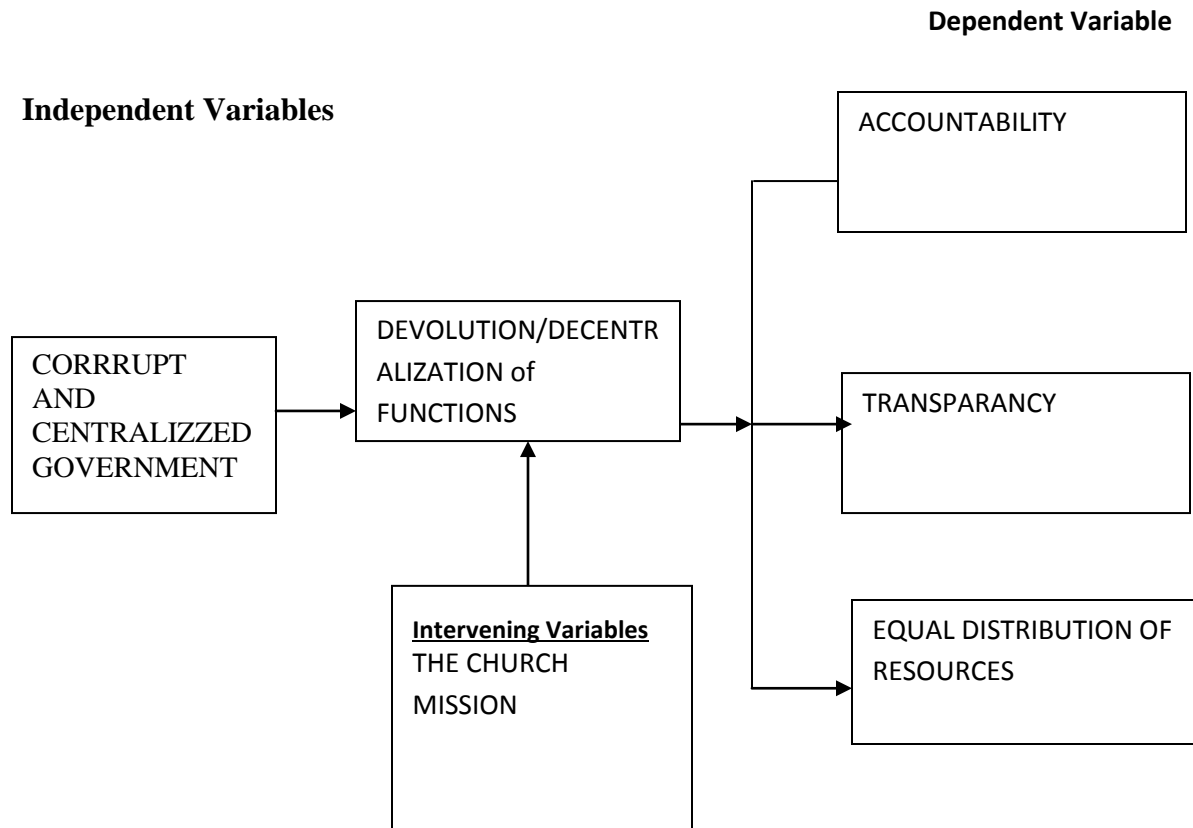
The paper was guided by the following objectives:

1. To explore the historicity of devolution in Kenya.
2. To discuss milestones of the mission of the church in Kenya’s politics and her role in tackling corruption.
3. To examine corruption as a Challenges facing the devolved system of government.

4. To suggest mitigation measures and recommendations against devolved corruption in Kenya.

The above objectives were instrumental in formulating the conceptual framework below that ties together all the variables of the study and gives a summary of the whole paper.

Figure: 2.1: Conceptual Framework



The Kenyan government before devolution was seen as corrupt and with a centralized system of administration. Through the intervening of the church-NCCK, CATHOLIC, and other players, the aim was to create a new constitution which was realized in 2010 with a devolved government hoped to bring about accountability, transparency and equal distribution of resources among others.

According to D'Arcy and Cornell, (2016), Kenya devolved certain functions and powers to the counties as a corrective measure to its underlying political shortcomings such as state overcentralisation, which allowed certain ethnic groups to dominate politics, and eventually led to election violence, I.e. 2007/08 is often cited as one of the reasons for introducing devolution, in order to promote a sense of inclusion among the multitude of ethnic groups. To further achieve the above conceptual analysis, the following methods were undertaken.

Methodology

This study adopted a qualitative design and descriptive methods of research. The area of the study was Nairobi and its environs though data from other units like where corruption cases had been cited like in Busia, Machakos, Kisumu and Siaya counties among others were considered for discussions. Library research and existing literature formed part of this study.

Secondary Data was collected from class discussions, politicians, church leaders and Christians Using the following instruments; interviews, focused group discussions and questionnaires. A total of 120 respondents were sampled through purposive sampling procedures where individual respondents were sample, 10 per County of the 4 selected targeting key informants like County governors, MCAs, church priests and local administrators. 4 groups of 20 persons were reached through focused group discussions in the 4 Counties/units. For data analysis SPSS methods were used supported by theological orientation model below.

Data Presentation, Discussions and Findings

The data herein is a summary of this study selectively picked to represent the views of respondents on the role of the church, functions of devolved system and National government, importance of devolution, challenges and mitigations.

Findings on the role of the Church towards devolution and corruption in Kenya; Historicity

Over 50 percent respondents affirm that devolution was the most important thing that happened in this Country and that the church was the cornerstone on which constitutional process towards devolved governance began during the famous second liberation and agitation for multiparty democracy. Some of the member churches the study established had substantial contribution in advocating for devolved system included the National Council of churches of Kenya (NCCCK)ⁱ, Catholic Church and the umbrella of evangelical fraternity.

The NCCCK played a significant role. NCCCK has 44 member churches and organizations, who seek to facilitate the attainment of a united, just, peaceful and sustainable society. Plausibly, it was found out by over 50% respondents that the church-NCCCK, the 1999 *Ufungamano* initiative and the National convention Planning committee (NCPC-NCEC), the Inter-Parties parliamentary Group (IPPG) and broke the ground for the devolved system. As whether the church in her milestone achieved her mission and continues to oversee the implementation of the new constitution, overwhelming majority, 60% said that the church leaders are no longer vocal like the ones in the 90s.

The structure and function of devolved system of governance and how it devolves corruption

The study found out that in 2010 Constitution largely followed the Bomas scheme. The Committee of Experts which finally delivered a new supreme law to Kenyans was faced with the same dilemmas that had vexed CKRC and Bomas, namely the levels and numbers of devolved units. At first it supported the idea of three levels (unlike the five of the CKRC). But later it opted for a single lower level to avoid a “complex system”. The units at that level were labeled counties and their boundaries largely followed district boundaries drawn as part of the independence arrangements. The draft constitution with devolution at the county level was overwhelmingly passed at the referendum with more than 60 percent of the total votes. Kenya finally had a Constitution that devolved power and resources to the grassroots, a feat that had remained elusive for decades.

Schedule 4 of the Constitution spells out functions to be devolved to county governments similar to those at the National level in the following ministries: Agriculture, County health services (excluding national referral hospitals such as Kenyatta National Hospital in Nairobi County and Moi Teaching and Referral hospital in Uasin Gishu County. Pollution control, Cultural activities, County transport, Animal control and welfare, Trade development and regulation, County planning and development, Pre-primary education, Implementation of specific national government policies, County public works, Fire fighting services and disaster. There were New Institutions in devolved system. The devolved system has come with new and restructured institutions meant to serve various roles. In another research by Aketch, (2011), not all resources as per policy have been transferred or devolved to the counties.

Public Service Commission is reformed and constitutionally entrenched. But its role in relation to county public servants will be limited to hearing appeals from decisions of county Public Service Boards (Article 234). Forty-seven county Public Service Boards have been established under the County Governments Act. Board members have been appointed by the governor of each county with the approval of the County Assembly and enjoy the same protection from political dismissal as the members of a constitutional commission do, under the Constitution. The role of a board is to establish and abolish offices, appoint public servants, and exercise discipline over them (County Governments Act, sections 57-59).

Against this provision, the studies established that some County governments have arbitrarily tried to hire excess or relatives and above all suspend employees whom they disagree with politically. Other studies for instance by Fonshell (2018), came up with same findings that the nature and the function of the devolved system supports corruption in her paper, “corruption devolved” It was established in this study that Some county Governors have been taken to courts for misappropriation of county monies, such counties are, Busia, Migori, Machakos, Nairobi and others are on the line. Unfortunately, now than before, money is plundered both at national and county levels. This proves the perception among 40 people sampled that corruption has been devolved in the decentralized units of governance. This begs the question “is devolution a curse or a blessing to Kenyans?”

County governments’ revenue

According to Musgrave (1959) and the Kenya Constitution, the national government gets its revenue from the four main sources, namely income tax, excise tax, value-added tax and import

and export duty. The county governments are supposed to get a minimum 15 per cent from national government allocation according to the Constitution (the Jubilee government) Being a sensitive matter, has given the Commission for Revenue Allocation (CRA) worked on a formula to help it share the revenue among national and the 47 governments.

It was agreed that the Counties allocations will be 15% of the total national revenue but this has been reviewed upward over the years. The study established that there are many cases of corruption at the county level hence corruption has been devolved. Like at the national government where revenue allocations are done mostly by members of parliament, participation of people at the counties is a matter of procedure where advertisement is done in local dailies and few people get to know about it or participate. Similarly, the MCAs appetite for money at the County is equal to that of national parliament according to findings in this study.

Expected Benefits of devolution in Kenya

70 percent respondents said that there is value for money in the devolved system. Devolution is the most important aspect in Kenya's Constitution. The study established that Devolution is expected to help Kenyans reap the following:

1. Equitable distribution of resources across the country, especially to regions that have been marginalized for decades.
2. Management of governance and public service to the smallest units of the counties.
3. Timely and efficient delivery of public services such as health care, education and infrastructure.
4. Allowing Kenyans to take charge of their development initiatives from the grass—root levels through prioritizing of their needs.
5. Avoiding political tensions at the national level by devolving leadership to the countryside.

Social implications of the study

The benefits above give way to the following social implications of the study: The Constitution gives the county governments the executive and legislative authority and mandate to raise revenue, craft policies and make own budgets for the purpose of devolving services to the people. County governments are each administered by a County Executive unit under an elected governor.

The two levels of government, though distinct, are not based on absolute autonomy but rather on interdependence and cooperation. While Section 6 (2) of the Constitution emphasizes distinctiveness and interdependence, section 189 calls for closer liaison, consultation and exchange of information between the national government and the counties because Kenya remains one unitary state despite devolution. Section 7 of the Devolution Chapter establishes the Intergovernmental Relations Act, 2013, which creates key structures, namely a national and County Governments Coordinating Summit.

Despite this the national government still micromanages functions and money meant for Counties for example in health sector, the government retains money to buy Cancer machines, but lacks accountability on the cost of the gadgets. When machines are not delivered for money cut in the budget or costs inflated, who bears accountability? The study found out that section 7 of the devolution Act is not working. Decentralization has increasingly been adopted worldwide as a guarantee against discretionary use of power. It has also been touted as increasing efficiency in social service provision, by allowing for a closer match between public policies and the desires and needs of local constituencies.

Kenya's Constitution entrenches devolved government by guaranteeing a minimum unconditional transfer to counties under the new dispensation. This was to reduce the powerful presidency, check marginalization at the Coast and north Eastern Kenya (Oates, 1972).

Counties will be better placed than the national government to deliver social services, because they have specific challenges and the local knowledge to address them. Besides the envisaged improvements in service delivery, people will have the opportunity to make decisions themselves rather than following directions imposed by a central government.

With A constitutional guarantee of unconditional transfers from the centre, Kenya's counties will have the means and the autonomy to begin to address local needs, and their citizens will be more able to hold them accountable for their performance. Forty – seven county Assembly Service Boards have been established under the County Governments Act. The Boards have four members, one of whom is from outside the assembly. They are responsible for running the assembly, establishing offices and recruiting staff, and preparing the budget for the County Assembly (County Governments Act, section 12). The politics of devolution explain the high intensity of hopes and expectations that have been pinned to it. It also means that there are high risks if expectations are not met. So, after five years, there are many challenges than met expectations.

Challenges in the devolved system of government

The challenges of devolution and democracy are the churches challenges because devolution is the brainchild of the church. The NCKK and fraternity have a mandate to ensure a just society in their Vision and mission: Vision of the Council; One church; United in faith and mission

witnessing to Jesus Christ. Mission of the Council: To facilitate the united mission of the Christian Church in Kenya, the Council shall:

1. Promote fellowship and ecumenism;
2. Nurture a common understanding of the Christian faith and mission;
3. Build the capacities of the membership;
4. Enhance the creation of a just and sustainable society.
5. Uphold its corporate health, identity, heritage and sustainability.

The church has not lived to her call to implement these mission roles. Whatever has been done is not good enough. When Kenyans passed the 2010 constitution that entrenched devolution unit, they were joyous. That joy is fast fading a way. The main challenges are constitutional in nature. The Constitution of Kenya passed in 2010 formed the key governance instrument. Yet, there is still limited adherence to this legal framework and the culture of the rule of law itself is generally uncertain. The space for basic freedoms and rights appears to be receding by day as are the principles of good governance. The Constitution itself guarantees good governance yet there are many challenges. For instance, Article 10 of the Constitution sets out key values and principles of Governance. (Mead, 1993)

On accountability

The year 2015 has witnessed the worst plundering of public funds than before. A number of cabinet secretaries have been forced to step a side for scrutiny and findings. However, some were left for what seems as selective justice within the government.

Article 174 sets out the objects of devolution to include amongst others, to promote democratic and accountable exercise of power, to give powers of self- governance to the people and enhance the participation of the people in the exercise of the powers of the State and in making decisions affecting them. Article 201 sets out the principles of public finance providing for openness and accountability, public participation in financial matters. This is not yet happening. The infamous dealing with the Eurobond is a case in point in 2015. (Musgrave, 1959)

Article 232 sets out the principles of public service which include: involvement of the people in policy making, accountability for administrative acts, transparency and provision to the public of timely, accurate information and to publish and publicize any important information affecting the nation.

Devolution

The constitution of Kenya 2010 created various institutions and a new governance system with two levels of governments – National and County. Essentially, the devolved structure was meant to address long standing and entrenched marginalization and inequalities in the distribution of power and resources. As we know devolution created 47 County Governments which is a significant dynamic in Kenya's development agenda.

It was found out that since inception devolution, Kenyans have been treated to utter display of petty power plays; clamour for and display of power; rampant corruption, misuse of public resources and infighting between County Assemblies and the County Executive; the Senate and National Assembly.

This infighting has resulted in Governors and the Executive becoming vulnerable to manipulation by Members of County Assemblies (MCAs). Counties have spent considerably on expensive overseas trips under the guise of benchmarking. (Karanja, 2015)

We therefore must work towards improved Inter-governmental relations; Budget and Economic management through legal and policy reforms; eliminate the false national and county governments separation, focus on service provision not elite profiting; end the intergovernmental quarrels. Further strong oversight and accountability for funds and functions must be enhanced.

Health: 11% of the revenue is supposed to go to the Counties. The national government has not been releasing funds in time causing riots demonstrations and deaths of the sick. Finally, according to the research by Aketch, (2011) the state institutions have been captured by political processes, leading to weak oversight institutional framework, weak Constitutional legal framework and policy at both national and county governments.

Corruption

Corruption remains a big challenge nationally and in devolved units. Devolution was to check on corruption but it has been devolved to the Counties. Peoples greedy and an attitude for more have not changed. Transparency International ranked Kenya at 25/177 in its 2014 Corruption Perception Index. Our news now is full of financial impropriety. Key institutions such as the Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission, Judiciary, Parliament and Executive among other public institutions have been implicated. Mismanagement of public resources and weak fiscal management have resulted in huge losses, corruption deals and increased costs of governance. The budget making and utilization process is shrouded in secrecy and non-accountability.

The lament by both the office of Controller of Budget and Auditor General is all an all too familiar song with close to 30% of funds being pilfered annually. This undermines the tenets of good governance. In my view, this rottenness must be dealt with by all. Marimba (2015) reminds Kenyans that at independence, European Countries said that Africans are incapable of governing themselves, citing relationships between corruption and leadership. Because of corruption, the independent agenda of fighting the three enemies; ignorance, disease, and poverty is still the main agenda even today, over fifty years of independence. He further contends that the problems of Africa are bad governance, culture, corruption and political correctness.

Corruption is sliding out of control according to Transparency International (2015) annual index where Kenya is 145th out 174 nations from 136 in 2013.

Elections

Another front of democratic governance that requires serious engagement is the electoral processes. Election management which invariably include areas focusing the election management body, registration of voters, civic and voter education; political parties management and nomination; political campaigns; the polling day requirements; supervision including vote casting, observation/monitoring, tallying, results management; the justice sector and closures are critical means to good/lack of governance.

The last general elections of March 2013 were largely characterized as peaceful by most of the observers (Carter Centre Elections report 2013). However, some aspects of procedure and management of electoral body and Political Parties have remained subjects of public debate and calls for reform. Other key issues requiring trashing towards elections 2017 include:

clearing the air on the election date, the definition of election term and the 2/3 gender principle. In the 2013 report, election malpractices are done in the counties. Counties that are dominated by certain parties corrupt their nomination processes as early as county levels before national tallying.

The Social Cohesion Discourse

Further to the foregoing issues around devolution and elections is the fact, that Kenya remains divided along ethnic lines. Kenyans first identify with their tribes and religion before they identify with their nation or the Church. One of the factors causing the strong ethnic identity situation is that tribes are used as channels to acquire resources; political mobilization and address problems. One's ethnicity opens doors, and also closes some. The National cohesion and Integration commission (NCIC) work on social cohesion index of 2013 alludes to these realities. Social media has been awash with hate messages that tell of a society that is on the edge. As the Country prepares for general election in 2022 and thereafter, there must be convincing engagement on national values dialogue and work very seriously to enhance cohesion.

Summary, conclusion and recommendations

Kenya has devolved certain functions and powers to the counties as a corrective to its underlying political shortcomings such as state overcentralisation, which allowed certain ethnic groups to dominate politics and greedily enjoy the national cake alone. Corruption and nepotism can create a political inequality that is unfavorable to bringing services to all citizens in a county (D'Arcy and Cornell, 20116), for example. Ethnic block voting has been identified as a prevailing factor in Kenya's political landscape that has limited people to appoint their most qualified candidates.

The voting patterns have been devolved to counties but now not only on ethnic but also on clanism and sub-ethnic affiliations. Notably, process of decentralization, devolution of laws and policies in Kenya has always been influenced and informed by the country's political history and culture [41]. Key features of this history include the political heritage of the main political parties and key political actors in the country over time, the perceived injustices and inequalities across different tribal and geographical populations and the experience of political violence especially after the 2007 general election. (Aketch, 2011). Seemingly as stated earlier, Kenyans blame devolution for uncontrolled corruption.

The mission of the church; donor support and corruption

After the 2013 elections, donors have been supporting (NCCCK, Catholic Church and organizations) to fill financial gaps in the country. These funds are for monitoring Budget, Constitutional implementation, advocacy etc. This is because churches have structures, and the congregations. This good gesture must also be accounted for by these churches. Areas that are dire include: devolved plundering of public funds, ethnicity, sex education, family planning and awareness.

Therefore, the following recommendations are in line with the mission of the church;

The NCCCK and other like - minded churches must enhance their resolve to empower the people in governance processes of the country, spread her facilitation in advocacy and influencing policy and legislations; both civic and voter education; social audit and budget tracking to champion accountability and transparency; election observation and advocacy; healing, peace and security; dialogue and mediation among other programs.

On Church state engagement on social action and affirmative action, it recommends that the NCCK and other churches are engaging the government on *PESA Mashinani* for more funds at least 45% of revenue to go to the Counties. They are also giving scholarships in education, provision of affordable health services in missionary/church run hospitals and dispensaries through Meds, CHALK. They also offer emergency refugee services in Kakuma, drought in Northern Kenya, flooding in several parts of the Country, though at times not noticed. According to the first governor of Kiambu, William Kabogo,

The church should reject blood money or money gotten from corruption proceeds.

Corruption is planned during budgeting process.

Church leaders argue that it is difficult to identify money from corruption proceeds. But corrupt individuals are known by church members and should not be invited to donate *Harambee* money. Affirmative action: this is a pillar of equity in the constitution. Church needs to push further for inclusivity to deal with gender injustices and disparities. The church should also champion the fight against Female genital mutilation (FGM), and Negative ethnicity to achieve a constitutional requirement of National cohesion and integration has to be de-politicized to function independently than its now.

The government on Referendum; for devolution to succeed it has to take a long process. Implementation of the Constitution is mandatory. Very little is happening to achieve this. The Constitution is a people's constitution and for any amendment to occur, citizens must participate. This calls for a national dialogue or referendum. The president has not initiated this so far. The Okoa Kenya led by Opposition parties by 2015 November had already submitted their applications to IEBC. This is the way forward to ensure that devolution is implemented through consensus building and people's participation.

The constitution provides for a referendum after five years to check on functions, and elements that are problematic. The church has to finish the mandate it started by calling for a referendum.

The government to Deal with corruption through rule of law; the threat of corruption remains high as long as those accused of corruption go unpunished. The presidency must lead the pack, the citizenry must demand greater accountability, and the civil society and media must play their watchdog role as independent institutions to ruthlessly act on fiscal indiscipline.

Marimba (2015) affirms that Kenya has a transformative constitution that restores sovereignty to the people. The leadership and integrity chapter 6/73 of Constitution (2010), raises bar on ethical leadership: state and public officers to exercise authority that promotes public interest, conduct themselves ethically in a way that brings honor to the Nation and office. Unfortunately, the EACC Commissioners were haunted out of office by corrupt politicians and remains a shell with executive and technical staff only. Even though it is supposed to enforce Ch. Six, combat corruption and economic crime, oversee compliance and enforcement of the leadership and integrity Act 2012, has no prosecutorial powers and their efforts are always scuttled by the DPP and Courts. However, it's expected to reinforce values through education and sensitization by partnering with faith-based organizations, sponsors and civil society.

To avoid corruption and complete devolution process in order to achieve accountability, transparency and equity of resources, the following should be done:

1. There is need for strong legal reforms
 2. Citizens should act against vices not just complain
 3. Citizens should report crimes. Ethical leadership should concern all-church included.
- Proverbs 14: 34 states: *the righteous shall exalt a nation not politicians.*

4. vi) Citizens should be responsible. Avoid short cuts when seeking services and if you break the law, go to Court avoid bribing
5. Mainstream values and integrity right from the family, education, etc
6. The church should preach against corruption and engage law enforcing agencies publicly. Silent whispers by senior church leaders to political leadership are a sign that they have been compromised.

Lastly, “Kenya doesn’t need a budget of 3 trillion where a third of it is stolen. They put lots of money in the budget to steal”, says one of the top leadership of COTU, in an interview. (Name withheld). Much of the borrowed funds is stolen through corrupt individuals for instance in parastatals like Kenya pipeline, National Youth Service, agriculture among others. Kenyans need prudent borrowing

Conclusion

From the above foregoing, it is clear that corruptions and related vices have been devolved into the counties. The loopholes of the weak system in the government have basically remained the same both at national and county government. The mentality to loot with the slogan it is our time to eat is still uncontrolled either by the many commissions put in place like the Anti-corruption or the judiciary, leave alone the church leadership that Kenyans had faith in her mission. Seemingly, after delivering the baby of devolution, the church seems to have left her core mandate to the politicians who cannot oversight themselves. This article is a wakeup call for Christians to their divine role in the promotion of governance. Daniel 1:20 states: *God’s people are endowed with wisdom*. Similarly, Proverbs 29:2 states: *God wants the righteous to rule*. Christians as the salt and light of the world should lead proactively.

But the Church alone cannot oversight or succeed in fighting graft. Let all individuals, government agencies, civil organizations unite in this fight. Be your brother's keeper. Kenyans should be the first to carry out lifestyle audit of our neighbors and report suspicious individuals to relevant authorities for action. Above all total implementation of the constitution in letter and in spirit might double efforts to fight corruption. This needs a government with a political will to address and synergize the operations of various agencies given the mandate to do so. (Calamai, L. 2009).

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