1. In Kenya, social policies play a dual role: they soften the image of the government and strengthen the position of the ruling elite. (Chapter 2)

2. Relations between donors and the Kenyan government involve constant negotiation and the establishment of institutional structures that allow the Kenyan government to pretend to be doing as it is told while actually fulfilling the ruling elite’s interests. (Chapters 3 and 5)

3. Donor countries purport to know better in order to maintain unequal power relations between donors and the Kenyan government. (Chapters 3 and 5)

4. Donors favour apolitical and technical interventions that follow neo-liberal assumptions regarding the use of public expenditure and decentralization as well as allowing for the portrayal of an uncritical and idealized civil society. (Chapters 4 and 6)

5. Donors are interested in disbursing large amounts of aid, but are less concerned with aid implementation. (Chapter 7)

6. Ruling elites use ethnic politics to determine who benefits and who are excluded.

7. Social provisioning involves formal and informal redistribution mechanisms.

8. Ethnic groups are not homogeneous entities.

9. State-society relations are constantly redefining the symbols of ethnic identity

10. The aid system strengthens the position of the ruling elite.

11. An individual can have a multiplicity of identities, especially if she has been subject to excessive caffeine intake — as the case of this PhD candidate illustrates.