

**CONTRIBUTION OF CONSOCIATIONAL DEMOCRACY IN ADDRESSING  
ETHNO- POLITICAL CONFLICTS: CASE OF TANA RIVER COUNTY,  
KENYA**

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**Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of the  
Degree of Master of Science in Governance, Peace and Security in the  
Department of Governance, Peace and Security Studies at the School of  
Humanities and Social Sciences of the Africa Nazarene University**

**June 2022**

**DECLARATION**

I declare that this document and the research that they describe are my original work and that they have not been presented in any other university for academic work.



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16J06DMGP001



Date

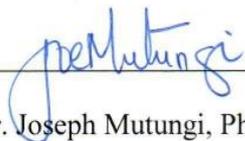
This research was conducted under our supervision and is submitted with our approval as university supervisors.



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**DEDICATION**

I declare that this thesis and the content described therein is my original work and it has not been presented in any other university for examination or consideration for any academic qualification.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would not have made it to this far were it not for the direct and indirect input and support of various people and entities that I am highly indebted to. First, I wish to thank the Almighty God for the opportunity He accorded me to be a graduate student at the Africa Nazarene University. His grace and providence in the pursuit of my studies has been sufficient.

I am also grateful to my supervisors Dr. Simon Muthomi and Dr. Joseph Mutungi for their immense guidance throughout the proposal and thesis development period. Your direction, insight, corrections and objective critique of the research drafts as well as availability for consultation put me on track and were of immense value to the success of this study. Additionally, I acknowledge my lecturers, staff of Africa Nazarene University and fellow course mates for their support during my studies.

Further, I wish to extend my appreciation to my family members especially my parents Mr. Jonathan and Mrs. Josephine Ndambuki, sisters Caroline, Lucy, Grace and my brothers Joshua and the late Manda for being a source of moral encouragement during the study period. Lastly, I am thankful to my beloved children Grace Mutheu, Leslie Ndungwa and Jonathan Jamal for their patience and colossal support during my research work. Your unwavering and unquantifiable understanding and love during the days I would burn the midnight oil really spirited me up to putting this work together successfully.

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## ABSTRACT

The use consociational democracy in addressing ethno-political conflicts in Kenya is a big concern. In spite of the adoption of consociational democracy model whose principles of inclusivity, proportionality and segment autonomy have been argued as the pathway to addressing conflict drivers in multi-ethnic societies, politically motivated conflicts still persist in Kenya. This study sought to examine the contribution of the consociational model of democracy used in Tana River County, Kenya in addressing ethno-political conflicts. The specific objectives were: to establish the extent of application of the pillars of consociational democracy as practiced in the management of ethno-political conflicts in Tana River County, to assess the effectiveness of consociational democracy in addressing ethno-political conflicts and to determine the challenges and opportunities of consociational democracy in addressing ethno-political conflicts in Tana River County. The study was guided by Democratic and pluralist theories to explain the contribution of consociational democracy in managing ethno-political conflicts in Tana River County. The study adopted a descriptive cross-sectional research design. The target population comprised of adult household heads, religious leaders, political leaders, selected government officials, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and Community Based Organizations' (CBOs) representatives, from which a sample size of 408 was obtained. A questionnaire and interviews were used to collect data from the respondents. Descriptive statistics such as frequency counts and percentages were used to analyse quantitative data, which was presented using tables, charts and graphs. Content analysis was used for qualitative data, organized into themes based on research objectives and reported using narratives and verbatim quotes. The study found out that older household heads were actively engaged in Consociational democracy in Tana River County, Kenya (57.4%) as opposed to younger household heads. The study also found that consociational democracy had led to inclusion of most ethnic groups in the county in political leadership and governance (60.2%), thus addressing politically instigated ethnic conflicts in the county. The study further found that there were political differences in conflict resolution which led to lack of diversity and inclusivity in power sharing (90.3%). Consequently, the study concluded that there was lack of community participation in the choice of negotiators, and some representatives made unrealistic demands which slowed down negotiations. The study recommends that the youth and women should be involved in political power-sharing negotiations in the county. The study also recommends that the power sharing-negotiating teams should always be ready to compromise their positions to solve conflicts easily. The study findings may be useful to the policy makers at both levels of government to employ an all-inclusive and participatory political and governance process as a way of addressing ethno-political conflicts.

## OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

**Adult Household Head** In this study, adult household head refers to one of the members of the household recognised as the head of the unit by the other members of the household unit or by himself (or herself) if living alone, and has attained 18 years or more.

**Consociational Democracy** In this study, it refers to a form or method that seeks to regulate power sharing in Tana River County and comprises diverse societies; distinct ethnic, religious, political, and linguistic groups), by allocating these groups collective rights.

**Conflicts** For the purposes of this study, conflicts refer to a struggle or contest between people in Tana River County with opposing needs, ideas, beliefs, values, or goals

**Democracy** Operationally defined, democracy refers to the type of system used in Tana River County in which power is vested in the people, who rule either directly or through freely elected representatives.

**Ethnic Group** In this study, it refers to a category of people who identify with each other, usually on the basis of presumed similarities such as common language, ancestry, history, society, culture, nation or social treatment within their residing area

**Ethnicity** In this study, it refers to certain qualities or affiliations based on hereditary as well as cultural considerations. In addition, ethnicity has been referred to a group of people sharing heredity and geographical location.

**Ethno-Political Conflicts** For the purposes of this study; this refers to conflict between two or more groups to achieve political goals. These are intergroup conflicts where group member attitudes, stereotypes, and forms of communication reflect the ethno political context.

**Pillars of Consociational Democracy** In this study, these are defined as the principles guiding consociational democracy and have been operationalized into inclusivity, proportionality, segment autonomy and mutual veto pillars.

**Political Conflict** Operationally defined, it is the incompatibility between social systems with regard to the security of a population, the integrity of a territory, or the maintenance of a political, socioeconomic or cultural, and national or international order.

**Power Sharing** Operationally defined, this refers to anything from inclusive government, to temporary coalitions after the end of civil conflict has been called off.

**ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

AKP	Justice and Development Party
CBOs	Community Based Organizations
CIPEV	Commission of Inquiry into Post-Election Violence
CoK	Constitution of Kenya
CSOs	Civil Society Organization
KNBS	Kenya National Bureau of Statistics
LPCs	Legal Practice Courses
NACOSTI	National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation
NCIC	National Cohesion and Integration Commission
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1 Introduction**

This chapter explores the topic of study on the contribution of consociational democracy in addressing ethno-political conflicts in Tana River County from a global, regional and local perspective. The chapter provides a general background to the study, statement of the problem, purpose of the study, objectives of the study, research questions, and justification of the study, significance of the study, delimitation and limitation of the study, theoretical framework and the conceptual framework as well as operationalizes the key words and terms used in this study.

#### **1.2 Background of the Study**

Conflicts have been and are innate to human as humans are to nature (Jansen, 2017). Throughout the world, there is persistence of conflicts in plural societies, with the conflicts grounded on various dimensions including economic, cultural, social, linguistic and political dimensions (Abideen, 2020). To attain sustainable peace, good governance, accountability and transparency, a country needs to have mechanisms which must be put in place to manage or/and control conflicts especially in plural societies (Bessong, 2020). Scholars such as Southern (2020), talk of constructive management aimed at addressing conflicts in plural societies. In a bid to resolve conflicts, the idea of non-coercive ways of addressing conflicts by negotiations of peace agreements is encouraged compared to coercive means (Visoka & Richmond, 2017).

Globally, the consociational model explains democratic stability in such culturally fragmented and divided European societies as the Netherlands, Austria,

Belgium, and Switzerland. Consociational democracy therefore comes as a pathway to handling such conflicts in divided societies (Baliqi, 2021). Different conflict resolution mechanisms have different effects, including consociational democracy which was first used in Weimar Germany and the French Fourth Republic (Beha, 2019). As observed by Hughes and Kostovicova (2020), the consociational model of democracy in Germany and French Republic was a very essential mechanism for managing conflict in their communities, by attending to the enablers of conflict such as lack of equity in power and resource sharing. It thus seems evident that power sharing and consociationalism share one common principle, and that is, they both seek to regulate and minimize conflict in multi-cultural or multi-ethnic societies (Larin & Roggla, 2019).

Managing and regulating conflict in conflict-prone areas is not only a priority to a given country but rather it ends up being an international issue, as in the case of Kosovo after war during elections that led to societies with deep ethnic divisions (Cama & Coticchia, 2019). This is because in one way or another, the conflict directly or indirectly affects neighbouring countries and regions (Beha, 2019). Therefore, consociational democracy tends to focus on ethnic conflict which has claimed many lives in many regions of the country (Cama & Coticchia, 2019). Beha (2019) explains ethno-political conflict in Kosovo as an inter-group conflict that distorts communication and perceptions between the groups. Commenting on the same, Cama and Coticchia (2019) observed that consociational democracy has tried to reduce instances of ethno-political conflicts in Kosovo.

Consociational democracy is necessary in solving ethno-political conflicts that categorize and foreground ethnic and religious differences and alter the perceptions of

one side as a result of cognitive and informational biases as well as communication distortions, as found out by Fazaeli, Karami and Asadi (2020) in Iran. Consociational democracy can be used in countries that are deeply divided into distinct religious, ethnic, racial, or regional segments; conditions usually considered unfavourable for stable democracy, as in in the case of Iran and other surrounding countries in Asia (Carciumaru, 2019).

A number of African countries have experienced intra-state conflicts (Nkundabagenzi, 2018). After the cold war, there emerged identity based and de-rationalized conflicts which are referred to as new wars. These new wars have increased the necessity for mediation. These wars have been experienced mostly in Sub Sahara Africa though, other continents have experienced them (Bartlett, 2020). The countries which have experienced these wars include Rwanda, Sudan, Kenya, Somalia, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Uganda and Burundi among others. The intensity of conflict however, differs from one country to another. If any country has been spared conflict, they directly or indirectly suffer the repercussions of the neighbouring countries' conflicts; either they have been involved or have been implicated in fuelling the conflict or they have served as hosts to those fleeing conflicts (Njagi, 2021). Mediation has been used in African countries to resolve conflicts. There have been several successful mediation outcomes in Africa conflict mechanisms amongst them mediation in Liberia, Sudan, Burundi and Kenya. There has been unsuccessful mediation attempts for instance in Somalia and Nigeria where the countries plunge into civil war (Duursma, 2017). Other countries that in different ways unsuccessfully tried consociational democracy include Rwanda, Angola, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Ethiopia where attempts were made after internal conflicts or civil war in their plural settings (Duursma, 2017).

In Nigeria, the politics of the winner takes it all creates problems such as unequal sharing of economic resources and poor political representation of some social groups and this in most cases leads to inter-group tensions and conflicts in plural settings (Nsude & Elem, 2020). Inequalities in access to political power and resources provide strong incentives for the rise of politically motivated ethnic violence. As per Musah (2018), the consociational model of democracy has been advanced as the most suitable to transform the social-political conflict enablers in plural settings because of its inclusion and proportionality principles that directly address issues around access to power and resources equitably.

In Uganda, the country has 56 ethnic groups, and all cities and towns as well as state institutions are known for high levels of heterogeneity and the country's politics has been a reflection of its ethnic plurality (Amone, 2015). However, peace, tranquility, stability, regional economic equity and orderly transfer of political power have been elusive in the country (Nyange, 2017). Consociational democracy is adopted in some instances where conflicts are regularly experienced. In Tanzania, Boone (2019) observed that non-neo customary land tenure institutions prevail, and the political salience of ethnic identity is low. Even in a hard-test region of high immigration and high competition for farmland. Carey (2021) suggests that political science needs to take seriously the role of state institutions in producing politically-salient ethnic identities in the country.

In Kenya, ethno-political conflicts undermine the social-political stability between groups in the areas affected. Ethnic wars are being used as a political tool to weaken the peace processes. For instance, the 2007/2008 post-election violence

claimed about 1133 lives besides occasioning displacement of over 600,000 people who were perceived to belong to different ethno-political formations, as recorded by the Commission of Inquiry into Post-Election Violence (CIPEV) in 2008. The root causes of ethno-political conflicts in Kenya have been linked to development grievances, exclusion from political power, ethnic cleavages and skewed access to state resources (Mutungi, 2019). The principles of consociational model of governance that mirror the objectives of devolution at Article 174 of the Constitution of Kenya (CoK) 2010, a system of governance that was designed to address the root causes and drivers of ethnic driven political conflicts in multi-ethnic counties seem not address the problem. This highlights the place of political leadership and governance deficits in the ethnically diverse and volatile setups.

The use consociational democracy in addressing ethno-political conflicts in Kenya is a big concern (Mutungi, Kikaya & Ichuloi, 2019). In the face of the adoption of consociational democracy model whose principles of inclusivity, proportionality and segment autonomy had been argued as the pathway to addressing the conflict drivers, politically motivated conflicts persist. Notably, some of the pillars of consociational democracy have been used but empirical evidence of productively generating a consociational model remains elusive. The National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) flags Tana River County as one of the hotspot for inter-ethnic violence, especially between the Pokomo (farmers) and the Orma (pastoralists). In addition, little is known about the specific dynamics in the County that informs adoption of the consociational democracy model, the extent of its support among the population and the structure of the negotiations embodying the model. Most studies on consociationalism focus on outcomes rather than a characterization of the processes that occur prior to the observed outcomes (Mutungi, 2019).

As per the County Government of Tana River County Action Plan to prevent and counter violent extremism 2019-2023, the County is blessed with a rich and diverse natural resource potential in agriculture, livestock, fisheries and tourism. However, despite the huge prospects and potential for development of the County, the area remains largely underdeveloped due to a host of internal and external factors that have undermined the capacity of the residents to exploit and enjoy these resources. Therefore, some efforts such as consociational democracy may be used as a tool for addressing conflicts in these plural societies. This study therefore looked at the contribution of consociational democracy in addressing ethno-political conflicts in Tana River County, Kenya.

### **1.3 Statement of the Problem**

Tana River County has registered recurrent inter-ethnic violence, especially between the dominant Pokomo, who are farmers and the Orma who practice pastoralism especially during the electioneering period. Negotiation efforts spearheaded by elders from the two communities have often contributed to the reduction in hostilities as they share the available political opportunities. However, exclusion of other communities such as Munyoyaya, the Somali, Wailwaha (Malakote), Watta and the Wardei from the negotiation table have resulted in supporting either side of the major warring groups, to force their way into the negotiated power arrangements. Politically motivated inter-group violence claimed 118 lives in the period between 2015 and 2018, besides leaving more than 13,500 people displaced and numerous others injured, destruction of property, poor development of the affected areas; thus undermining the county's socio-economic stability (Musyoka, 2019). Despite adopting consociational democracy in the management of the ethno-political conflicts, the extent of application of the model's pillars of inclusivity, proportionality, segment

autonomy and mutual veto, its effectiveness and challenges therein remains unknown, creating gap for the study.

Musembi and Iteyo (2018) aver that conflict resolution mechanisms that have been used include engagement forums, and peace building meetings, but the situation does not seem to change. Their research conducted in the study area does not however handle the consociational model used in addressing the conflicts, a gap that this study sought to fill. A similar study by Yusoff, Sarjoon and Wahab (2016) in Sri Lanka focuses on the ethnic dimension to the conflict and despite legitimizing the place of political power in the conflict; it does not address mechanisms used there akin to consociationalism. In both studies, the contribution of consociational model remains unknown despite its potential in dealing with the conflict. Mutungi, Kikaya and Ichuloi (2019) researched on consociationalism as practiced in Mandera County which is ethnically homogenous different from Tana River county which is ethnically diverse. This study thus provides new insights on consociationalism in purely heterogeneous societies. From the existing studies, little evidence is present to identify the contribution of consociational democracy in addressing ethno-political conflicts in Kenya, specifically in Tana River County. Thus, this study filled the existing gap.

#### **1.4 Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this study was to examine the possibilities of using consociational democracy as a tool for addressing political conflicts in plural societies with a special focus on Tana River County in Kenya. Conflict is about inequalities that are reflected by the different ethnic groups, it is therefore necessary to analyse the applicability of consociational democracy or power-sharing democracy in the case of Tana River County. This is because the concept has become a standard recommendation for post-

conflict societies, suggesting a power-shared system among different groups within a divided society. Consequently, this study contributed to the understanding of the ethnic-based conflicts and the democratization challenge within Kenya. The study also examined the possibilities of using consociational democracy as a tool for political conflict resolution in the multi-ethnic Kenya.

### **1.5 Objectives of the Study**

The overall objective of the study was to examine the contribution of consociational democracy in addressing ethno-political conflicts in Kenya, the case study of Tana River County. In order to achieve this, the researcher proceeded under the following specific objectives.

- i. To establish the extent of application of the pillars of consociational democracy as practiced in the management of ethno-political conflicts in Tana River County;
- ii. To assess the effectiveness of consociational democracy in addressing ethno-political conflicts in Tana River County;
- iii. To determine the challenges and opportunities of consociational democracy in addressing ethno-political conflicts in Tana River County.

### **1.6 Research Questions**

- i. To what extent are the pillars of consociational democracy practiced in the management of ethno-political conflicts in Tana River County?
- ii. How effective is consociational democracy in addressing ethno-political conflicts in Tana River County?

- iii. What are the challenges and opportunities of consociational democracy in addressing ethno-political conflicts in Tana River County?

### **1.7 Significance of the Study**

Significance of the study is written to provide details to the reader on how the study contributes and who benefits from it. It also includes an explanation of the work's importance as well as its potential benefits (Bryman, 2016). In policy justification, the study would provide the importance of legislating power sharing ingredients into law by the policy and law makers so as to curb in-eventualities that arise during elections destabilizing the coexistence fabric in a multi-ethnic society. It is clearly understood that effective conflict resolution requires effective policy and institutional framework.

To academicians, this research would form part of future reference for relevant study. Background information was provided by this study that would benefit the research organizations and scholars who may be interested in advancing the research and surveys in this particular area. To the Tana River County, the community would benefit from the findings by having a peaceful environment as a result of practicing consociational democracy through adopting an all-inclusive participatory of the various diversities and equitable resource distribution were the model can be anchored into a framework. This would result into addressing recurrent ethno-political conflicts in Tana River County.

In conclusion, the research study would provide policy makers and analysts a point of reference which would enable them re-drafting of the government and political policies in view of in-building issues of conflict resolution and fair share of public resources since political conflict in multi ethnic states is becoming an endemic phenomenon.

### **1.8 Scope of the Study**

The scope of a study explains the research area to be explored in the work and specifies the parameters within which the study will be operating (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). This means the definition of what the study is going to cover and what it is focusing on. The overall objective of the study was to examine the contribution of consociational democracy in addressing ethno-political conflicts in Tana River County, Kenya, since 2013 because that is when there were political conflicts under the devolved governance system. The study established the extent to which the pillars of consociational democracy as practiced in the management of ethno-political conflicts, assessed the effectiveness of consociational democracy in management of ethno-political conflicts and determined the challenges and opportunities of consociational democracy in addressing ethno-political conflicts in Kenya's Tana River County. The study used both open and close-ended questions. Data was collected in Tana River County for a period of 30 days (one month). The area of focus was only Tana River County irrespective of whether consociational democracy had been adopted in other counties in Kenya. The study was conducted between November 2021 and May 2022.

### **1.9 Delimitations of the Study**

The delimitations are those characteristics that limit the scope and define the boundaries of your study (Creswell & Clark, 2017). This study only focused on the aspects of the negotiated democracy with specific interest in the relationship between ethnicity and political conflicts, effectiveness of consociational democracy in addressing ethno-political conflicts and the challenges and opportunities of consociational democracy in addressing ethno-political conflicts in Kenya. It did not

cover other aspects such as the structure of consociational democracy and the dynamics of consociational democracy model.

### **1.10 Limitations of the Study**

According to Bryman and Bell (2015), the limitations of study are the shortcomings, states or influences that cannot be controlled by the researcher that place borders on the methodology and conclusions. It was difficult to marshal an exhaustive body of evidence regarding the case in point as some of the respondents were hesitant to giving information that they considered confidential. To overcome this limitation, the researcher assured the respondents that the study would only be used for academic purposes only. There was a limitation in data collection since some of the targeted respondents were unreachable due to poor road network and mobile network connectivity. To resolve this, the researcher left the questionnaires with the respondents and collected them later after they were filled by use of motorcycle as means of transport. Some respondents were reluctant to give their responses over confidentiality, but the researcher assured them of their confidentiality and privacy to improve their chances of participating in the study. There was also the risk of skewed responses from some government officials who wanted to be politically correct to only portray the government in a positive light. The respondents were assured that their responses would be anonymous and for academic use only and therefore honesty was encouraged.

### **1.11 Assumptions of the Study**

Assumptions in a study are things that are somewhat out of the researcher's control, but if they disappear, the study would become irrelevant (Bryman, 2016). The study assumed that all the responses that were sought and the entire interview guides were filled truthfully and without prejudice or ill intentions. It was also assumed that the

parties interviewed were aware of the history of ethno-political conflicts in Tana River County and were also knowledgeable of the key elements of consociational democracy. The researcher finally presumed that consociational democracy played a big contribution in addressing ethno-political conflicts in Kenya and particularly in Tana River County.

## **1.12 Theoretical Framework**

A theoretical framework consists of concepts, together with their definitions, and existing theory/theories that were used for the particular study (Bryman & Bell, 2015). This section explains the different theories that relate to variables of the study, and include the democratic theory and pluralism theory. Theories are formulated to explain, predict, and understand phenomena and, in many cases to challenge and extend existing knowledge within the limits of the critical bounding assumptions.

### **1.12.1 Democratic Theory**

This study is anchored on Democratic theory by Warren (1992). The theory argues for expanding the scope and domain of democracy. It postulates that democratic experiences will transform individuals in democratic ways. Individuals are likely to become more public-spirited, tolerant, knowledgeable, and self-reflective than they would otherwise be. Shapiro (2009) noted that there was viewing of oneself as socially and discursively constituted, a view that contrasts with the standard liberal democratic view of the self as pre-politically constituted and narrowly self-interested.

Shapiro (2009) added that the importance of the social and discursive view of the self is that, it highlights how standard assumptions about self-help to justify limits to democratic participation. As now conceptualized, however, the transformational assumption does not meet standard objections to expanding democracy. Redish

(1993) sketches an approach that distinguishes classes of interests according to their potential for democratic transformation and strengthens it by qualifying transformative expectations in democratic theory.

While Dryzek (1993) idea of democracy has been more universal or more popular, both democratic theory and the empirical study of democratic possibilities are in some disarray. Based on Lijphart (1985) relationship with consociational democracy, the theory seeks a productive reconnection of these two endeavours with democratic discourse through close attention to the language of democracy as used by ordinary people and political actors. Reconstructive inquiry determines how the individuals who are the potential constituents of any democratic order themselves conceptualize democracy and their own political roles and competences. Morlino (2012) deploys an intensive methodology for the study of individual characteristics, capabilities, and dispositions in combination with political discourse analysis. Four discourses are discovered in an analysis of selected subjects: Contented republicanism, deferential conservatism, disaffected populism, and private liberalism. These results can be used to relate democratic theory to live possibilities in democratic discourse.

Consociational democracy, as proposed by Lijphart (1969) is concerned about developments that democracy brings to the people. This includes the developments such as moral self-development and harmonious expansion of individual's capacity. Under moral self-development, democratic theory is concerned about building the moral qualities of every individual and groups that have been eroded by the introduction of civilization and cultural changes (Dahl, 2006).

In relation to this study, the key arguments of this theory can be borrowed especially from Lijphart's assumptions on the pillars of consociational democracy, and their

effectiveness. Here, leaders of deeply divided plural societies need to engage in consociational engineering if they want to establish or strengthen democratic institutions in their areas (Lijphart, 1977). His main thesis is that plural societies with deep cleavages within the population, based on cultural, linguistic, religious or ethnic diversities can become stable democracies if the elites of the different segments are moderate enough, have the will to co-operate and the ability to drag their followers along. Further, the government must not be allowed to interfere with the personal development of individuals under this model of democracy.

In addition, democracy requires three fundamental principles or pillars: upward control (sovereignty residing at the lowest levels of authority), political equality, and social norms by which individuals and institutions only consider acceptable acts that reflect the first two principles of upward control and political. Therefore, the pillars of consociational democracy and their effectiveness as practiced in the management of ethno-political conflicts in Tana River County can be studied from this theory. Consequently, democratic theory is the main principle of this study. However, the theory fails to take into account human perception and idea that ethno-political conflicts in deeply divided societies can be resolved by parties involved, which necessitated the second theory, the pluralism theory.

### **1.12.2 Pluralism Theory**

This theory was proposed by Robert Alan Dahl who was a political theorist and Sterling Professor of Political Science at Yale University (Blokland, 2016). He established the pluralist theory of democracy in which political outcomes are enacted through competitive, if unequal, interest groups and introduced “polyarchy” as a descriptor of actual democratic governance. An originator of empirical theory and known for advancing behaviourist characterizations of political power, Dahl focused

on the nature of decision making in actual institutions, such as American cities (Mayhew, 2017). He is the most important scholar associated with the pluralist approach to describing and understanding both city and national power structures.

Dahl stated that this theory is mainly based upon a perspective, in which citizens are involved in political arenas through different interest groups, and that political power should be dispersed to secure its own legitimate interests and none of these groups should dominate the system. Checkel (2012) argued that pluralist theory is hinged on three basic principles; power is dispersed and fragmented, policies are established through negotiations and compromise, and tend to be fair to all people in the long run. The larger the group, the more influential it is, and groups provide more effective means of representation. Checkel, (2012) also stated that pluralism power is dispersed amongst the various groups representing the public in the state affairs, these groups may be people elected or specific groups involved in running the governments.

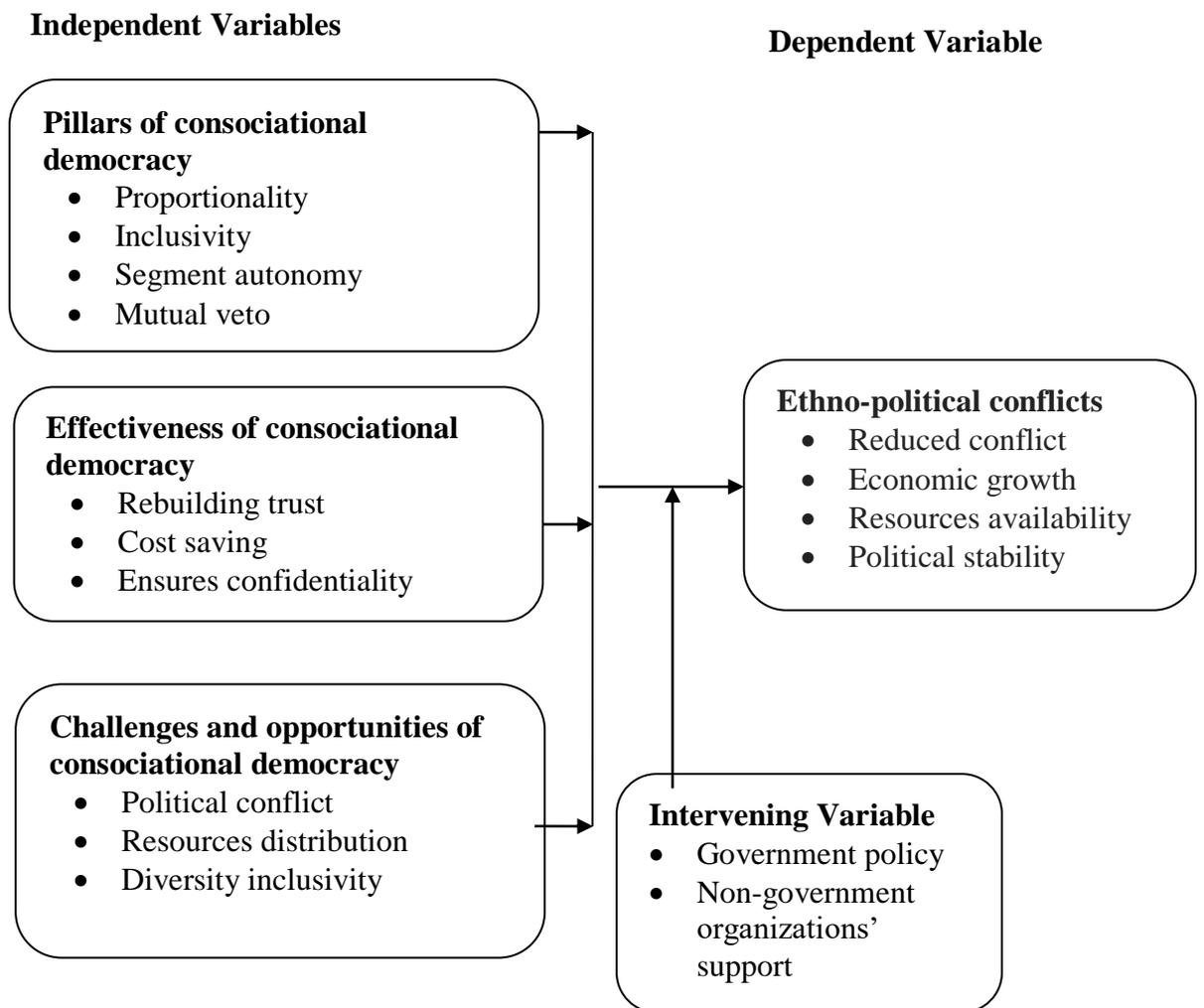
According to Shapiro (2009) there are several roles of the government, and this calls for fragmentation of the state duties to the various groups. Since the groups are many, decision making becomes a problem, and therefore people must negotiate to have the best policies and laws. Davies (2005) observed that there is intensified competition amongst groups, and people always feel that the bigger the group, the better for it to compete. It is this competition that determines the influence of a group and the bigger groups have most influence because they can compete effectively through their numbers.

In the context of this study, pluralism theory is very applicable in devolved systems of governments such as Tana River County that is made up of a heterogeneous society. This theory embraces and addresses this diversity. In addition, pluralism gives the

opportunity to various interested groups to participate fully in government operations. The diverse groups are protected by the government to enhance their competition and creativity. The pluralism theory further shares values upon which to build political or economic systems. The theory, however, does not discuss the effectiveness of the pillars of consociational democracy as practiced in the management of ethno-political conflicts in diverse ethnic setups.

### **1.13 Conceptual Framework**

A conceptual framework describes the relationship between the independent variables and the dependent variable in a research study (Mugenda & Mugenda 2003). In this study, the independent variables were; pillars of consociational democracy, effectiveness of consociational democracy and challenges and opportunities of consociational democracy. The dependent variable was ethno-political conflict resolution in Tana River County. Figure 1.1 is a conceptual model demonstrating interaction between independent and dependent variables. It is assumed that the pillars of consociational democracy, effectiveness of consociational democracy and challenges and opportunities of consociational democracy are likely to affect the ethno-political conflict resolution in Tana River County. The proportionality principles directly address issues around access to power and resources equitably. The segment autonomy is when each segment of society has some autonomy in policy making, and contributed to economic stability. Mutual veto involves consensus among the groups involved and contributes to conflict reduction.



**Figure.1.1: Conceptual Framework**

**Source: Modified from Literature Reviews**

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

This study sought to identify the contribution of consociational democracy in addressing ethno-political conflicts. This chapter provides the review of literature based on existing studies, and in line with the objectives of the study. The chapter finally provides the summary of the studies conducted in relation to the problem under investigation, not forgetting the conceptualization of the study. The research gaps based on the existing studies are also provided in this chapter.

#### **2.2 Empirical Review of Literature**

The following section reviews studies' done on the same area of study targeting the three-study objectives as done by other scholars globally, regionally and locally. The variables reviewed are discussed thematically.

##### **2.2.1 Pillars of Consociational Democracy in Addressing Ethno-Political Conflicts**

The pillars of consociational democracy include, but not limited to proportionality principle, segment autonomy and mutual veto. Some of the characteristics include shared political power based on the relative strength of the cooperating groups and a resurgent economy arising from the resultant stable environment (Andeweg, 2019). It is important to note here that in the late 1980s and early 1990s, many European countries experienced significant political shifts and/or transitions owing to various geopolitical dynamics at the time, with the most significant one revolving around the cold war politics and the emerging new world order. The political shifts and transitions to democracy resulted in high levels of democratization among them

transformations from one-party states to multiparty political systems (Fye & Senghor, 2018).

Yusoff *et al.* (2016) conducted a study on state-building, power-sharing discourse, and political autonomy of minorities within ethno-nationalist gloom in Sri-Lanka. He focused on state-building, power-sharing, political autonomy and proportionality in ethno-nationalism. This study attempted to locate the claims and concerns of minorities seeking political autonomy in Sri Lanka's state-building and power-sharing discourse. The study found that the state-building process in Sri Lanka has always been a struggle between establishing a majoritarian-ethno-nationalist hegemonic state system and preserving the right of minority ethnic groups to political power-sharing.

Yusoff et al. (2016) further found out that insufficient emphasis given towards understanding power-sharing and federalism as a means to accommodate diverse interests and rights, including the political autonomy rights of minorities, the opportunistic politics of opposition parties, and the ethno-nationalist agenda of the majority Sinhalese were the major factors that prompted to undermine the minorities' claims for political autonomy. The ultimate result of this is the continuous struggles by minorities to situate their political autonomy demands within Sri Lanka's state-building and power-sharing discourse. However, the effectiveness of the pillars was not discussed, and the study was in a different contextual environment to the current study.

Visoka and Richmond (2017) reviewed a study on how to build a liberal peace and a concurrent neoliberal state in Kosovo to produce sustainable and emancipatory peace. The keywords used were liberal peace, state-building, hybrid and emancipatory peace. The study established that the country has produced a local and negative hybrid peace

that has been co-opted by the dynamics of local state formation and state contestation. Also, the authors added that these dynamics have overshadowed a meaningful transition from ethnic hostility to sustainable peace that should encompass pluralism, security, law, rights, and liberal institutions. However, the study did not discuss the challenges in the dynamics covered.

Fye and Senghor (2018) argue that external players are necessary and important for the existence of consociational negotiated democracy regimes. These players play invaluable roles in supporting the negotiation processes and the implementation of resultant outcomes from the dialogues in fragmented systems caused by racial, religious, ethnic or sectorial cleavages. They act as guarantors of the agreements arrived at following the negotiations. These findings are also reported by El Machnoug (2020), who asserts that successful and effective consociationalism depends on external players who are considered exogenous forces. Such forces could include officials of electoral commissions, individuals and groups from legal institutions such as the judiciary and even civil society organizations who positively coerce the negotiating groups to find amicable and fair solution to the matters under discussion.

Paffenholz and Ross (2015) argue for a negotiated democracy that is consultative and all-inclusive in complex and plural social settings. A contextual analysis of the complexity by the duo argued for the presence of diverse communities and interest groups in a polity, each with its own needs and interests as well as legitimate claims to the pursuit of power. The study recommends a consociational negotiated model of democracy to accommodate the diverse actors, arguing that such an arrangement avert the emergence of distractors who can destabilize the community through conflicts.

Zartman (2019) argues that dialogue which happens in the form of negotiations presents the best alternative in the transformation of conflict into cooperation. Dialogue seeks to legitimize each of the parties' needs and interests as a starting point to finding a progressive and sustainable solution to the dispute at hand. The centrality of dialogue in the drive towards successful political processes is further emphasized by the study that focus on the norms of reciprocity and publicity. Reciprocity appeals to reason that all parties can identify with, thus paving the way for mutual respect while publicity centres on open and transparent negotiation processes that focus on needs rather than positions. The concept of reciprocity builds on the argument of the importance of legitimization of needs. Essentially, parties involved in negotiations should identify with the needs of each other and regard them as important and worth being met.

An analysis of consociational model's proportionality principle by Bogaards et al. (2019) does not rule out oppression of the minority groups even when included in the power frame. Dominant members have the power to take decisions that affects everybody irrespective of the minorities' opposition to such decisions. In essence, the winner-takes-all notion which the study argues for consociational democracy model to cure is not necessarily addressed. Even though the authors argue that the cooperating groups create multiple balances of power within the coalition that can remedy dominance as alluded to earlier, there is no evidence to that effect. This study argues that the possibility of coalitions and or factions within a coalition cannot be ignored and even so the size of the largest segment remains a key determinant.

Fontana (2016) highlights that the application of consociationalism to inter-group conflicts such as the dispute in Northern Ireland exposes weaknesses of the consociational democracy model. The Northern Irish experience highlights the

shortcomings of consociationalism like the model's endogenous focus, which has resulted in its neglect of the role external actors play in promoting consociational settlements. Osabu-Kle (2019) noted that because the consociational model springs from the experiences of small European democracies such as Netherlands, Austria, Belgium, and Switzerland that were threatened by bigger neighbours, the study failed to consider the role of national intervention in facilitating consociational agreements. Attempts to correct the weaknesses in consociationalism have given rise to the emergence of the power-sharing model.

As per Caluwaerts and Reuchamps (2015), segmental autonomy can also be used by leaders to drive a secessionist agenda rather than a uniting one, thus exacerbating the conflicts the model seeks to find a solution to. Thus, consociationalism is essentially primordial, segregationist and essentialist. Further, the argument by consociational theorists that ethnic identities will lose their salience following the formation of a grand coalition government is inconclusive and perhaps misleading as it offers no insights on how reconciliation will be facilitated, the worth of institutionalizing identity or the structures that ameliorate interethnic tensions.

Hirschberger, Ein-Dor, Leidner and Saguy (2016) study on intergroup conflicts' existential threat across the world, established that the literature on empirical concerns lacks clear conceptualization and integration of the pillars of consociational democracy. To address this problem, the authors offered a new conceptualization and measurement of existential threat. They established the reliability and validity of the measure, and to illustrate its utility, they examined whether different empirical threats underlie the association between political ideology and support for specific political policies. The study identified personal death, physical collective annihilation, symbolic collective obliteration and past victimization to play a significant role. These

results underscore the need to consider the multidimensional nature of existential threat, especially in the context of political conflict.

Lambore (2016) assessed on the decentralized state as a mechanism for peace and stability: ethno-politics in modern Albania, Macedonia, and Kosovo. The study established that violence emanating from religious extremism, racism, ethnicity and intra/interstate warfare has long been a component of the international discourse. The study recommended that for a sustainable peace to be witnessed in all war-torn countries, African and Western leaders should identify and support Legal Practice Courses (LPCs), thereby providing them with the legal mandate and the financial support to operate on a large-scale.

Muhammed (2016) conducted a study on news framing of ethno-political issues and conflict behaviour in ethnic conflict pathways model in Nigeria. The study explored the waves of news frames on ethnic conflict through a mixed methods design. An in-depth interview with 26 informant residents in Kwara State, North Central Nigeria was used, while content analysis of three major newspapers in Nigeria was applied to complement the collection of data. The interview data was analysed thematically while the content analysis was analysed descriptively. The results showed that ethnic group leaders are the main protagonists in the pathway to ethnic conflict while newspaper framing stimulates ethnic differences through conflict oriented framing. This study however did not indicate how structural factors such as political and economic exclusion, injustice, poverty, and inequality could affect ethno-conflict resolution efforts.

Bratton and Kimenyi (2018) argued on putting ethnicity in perspective during voting in Kenya. They reported that respondents show a high degree of mistrust of members

of other ethnic groups and consider the behaviour of these other groups to be influenced primarily by ethnicity. In general, voting in Kenya is therefore defensively and fundamentally an ethnic census. Nevertheless, policy indicators concerning the performance of the incumbent government also matter in influencing voters' choices. Considerations for economic self-interest matters most to individuals who define their identities in non-ethnic (but also non-national, Kenyan) terms. If non-ethnics are the most geographically and economically mobile elements in Kenyan society, then a transformation of ethnic voting into policy voting would seem to require further social structural change, including greater contact and integration among ethnic groups, Bratton and Kimenyi (2018). The study added this in light of the post-election phenomenon of ethnic cleansing, in which migrant populations have been forced back into their provinces of origin. However, it does not argue for the development of interest-based voting or democratic politics in Kenya.

### **2.2.2 Effectiveness of Consociational Democracy in Ethno-political Conflicts**

Canetti, Elad-Strenger, Lavi, Guy and Bar-Tal (2017) conducted a study on exposure to violence, ethos of conflict, and support for compromise surveys in Israel, East Jerusalem, West Bank, and Gaza. A mediated model was hypothesized whereby it was found that exposure to political violence provokes support for the ethos of conflict and hinders support for compromise through perceived psychological distress and perceived national threat. The study's main conclusion is that ethos of conflict serves as a mediating variable in the relationship between exposure to violence and attitudes toward peaceful settlement of the conflict.

Ghatak, Gold and Prins (2019) studied on domestic terrorism in democratic states. The study used various variables; domestic terrorism, exclusion, economic discrimination, democracy and rule of law. They recommended the need to take into

account both willingness/grievance and opportunity to understand political violence. Using a global data set of domestic terrorism between 1990 and 2012, they found that different regime-associated features of democracy relate differently to domestic terrorism. Higher levels of the rule of law tend to decrease terrorism, whereas electoral democracies tend to experience more domestic terrorism. However, domestic terrorism increases in every form of democracy in the presence of political exclusion. As such, an effective counterterrorism policy must address underlying grievances as democratization by itself may actually drive domestic terrorism up.

Visoka and Richmond (2017) reviewed a study on building a liberal peace and a concurrent neoliberal state in Kosovo to produce a sustainable and emancipatory peace. The study established they have produced a local and negative hybrid peace that has been co-opted by the dynamics of local state formation and state contestation. Also they added that these dynamics have overshadowed a meaningful transition from ethnic hostility to sustainable peace that should encompass pluralism, security, law, rights, and liberal institutions.

Amone (2015) study addresses the role of ethnic identities in the politics of Uganda. It makes an attempt to unearth the extent to which ethnicity has ensured political stability with the view to illustrating whether ethnic identities have been a blessing or a curse. The study was guided by the ethnic theories of primordialism and instrumentalism. Using interviews with key informants, archival information and a review of the available literature, the study concludes that ethnicity has largely been a curse in post-colonial Uganda but in the pre-colonial epoch it was a blessing. Consociational democracy has hugely been a success in some regions, while it is not working in some instances, but the study failed to give examples of these instances.

Boone (2019) reported on land institutions and political ethnicity in Africa with evidence from Tanzania. They argued that work on land politics in Africa suggests that governments, by creating and upholding neo-customary land tenure regimes, create powerful incentives for individuals to embrace state-recognized ethnic identities. This study strengthens this argument about the institutional determinants of ethnicity's high political salience through the use of evidence from Tanzania.

According to Van Dyke and Amos (2017), the formation of socio-political movements is motivated and driven by certain shared beliefs and interests among the populace who support them. A review of Van Dyke and Amos' study on drivers of social movement coalition formation, longevity, and success identifies social ties, ideology, culture, identity, and resources shows that social ties include considerations of a common descent, physical appearance among others. Van Dyke and Amos further noted in their study that family ties also saw groups coalescing in seeking a political change on their plight. The study argues that identity can be by circumstance, choice or coercion and it is essentially socially constructed.

Bernadaux (2020) noted that Northern Ireland was progressing well in the post Belfast Agreement of 1998 which gave her some level of autonomy and representation of various significant cleavages in the executive and national assembly. The study stresses that the level of success in Northern Ireland is attributable to proper negotiations that produced the Belfast agreement which provided for the representation of significant cleavages in a proportional manner. Pushparajah (2019) also showed that a number of internal and external factors play significant roles in negotiations for democracy and eventual deterioration of the white minority rule, which marked the beginning of the end of apartheid and the discrimination of the blacks.

Parihar (2021) argues that negotiations are platforms of getting to the root of conflicts so as to address them in the most effective way that leaves the society stronger. This study notes that without addressing the root causes of a conflict, the actors in a conflict situation will only be handling the symptoms that may recur shortly after a solution is found. It is however noteworthy that deliberations may not always yield consensus especially when the multiplicity of interests advanced by parties are incongruent and there is unwillingness to compromise and collaborate in finding a solution that is acceptable by all.

Dyrstad, Bakke and Binningsbo (2021) argue that cooperation between ethnic groups in a polity is low due to trust issues. Moreover, some elements of identity such as religion are fixed and thus not subject to compromise. Thus, identity based conflicts must be analysed contextually because there can never be a solution that is applicable to all societies. In managing such types of conflicts, the choice of a management approach needs to be informed by the understanding that the particular style affects the structure of the conflict and the goal of containing the destructive component of the conflict must triumph.

In South Africa, Dlamini (2017) postulated that the transition from the apartheid regime to democratic rule took the course of consociational negotiated democracy among the contending parties after many years of a mix of armed struggles and non-violent strife. According to the study, the end of white-minority rule in South Africa and the transition to an all-inclusive governance structure was a major political transition aided, guided and midwifed by among significant other processes and activities, negotiated democracy.

Sisk (2017) analysis on the dynamics of the transition to democracy in South Africa from the white minority to the majority native blacks determined that the main categories of domains that guided the process were structural factors such as culture, economic development, class structures, increased education, and the international environment and behavioural variables such as major political actors, elite factions and organisations from civil society. The presence of elite factions created problems in the negotiations yet they could not be ignored without compromising the success of implementation of ensuing agreements.

Rohwerder (2015) analysed conflict of Kenya looking at lessons learnt from the 2013 elections. For avoidance of future conflicts, the study recommends that the constitution and reform agenda remain an opportunity to move beyond short-term crisis management and resolve underlying grievances and potential drivers of future conflict the Kenyan security sector must regain citizen trust; civil society should prioritise and be supported to prioritise bottom-up reconciliation programming between ethnic, communities, government and political leaders must create opportunity and guarantee space for active citizen engagement; sustainable mechanisms must be found to increase the perceived cost of violence; preventing electoral violence requires sustained international support and trade-offs between short-term prevention of mass atrocities and long-term conflict prevention merit further evaluation and learning. It also recommends that peace building organisations should offer technical assistance on better practices for mitigating triggers for election violence and addressing underlying drivers of widespread political violence, Rohwerder (2015). The study further recommends that community-based peace-building programmes should be broadened to address root causes rather than focusing only on conflict management. Donors should also support programmes that

specifically address the historical grievances that are fundamental conflict fault-lines within Kenyan society and development programmes working in conflict affected areas should be both conflict sensitive and put addressing the root causes of conflict at the centre of their efforts.

Mutungi (2019) assessed the implications of consociational negotiated democracy to the management of ethno-political conflicts that tend to undermine peace and stability in Mandera County. The study was informed by Kaufman's International theory of inter-ethnic war and the pluralist theory of democracy, and was done using a descriptive research design. Data was collected using interviews, Focused Group Discussions and questionnaires. The study found out that religious teachings, family ties, desire for peaceful electoral processes and the fear of self-annihilation were key factors in the adoption of consociational negotiated democracy. The negotiations were found to be consultative among the cooperating groups, multi-layered and unanimity the preferred style of decision making. However, there was lack of inclusion of all clans and interest groups in the negotiations besides ensuring equity in sharing positions of power and resources in some instances.

### **2.2.3 Challenges and Opportunities of Consociational Democracy**

Ozzano and Cavatorta (2016) conducted a study on religiously oriented parties and democratization. They reported that role of religion in politics is still understudied as a consequence of the so-called "secularization paradigm", which has been hegemonic in twentieth-century social sciences. Particularly, the role of religiosity within political parties has often been neglected for two reasons. They added there is a widespread normative prejudice about the role of religions in democratic and democratizing systems, where they are perceived to be illiberal and potentially anti-democratic actors. Also added there is the methodological difficulty of defining them

with precision based on a specific interpretation of religious precepts, but it can also be a formally secular one with relevant sections of its manifesto dedicated to religious values, explicitly appealing to religious constituencies, and/or a party including significant religious factions.

Iqbal and Hussain (2017) study was primarily a quantitative content analysis to explore the coverage of conflicts during both high and low intensity periods from 2014 to 2015. The findings suggested that Pakistan news television channels reported the Taliban and the ethno-political conflict in Karachi in an escalatory fashion, ridden in a de-contextualised pattern. While, on the other hand, the Balochistan and the sectarian conflict were mainly reported in de-escalatory terms owing to various socio-cultural reasons impacting the coverage. The findings found challenges, where the media, in general, adopts a more propagandist and nationalistic stance, when the threats to national security are highest whereas it adopts a more humanistic stance, when the threats to national security are assumed to be low.

Hernandez (2017) conducted a study on Philippines 'moro conflict on the problems and prospects in the quest for a sustainable peace. They argued that the Moro people stated that the conflict is representative of their on-going effort to recover their sovereignty, an objective that the liberation fronts are trying to achieve on their collective behalf. For the Philippine government, the current goal is to keep secession at bay and preserve the country's territorial integrity.

McGarry and O'Leary (2016) found that consociationalism was a weak approach to the management of the conflict in Northern Ireland because the agreement generating it had not factored in external actors, the trans-state nature of the dispute and its overemphasis on a grand coalition government. A critical review of this study

demonstrates that the key areas they focused on namely the place of external actors and the trans-state nature of the dispute were not part of what a consociational formation should be about. This study takes the view that the authors attempt at introducing issues outside of what they were studying, that is consociationalism hence their conclusions may be inaccurate.

Bussemeyer (2020) argues that for meaningful consensus to be build, all people that are to be affected by a given decision must be included and meaningfully participate in the process which generates the decision. The importance of an all-inclusive deliberation process in decision making is further stressed the study that the process of negotiations transforms minds and positions and if people do not participate in making a particular decision which affects them, they have no reason to accept the outcome. In essence, Shafer appears to suggest, and rightly so, that non-inclusive processes render the decisions thereof illegitimate and hence their implementation difficult. The conflict thus becomes protracted.

Vrablíková (2016) explains that it is critical that actors develop and agree on ground rules, which basically define the structure, which the negotiation processes will be anchored on. Ideally, ground rules should be among the first items that the parties to a negotiation process should establish before the actual negotiation process commences. Setting ground rules at the earliest stages of the negotiation process is essential in expediting and facilitating the negotiation process. The ground rules should be drawn and agreed upon to ensure that they never become a hindrance or cause for delay to the process of negotiating democracy.

Jansen (2017) focuses on educational leadership in the context of social transition to post-apartheid democracy in South Africa. He argued that transitional leaders

manifest behaviours, attitudes, values and strategies that are deeply related to the contexts within which they work. Social norms and political climate may not be supportive of educational leaders wishing to rise to the challenge of unplanned transition; however, this paper focuses on leaders who take up this challenge. Narratives of three educational leaders, two white and one black, provide an understanding of the complexities and challenges involved in bringing about change that goes against the grain of social, community, or institutional expectations. Five common strands that bind the narratives of the three leaders are revealed. These commonalities are a sense of moral purpose, a sense of human frailty, a sense of racial inclusion, a sense of political complexity, and a sense of personal growth. In conclusion, seven propositions that may form the building blocks for new ways of thinking about leadership in post conflict societies are presented.

Cinar (2016) reviewed on local determinants of an emerging electoral hegemony an analysis of case of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) in Turkey as a hegemonic party. Based on individual-level survey data as well as an original province-level dataset, the article examined the role of ideology, pork barrel politics, economic voting, demographics, and political institutions in AKP's rising hegemony. The replicable nature of the dataset enables further testing of these findings in comparable cases for generalizability.

Cross and Sorens (2016) reviewed on post-Arab spring constitution-making, hypothesizing a U-shaped relationship between polarization among politically significant factions and net majority-empowering provisions in constitutions of new democracies, a relationship mediated by breadth of inclusion in the constitutional drafting process. They tested the hypothesis through a controlled case comparison of

Tunisia, Libya, and Egypt, the three Arab-majority countries in which protestors successfully toppled authoritarian regimes.

In Ghana, Oppong (2018) studied the concept of negotiating democracy and how it had been practiced in the country. It was found that an ethno-political conflict pitting the Kusasis and Mamprusis has been going on for a while. The main bone of contention in this conflict has been a claim to traditional power, popularly known as the chieftaincy. It is important to note that the chieftaincy was the main system of governance in pre-colonial Ghana and in modern times, the holder has a lot of sway on the political affairs of the region, hence the intractable nature of the conflict.

In a study conducted by Tijani (2019), it was established that negotiation processes aimed at resolving the conflict were always infiltrated by politicians who wanted to use the conflict to further their political goals. The study established that they whip emotions among their ethnic constituents for them to capture power in the name of the community and at the same time scuttle every effort of fairly negotiating a long term solution. Thus, most of the negotiations ended up unfruitful and reports of progress just a scheme to avert violence in the short term. The study does however not suggest or explore exactly what role if any political players play or would wish to play in the negotiation process, as a pre-requisite to support it.

In Somalia, there are issues that include economic disparities, representation and the sharing of resources that often bring forth civil strife (Abdinoor, 2015). That has not been the case with Somalia, which though a federal state, has suffered protracted conflict. The country remains a poster child of “fragile states” in the world, and many classify it as a “failed state”. The country has gone through two phases of poor political and economic governance in 1960-90: the first nine years under inept

representative parliamentary governments and the following 21 years under a military dictatorship that suspended the country's Constitution, dismantled proper governance organs, consequently eroded citizens' trust and credibility in the state institutions.

The experiences of the early years of independence culminated in the onset of the prolonged and devastating clan wars and conflict that started in early 1991 that destroyed what social and economic capital was built over the centuries. In efforts to bring peace, however, those at the table during peace negotiations do not represent all the interests in a country, that in many cases the range of issues that need to be debated in a constitution are too vast for a peace negotiation, and that many of these issues are best debated at a slower pace, in a more inclusive fashion (Mohamoud, 2015).

Miguel and Gugerty (2015) conducted a study on ethnic diversity, social sanctions, and public goods in Kenya. They reported that ethnic diversity is associated with lower funding and worse facilities, and there is suggestive evidence that it leads to poor facility maintenance. The theoretical model used illustrated how inability to impose social sanctions in diverse communities led to collective action failures, and found that community committees in diverse areas do impose fewer sanctions on citizens. They related these results to the literature on social capital and economic development and discussed implications for decentralization in less developed countries.

### **2.3 Summary of Review of Literature and Research Gaps**

The literature reviewed established various gaps in line with the objectives of this study and which the research sought to fill. For instance, Mutungi (2019) focused on a community that is linguistically similar, yet diverse where identity is on the basis of

clan and not language. The conflicts in Tana River cut across different communities, with different local languages. Muhammed (2016) conducted a study on news framing of ethno-political issues and conflict behaviour; Lambore (2016) who assessed on the decentralized state as a mechanism for peace and stability; and Yusoff, Sarjoon and Wahab (2016) who conducted a study on state-building, power-sharing discourse, and political autonomy of minorities within ethno-nationalist gloom among others discussed in literature. Based on the existing studies, few studies have been conducted to identify the contribution of consociational democracy in addressing ethno-political conflicts in Kenya. The study has also identified that most of this research has been conducted in developed countries. Also some of the studies only use desk review and qualitative data. Thus, this study filled the existing gap by identifying the contribution of consociational democracy in addressing ethno-political conflicts in Kenya.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents the methodological procedures that were used in data collection and analysis. This includes the research design and methodology, including research site, sampling, target population, data collection methods, instrument validity, instrument reliability, data processing and consideration, as well as legal and ethical consideration.

#### **3.2 Research Design**

According to Bryman (2016), a research design is an arrangement, structure and procedure of examination to gain answers to research questions and control irregularity. Notwithstanding that, it is the arrangement of activity the analyst adopts for answering research question and it sets up the system for study. The study adopted a descriptive cross-sectional research design. This design was preferred for this study because it allowed collection of information for independent and dependent variables using questionnaires which had both open and closed ended questions. The design also gave the researcher an opportunity to collect and use both quantitative and qualitative data on the characteristics of the population being studied, where quantitative data was the main data used for analysis, and qualitative data used to support and compare the responses in quantitative data.

#### **3.3 Research Site**

Singh and Masuku (2014) stated that a research site is the main area that is considered relevant to the research questions and objectives. The study was conducted in Tana River County, Kenya, where consociational democracy had been practiced. The major ethnic groups in the region are the Pokomo, many of whom are farmers and

the Orma and Wardey, who are predominantly nomadic pastoralists. Choosing the right study area is the most important decision to make in determining the methodology of research study. The study focused on contribution of consociational democracy in addressing ethno-political conflicts in Tana River County. Research site is important in the way in which the study is conducted, especially the sampling and data analysis (Creswell & Clark, 2017). Tana River County has experienced ethno-political conflicts between communities for a long time. The ethnic violence has been as a result of dispute over land rights for the tribes' and resource competition mainly triggered by political competition among the resident communities. Police believed that ethnic attacks were carried out by the Pokomo people, who attacked the Orma, following an Orma invasion of farms belonging to the Pokomo (Obinga, Waita & Mbugi, 2017; Owino, 2018) leading to cyclic ethnic conflicts..

### **3.4 Target Population**

Creswell and Creswell (2017) observe that target population is a group of persons, objects or items from which tests are taken for estimation or it is a whole gathering of people, or components that have no less than one thing in like manner. The study targeted the key actors in consociational democracy who include the residents (adult household heads), religious leaders, political leaders, government officials including chiefs, Community Based Organizations (CBOs) representatives and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) representatives. Table 3.1 summarizes the target population of the study.

**Table 3.1: Target Population**

<b>Category</b>	<b>Population</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Adult household heads	68,242	99.68
Religious leaders	112	0.16
Political leaders	35	0.05
Government officials	15	0.02
CBOs	22	0.03
CSOs	38	0.06
<b>Total</b>	<b>68,464</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Source: Tana River County Directory (2019) and Kenya National Bureau of Statistics

(KNBS) (2019)

### **3.5 Study Sample**

A sample is a smaller group obtained from the target population (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003). Each member or case in a sample is referred to as subject. Liamputtong (2019) suggested that the sample should neither be too large nor too little. Representativeness is determined by the ability of a sample under study to produce similar results when the study is carried out. This subgroup is carefully selected so as to be representative of the whole population with the relevant characteristics. Each member or case in the sample is referred to as subject, respondent or interviewees.

#### **3.5.1 Study Sample Size**

The target population of the study was estimated to be 68,242 household heads, and was considered to be a large population. There are different ways of selecting sample size which include the rule of thumb, using sample size table and using sample size formula. The researcher used the following formula from Yamane (1967) formula to calculate the target population using a confidence level of 95% which is the surety

that the respondents picked answers within the margin of error which was given at 5%.

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + Ne^2}$$

Where,

n= the sample size

N = the size of population (68,242)

e= the error of 5 percentage points

$$n = \frac{68,242}{1 + 68,242 (.05)^2} = 397$$

Therefore, the minimum sample size was 397 household heads. Including the key informants, the distribution of the sample size was shown in Table 3.2 below:

**Table 3.2: Sample Size**

<b>Category</b>	<b>Population</b>	<b>Sample Size</b>	<b>Sampling Strategy</b>
Adult household heads	68,242	397	Simple random
Religious leaders	112	3	Purposive
Political leaders	35	2	Purposive
Government officials	15	2	Purposive
CBOs	22	2	Purposive
CSOs	38	2	Purposive
<b>Total</b>	<b>68,464</b>	<b>408</b>	

**Source:** Researcher, (2021)

### 3.5.2 Sampling Procedure

Sampling is a procedure, process or technique of choosing a sub-group from a population to participate in the study (Bryman, 2016). It is the process of selecting a number of individuals for a study in such a way that the individuals selected represent the large group from which they were selected. The study applied both simple random

sampling and purposive sampling procedures to obtain the responses for the study. As in the case of the study where the household heads were targeted, simple random sampling method was preferred. In addition, purposive sampling technique was used for religious leaders, political leaders, government officials, CBOs representatives and CSOs representatives. These groups were deliberately included because the information they possessed was important to the study and on account of the offices/positions they held, and were subsequently interviewed in this study.

### **3.6 Data Collection**

This section describes the development and piloting of research instruments, instrument validity, instrument reliability and data collection procedure. Primary data was collected through questionnaires and informant guides. Reliability and validity were done on these tools during the piloting phase, which is described in the subsequent subsections. The thresholds for the tests are explained in the following sub-sections.

#### **3.6.1 Data Collection Instruments**

Primary data was collected using questionnaires containing both structured (closed) and unstructured questions (open-ended questions) and interview guides. The questionnaire was structured in four sections, based on the specific objectives postulated in chapter one. The respondents were told the objectives of the study and were asked to give consent to participate in the study. Questionnaires were distributed to the household heads. The respondents were given 72 hours to fill in the questionnaire after which the researcher collected and confirmed from records that all questionnaires given had been collected.

The researcher also interviewed key informants to obtain information to corroborate the findings from the questionnaires. Interviews are tools usually administered to individuals who are experts in certain area to provide additional in-depth data so as to enrich information obtained through questionnaires. The researcher therefore administered interviews to religious leaders, political leaders, government officials, CBOs representatives and CSOs representatives using face to face method or telephone calls depending on respondent preference. Data was sorted into notes and audio tapes.

### **3.6.2 Pilot Testing of Research Instruments**

Pilot test is a method that is used to test the design and/or methods and/or instrument before carrying out the research (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). It involves conducting an initial test, the pre-test sample of 1% -10 % depending on the sample size (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003). The rule of thumb is that 10% of the sample should constitute the pilot test (Bryman, 2016). The pilot test was within the recommendation. The pre-test questionnaires were distributed randomly to 39 respondents selected from the neighbouring County of Lamu in order to gather a cross-sectional feeling of respondents. Lamu was selected because it possessed similar characteristics as those of Tana River, especially conflicts between communities such as the reported conflict between the two villages of Mbwa Jumwali and Tchundwa, and has practised consociational democracy. This helped in ascertaining the reliability and validity of the instrument.

### **3.6.3 Instrument Reliability**

Reliability refers to the ability of a measurement instrument to produce the same answer in the same circumstances, time after time (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003). This means that if people answer the same question the same way on repeated occasions,

then the instrument can be said to be reliable. Reliability analysis was used to test the internal consistency of the research instruments for the purposes of identifying those items in the questionnaire with low correlations in order to exclude them from further analysis.

Cronbach's Alpha coefficient of reliability that gives unbiased estimate of data generalizability was used to test reliability of the answered questionnaires. According to Creswell and Clark (2017), Cronbach's Alpha is a coefficient of reliability that gives an unbiased estimate of data generalizability. The study obtained an overall alpha coefficient of 0.858 for all items which indicated that the gathered data had a relatively high internal consistency and could be generalized to reflect opinions of all respondents in the target population.

#### **3.6.4 Instrument Validity**

Validity refers to the extent to which an instrument measure what it is supposed to measure. Data need not only to be reliable but also true and accurate, if a measurement is valid, it is also reliable (Kumar, 2018). The study used content validity to measure validity in the study. The content of the data collection instruments was determined through discussing the research instrument with the supervisors and research experts in the university. The valuable components, corrections and suggestions given by the research experts assisted in the validation of the instruments. In this regard, the researcher gave the data collection instruments to the supervisors whose feedback on the measures were integrated into the final questionnaires, so that the researcher measured what was intended to be measured.

### **3.6.5 Data Collection Procedure**

The study employed questionnaires and interviews to collect data from the respondents. The researcher therefore trained two research assistants for purposes of data collection. The research assistants were instructed on how to distribute and collect the questionnaires. This ensured that the quality of the data collected was of required standards for informative findings. For interviews, the researcher administered the instruments using face to face method or telephone calls depending on respondent preference.

### **3.7 Data Processing and Analysis**

Quantitative data collected from the field was coded, cleaned and categorized according to questionnaire items. The gathered data was analysed using computer aided Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 26 premium. Descriptive statistics were used to analyse the data collected. Descriptive statistics involving computation of percentages and frequency distribution were used to describe the data obtained from the respondents. The quantitative data was presented using tables and charts. Qualitative data was analysed using content analysis. Further, qualitative data analysis was created around themes and reported in form of narratives and verbatim based on the objectives of the study.

### **3.8 Legal and Ethical Considerations**

Legal and ethical considerations are the standards for conduct that give recognition and distinguish acceptable and unacceptable behaviour to the process of research investigation. According to Bryman (2016), it is the responsibility of the researcher to carefully assess the possibility of harm to research participants. This should be done in every way possible by taking all reasonable precautions to ensure respondents are

in no way directed to harm or adversely affected due to their participation in the research.

The first consideration was a clearance letter from Africa Nazarene University after successfully defending thesis research proposal. Secondly, the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI) Kenya issued a permit to the researcher to carryout data collection from Tana River County. The researcher also sought consent to collect data from the sampled respondents in Tana River County, the study site. Participation was voluntary upon the researcher's requisition. The ethical side of any case study/research should always be a private business which should not invite over exposure and must maintain anonymity of participants. In order to achieve this, the researcher used identification codes instead of names to help maintain the privacy of all study participants for the recorded data. For those who were uncomfortable with being recorded, the researcher assured confidentiality, and took notes instead. In addition, any works of authors used in this study were adequately acknowledged using standard referencing system and no plagiarism of other scholarly works whatsoever was done, (Appendix 7). The researcher will share this information with key government and county institutions, in conferences and seminars and will publish the findings in refereed journals.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

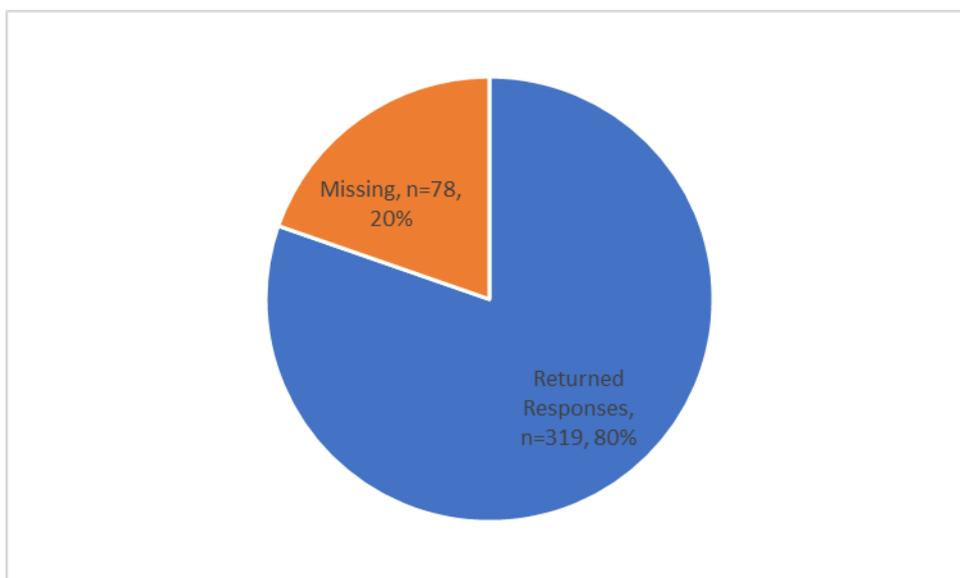
This chapter presents results of data analysis in line with the objectives of the study. The study sought to identify the contribution of consociational democracy in addressing ethno-political conflicts in Kenya, the case study of Tana River County. The specific objectives of the study were to establish the extent of application of the pillars of consociational democracy as practiced in the management of ethno-political conflicts, assess the effectiveness of consociational democracy in the management of ethno-political conflicts and also to determine the challenges and opportunities of consociational democracy in addressing ethno-political conflicts in Tana River County, Kenya. The data was analysed using Statistical Package of Social Science (SPSS) version 26 premium, by use of descriptive statistics (frequencies and percentages). For quantitative data, presentation was done using figures, charts and tables. Qualitative data was analysed by use of content analysis and was presented according to the study objectives.

#### **4.2 Characteristics of the Respondents**

The study sought to determine the general characteristics of the respondents who participated in the study. The demographic information sought in the study was obtained from the adult household heads, and included the age bracket of the respondents, education level of respondents; length lived by the respondents in Tana River County, Kenya, marital status of the respondents and their employment status. The response rate is also presented to show the number of questionnaires that were returned legibly and completely filled and were therefore approved for analysis in the research. These findings are presented in sub-sections 4.2.1 to 4.2.6.

#### 4.2.1 Response Rate

A total of 397 adult household heads were sought to respond to the questionnaires in the research study. However, non-response incidents were encountered during data collection and therefore out of the sampled 397 household heads, 319 gave feedback to the study. The study therefore achieved a questionnaire response rate of 80%. This response was excellent as per Kumar (2018) who recommended a response rate of 60% or more and therefore considered sufficient for analysis in this study. Figure 4.1 represents the response rate.



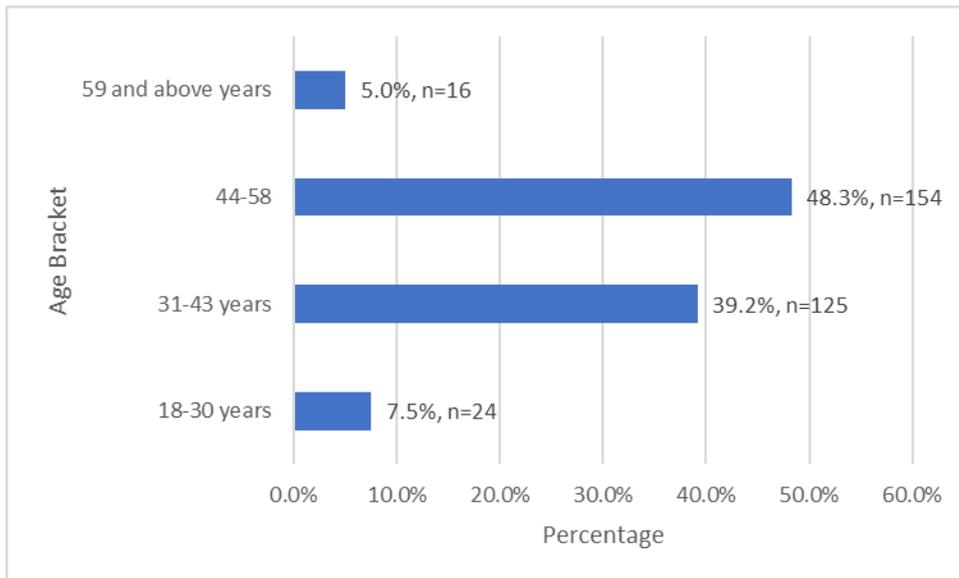
**Figure 4.1: Response Rate of the Respondents**

Source: Research Data (2022)

#### 4.2.2 Age Bracket of the Respondents

The study sought to determine the age of the respondents as the age would explain which age bracket of the respondents participated greatly in giving responses about the usage of consociational democracy in addressing ethno-political conflicts in Tana River county, Kenya. From the findings, most (48.8%, n=154) of the respondents were aged 44-58 years. In addition, 39.2% (n=125) of the respondents were aged 31-43 followed by 7.5% (n=24) who were in age bracket of 18-30 while 5% (n=16) of

the respondents were aged 59 years and above. The findings show that a greater percentage of the respondents were aged 44-58 years, indicating that most household heads were relatively aged, indicating that that are the ones mainly involved in consociational democracy, as shown in Figure 4.2.



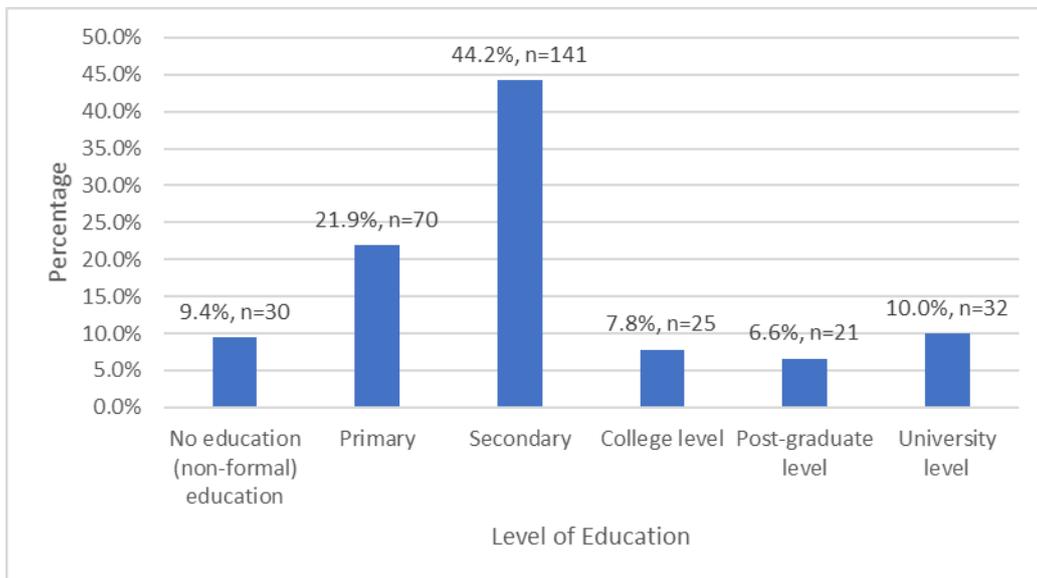
**Figure 4.2: Age Bracket of the Respondents**

Source: Research Data (2022)

#### **4.2.3 Highest Education Level Attained by Respondents**

The study sought to examine the education level attained by the respondents in order to determine their ability on how they can answer the questions presented unto them. From the findings, 44.2% (n=141) of the respondents had attained secondary level education. Further, 21.9% (n=70) of the respondents had attained primary education, 10% (n=32) of the respondents had attained university level, 9.4% (n=30) lacked education, 7.8% (n=25) had attained college level whereas 6.6% (n=21) of the respondents had attained post graduate level of education. The findings of the study show that most participants had achieved secondary level education or lower (75.5%), thus some respondents did not have difficulties in answering the questions presented unto them. The findings are in line with the national literacy levels. Those with

primary level education and lower were guided by the research assistants in answering the questions. The findings are as shown in Figure 4.3.

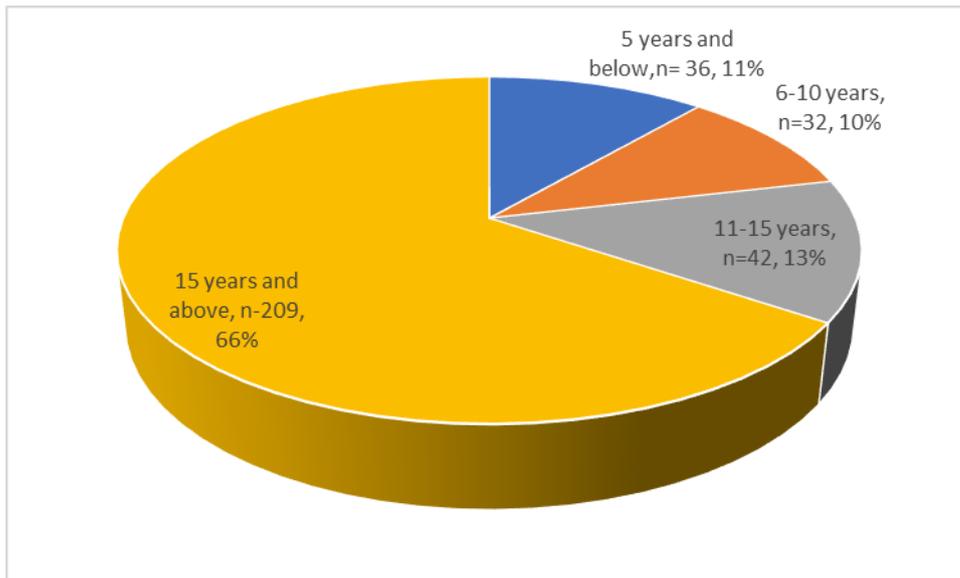


**Figure 4.3: Education Level of the Respondents**

Source: Research Data (2022)

#### 4.2.4 Length Lived in Tana River County

The study sought to indicate the duration the respondents lived in Tana River county, Kenya in order to determine whether the respondents had lived in Tana River long enough to make them familiar to the questions postulated unto them. The findings indicated that 65.5% (n=209) of the respondents had lived for a duration of 15 years and above followed by a percentage of 13.2% (n=42) who had lived for a duration of 11-15 years. Also, 10% (n=32) of the respondents had lived for a period of 6-10 years and finally 11.3% (n=36) of the respondents had lived for 5 years and below. This indicated that the respondents were residents and had an excellent know how of the questions postulated unto them during the research, as presented in Figure 4.4.

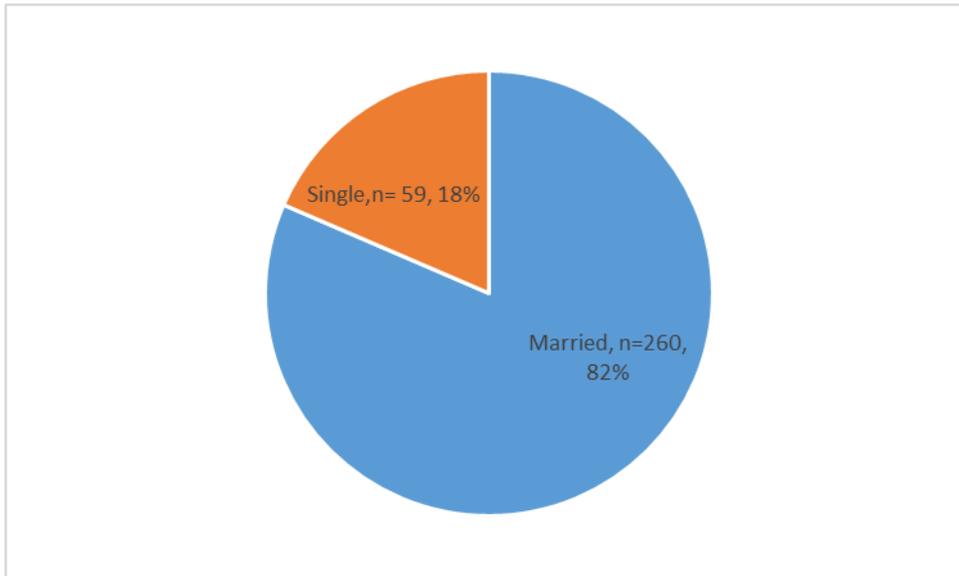


**Figure 4.4: Duration of Time the Respondents Lived in Tana River**

Source: Research Data (2022)

#### **4.2.5 Marital Status**

Marital status of the respondents was sought in the study. This was done so as to indicate whether the household heads in the study were married or not. From the findings, 81.5% (n=260) of the respondents were married whereas 18.5% (n=59) of the respondents were single. The findings indicated that most of the respondents were married hence indicating that most household heads were marries, as presented in Figure 4.5.

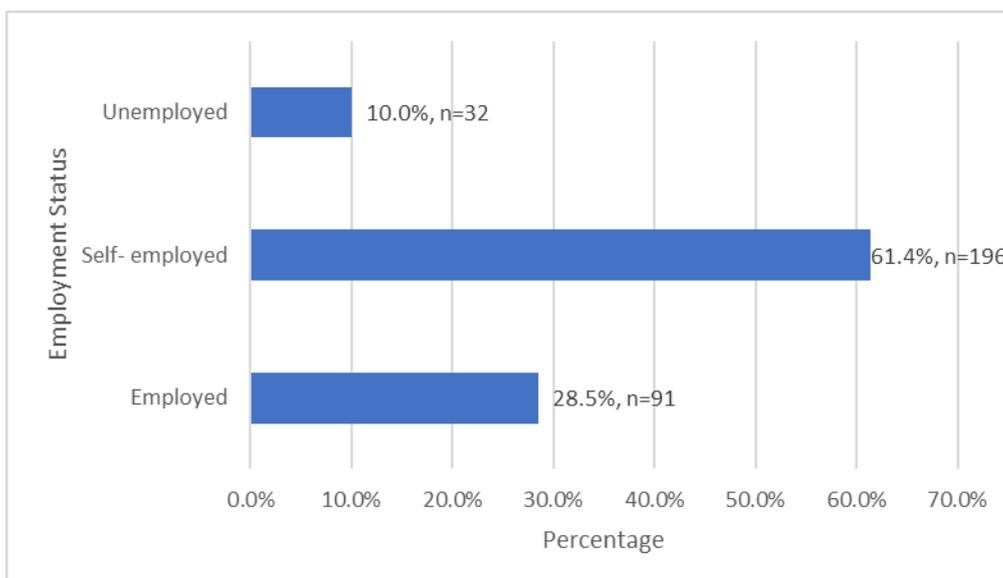


**Figure 4.5: Marital Status of the Respondents**

Source: Research Data (2022)

#### **4.2.6 Employment Status**

The study sought to determine the employment status of the respondents, in order to determine the sources of income since income levels can also contribute to conflicts. This was done to indicate the sources of livelihoods for the household heads in the Tana River County, Kenya. The findings indicated that 61.4% (n=196) of the respondents were self-employed, 28.5% (n=91) were employed and 10% (n=32) of the respondents were unemployed. This indicated that most of the respondents in the research had ventured into their economic activities in the county, as shown in Figure 4.6.



**Figure 4.6: Employment Status of the Respondents**

Source: Research Data (2022)

### **4.3 Presentation of Research Analysis and Findings**

The study sought to examine the contribution of consociational democracy in addressing ethno-political conflicts in Kenya, the case study of Tana River County. The specific objectives of the study were to establish the extent of application of the pillars of consociational democracy as practiced in the management of ethno-political conflicts, assess the effectiveness of consociational democracy in the management of ethno-political conflicts and determine the challenges and opportunities of consociational democracy in addressing ethno-political conflicts in Tana River County, Kenya. The findings of the study are illustrated in three sections (4.3.1 to section 4.3.3), each sub-section based on specific objectives of the study.

#### **4.3.1 Pillars of Consociational Democracy in Addressing Ethno-Political Conflicts**

The first objective of the study was to establish the extent of application of the pillars of consociational democracy as practiced in the management of ethno-political conflicts in Tana River County, Kenya. The study first sought to determine whether

the respondents were involved in consociational democracy in the Tana River County, Kenya. The findings obtained indicated that 73.7% of the respondents agreed that they were involved in consociational democracy in the county whereas 26.3% of the respondents disagreed. This can be attributed to their age, and those who are relatively aged tend to be involved in negotiations in the county.

For those who agreed that they were involved in consociational democracy in the county, a further analysis was done to indicate who were involved in the structure of consociational democracy in the county. The findings indicated that 45.1% of the respondents who were involved in the structure of consociational democracy were from all ethnic groups, 31.5% of the respondents were from non-governmental organizations, 12.8% were government officials and 10.6% of the respondents were from some ethnic groups. This indicated that various ethnic groups were involved in the structure of consociational democracy in the county, as presented in Table 4.1.

**Table 4.1: Involvement in Consociational Democracy**

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Individual involvement in negotiations	Yes	235	73.7	73.7
	No	84	26.3	100.0
	Total	319	100.0	
People/groups involved in consociational democracy	All ethnic groups	106	45.1	45.1
	Some ethnic groups	25	10.6	55.7
	Government officials	30	12.8	68.5
	NGOs	74	31.5	100.0
	Total	235	100.0	

Source: Research Data (2022)

The study also sought to determine whether the negotiators comprised of people drawn from their age groups, and whether women were involved in the negotiations.

The findings indicated that 57.4% of the respondents agreed that the people who negotiate comprise of people drawn from their age group whereas 42.6% of the respondents disagreed. The results also indicated that 60.8% of the respondents disagreed that women were involved in the negotiations while 39.2% of the respondents agreed. For those who agreed, the contribution of women was like that of men, but most of them were given household duties only. This indicated that men were the most who were involved in the negotiations. This is shown in Table 4.2.

**Table 4.2: Negotiators from Age Groups and Women**

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative
				Percent
Negotiators comprise of people from my age groups	Yes	183	57.4	57.4
	No	136	42.6	100.0
	Total	319	100.0	
Women are involved in the negotiations	Yes	125	39.2	39.2
	No	194	60.8	100.0
	Total	319	100.0	

Source: Research Data (2022)

On the reasons why the youth and women were not involved to a great extent in Tana River County, Kenya, the following responses were obtained from the key informants;

The reasons why youths are not involved is because they are young and therefore are not experienced, as those experienced groups are preferred. This is because of the belief that they are mature people only with good sound mind and experience of what has been happening in the area for a long time. Women are also not included in most instances due to cultural beliefs that are still existent in the communities, despite this age and time (Interview A, 19/3/2022)

Those who participate in consociational democracy are the enlightened lot. Mainly, those involved are the elderly above 40 years. There is therefore lack of different groups of people who can give views from different levels and understanding (Interview B, 20/3/2022)

Individuals are drawn from various cadres and there is representation of vulnerable groups such as PWD's, youth and women (representing all pillars such as proportionality, segment autonomy and mutual veto), but mainly the elderly who fall in the age bracket (59 years and above) are involved in the negotiations (Interview C, 20/3/2022)

The study sought to establish whether there were beliefs that bring about the kind of consociational democracy practiced and whether the political leaders played a role in the establishment of consociational democracy in Tana River County, Kenya. The findings indicated that 58.6% of the respondents disagreed that there were beliefs that bring about the kind of consociational democracy practiced in Tana River County whereas 41.4% of the respondents agreed. This illustrated that there were some beliefs that bring about the kind of consociational democracy in the county, such as traditional beliefs. The results also demonstrated that 83.7% of the respondents agreed that political leaders played a role in establishment of consociational democracy in Tana River County, Kenya whereas 16.3% of the respondents disagreed. This indicated that many political leaders were involved in the process of consociational democracy in the county, as shown in Table 4.3.

**Table 4.3: Beliefs and Political Leaders Involvement in Consociational Democracy**

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative
				Percent
Beliefs that bring about the kind of consociational democracy practiced in Tana River county	Yes	132	41.4	41.4
	No	187	58.6	100.0
	Total	319	100.0	
Political leaders play a role in the establishment of consociational democracy in Tana River county	Yes	267	83.7	83.7
	No	52	16.3	100.0
	Total	319	100.0	

Source: Research Data (2022)

On the beliefs that led to the kind of consociational democracy that was being practiced, the study found that the area contained different ethnic groups, and therefore beliefs of every community were at play, derailing the efforts to achieve peaceful resolution of conflicts, as shown from the following responses;

Tana River County comprises of various ethnic groups whose cultural beliefs are not the same at some point. Though there are some beliefs that seem similar, there are usually contradictions when it comes to the interests of every community. This has greatly affected the way negotiations are done, and it takes a very long time to achieve peace as required in the area (Interview A, 19/3/20221)

Since Tana river is a Cosmopolitan area, they believe that by not coming together they will lose to other communities. Therefore, there are alignments based on communities, which come forward to demand equal rights to resources (interview D, 21/3/20221)

The belief that the council of elders from the various communities within the county are vested with the mandate of airing the community views (interview E, 22/3/2022)

On the contribution of the political leaders in consociational democracy, the study got the following responses from the key informants and open ended questions;

Financing some activities for economic development, seeking donors to support activities or solve problems and as opinion shapers, they influence their supporters/ community in the choices they make (Interview B, 20/3/2022)

The county government is a political government - all funding is done through it plus donors. The leaders play the role of giving different activities to different groups to exercise their power in the society in income generating activities (Interview E, 22/3/2022)

They have negotiated democracy in sharing of political seats such as two or more communities combine forces to vote for aspirants hailing from the respective communities but vying for different seats so as to give them better chances of winning (Interview F, 23/3/2022)

They have a role in financing for trainings/ sensitization for rights of mandates and people with disabilities. They are mainly professionals hence they give guidance as well as funding (Interview G, 25/3/2022)

On how the negotiating teams conducted their discussions on ethno-political conflicts in Tana River County, and the major activities involved in reaching consensus among people when conflicts occur, the study found that seminars, sports, inter-faith organizations among others were mentioned as shown in the responses below;

By arranging inter and intra-ethnic meetings where these conflicts are discussed and solved. Use of interfaith organizations comprising of men and women plus youth and giving different group leaders to lead the groups in different topics of discussion (Interview B, 20/3/2022)

They incorporate government officers and relevant NGO's to assist in technical advice that will foster restoration of peace and unity. This is done through seminars/conferences, peace meetings, intercommunity meetings or barazas, engagement of leaders from every community, workshops and games especially football (Interview A, 19/3/2022)

The teams select a section of elders from their respective communities to represent them in the discussions on ethno-political conflicts. There is also creation of source of income to the youth/ women in both communities (Interview H, 27/3/20223)

Fines issued to perpetrators, compensations to given to aggrieved parties. There is organizing football tournaments, organizing workshops in cohesion and interrogation, discussions, other games and sports, seminars and conferences. Further, there is selection of a representation of elders from the communities involved in the conflict, deliberations among the elders to determine the source of conflict and imposing of sanctions to those who are found culpable of staging the conflict (Maslah system) (Interview C, 20/3/2022)

The findings also indicated that 64.6% of the respondents agreed that those who were involved in the negotiations were elected as compared to 35.4% of the respondents who said that the candidates for consideration were based on the preference from the ethnic group. This indicates that a greater percentage of the candidates were considered from political groups. In addition, the results indicated that 93.1% of the respondents agreed that candidates were briefed about the negotiations prior to the announcement of agreements to the general public while 6.9% of the respondents

disagreed. This indicated that candidates were briefed about the negotiations leading to agreements in the general public as shown in Table 4.4.

**Table 4.4: Type of Candidates for Consideration and Public Briefing**

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Whether the candidates for consideration from various ethnic groups elective or based on preference from the ethnic group	Elective	206	64.6	64.6
	Ethnic preference	113	35.4	100.0
	Total	319	100.0	
Whether the candidates briefed about the negotiations prior to the announcement of agreements to the general public	Yes	297	93.1	93.1
	No	22	6.9	100.0
	Total	319	100.0	

Source: Research Data (2022)

Also, the results indicated that 83.7% of the respondents agreed that other groups were given chance to propose their own their own preferred candidates to negotiation teams whereas 16.3% of the respondents disagreed. This illustrated that other groups were given the mandate to propose their own preferred candidates to the negotiation teams. Finally, the findings indicated that 66.8% of the respondents agreed that there were neutral people in the negotiating teams while 33.2% of the respondents disagreed, as shown in Table 4.5.

**Table 4.5: Decision Making in Negotiation Teams**

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Whether other groups were given chance to propose their own preferred candidates to the negotiation teams	Yes	267	83.7	83.7
	No	52	16.3	100.0
	Total	319	100.0	
Whether there were neutral people in the negotiating teams	Yes	213	66.8	66.8
	No	106	33.2	100.0
	Total	319	100.0	

Source: Research Data (2022)

#### 4.3.2 Effectiveness of Consociational Democracy in Ethno-political Conflicts

The second objective of the study was to assess the effectiveness of consociational democracy in the management of ethno-political conflicts in Tana River County, Kenya. The study first sought to establish the existing conflict resolution mechanisms in addition to consociational democracy in the County. The study found that negotiation, peace barazas, influential/ respected elders, community engagement in exploring for more resources. These resources include, water and pasture, building more schools and improve the school feeding program, in music to portray the themes of conflict resolution, mediation, arbitration, consultation, intervention and Maslah system that involves payment of fines to the aggrieved parties were present as mentioned by the key informants and household heads.

On how consociational democracy had been used in the County to solve ethno-political conflicts, the following responses were obtained;

By allowing some positions to be taken by other communities and being a tool that is inclusive of all communities; therefore, burning fires will be put off before it spreads. If different ethics are involved in leadership, the leaders will exercise the powers of democracy and by doing that, they will solve ethno- political conflicts by using the different leaders in different ethnics (Interview A, 19/3/2022)

In sports and games - consociational democracy has led to the inclusion of all communities (minority, majority and non-indigenous) in the leadership positions within the county. The inclusion of all communities has acted as deterrence to ethno-political activities (Interview J, 28/3/2022)

The findings obtained also indicate that 60.2% of the respondents disagreed that consociational democracy had led to inclusion of all ethnic groups in the county in political leadership and governance while 39.8% of the respondents agreed. The findings indicated that the consociational democracy was yet to contribute to inclusion of all ethnic groups in the county in political leadership and governance, as shown in Table 4.6. The results obtained also illustrated that 71.2% of the respondents said that consociational democracy had not led to equitable distribution of county government employment opportunities whereas 28.8% of the respondents agreed. The findings indicated that there was no equitable distribution of county government employment opportunities.

**Table 4.6: Consociational Democracy and Leadership and Opportunities**

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Whether the consociational democracy led to inclusion of all ethnic groups in the county in political leadership and governance	Yes	127	39.8	39.8
	No	192	60.2	100.0
	Total	319	100.0	
Whether consociational democracy led to equitable distribution of county government employment opportunities	Yes	92	28.8	28.8
	No	227	71.2	100.0
	Total	319	100.0	

Source: Research Data (2022)

On whether consociational democracy led to inclusion of all ethnic groups in the county in political leadership and governance, and equitable distribution of county

government employment opportunities, the study found that for those who said yes, there was inclusion in leadership and employment, all ethnic groups have representation in leadership and employment, as well as implementation of various policies that contribute to negotiated democracy. The following responses were obtained;

After getting through training different ethics are given leadership to lead in different activities run in the country (Interview B, 20/3/2022)

All government policies are planned in national/ county assemblies. Ethnicity has been key in political leadership/ governance. Each ethnic group apply it differently. Every ethnic group pulls thousands their side hence side-lining others (Interview K, 29/3/2022)

Though all ethnic groups have been included, the number of some groups is still low, but there are major changes at grassroots level. There is no equitable distribution of employment; jobs are given to those with tall relatives and bribing. Ethnicity, tribalism and nepotism is highly applied when distributing resources (Interview A, 19/3/2022)

Somehow through ethnicity (current leadership) governor provides leadership, employment and has kinsmen/tribes' men. Those in power tend to have their people on board hence side-lining others. Some parts of the county, such as BANGALE Division, have been side-lined by the current regime on the basis that locals from the area did not vote for the current governor. Distribution of county government employment opportunities is highly determined by the ethnic affiliation of the governor of the day. The current governor hails from the Pokomo community and hence the community enjoys a high number of employment slots within the county government (Interview D, 21/3/2022)

The findings indicated that 90.6% of the respondents disagreed that consociational democracy led to fairness in implementation of county government development projects across the sub-counties whereas 9.4% of the respondents agreed. This finding indicated that consociational democracy had not lead to fairness in implementation of county government projects. This can be explained by exclusion of other groups such as women and young people in the negotiations. Further, the findings illustrated that 55.5% of the respondents disagreed that consociational democracy led to successful

resolution of political disputes without involving the courts whereas 44.5% agreed on the same. This illustrated that consociational democracy did had led to successful resolution of political disputes without involving the courts in some instances, as shown in Table 4.7.

**Table 4.7: Consociational Democracy and Projects and Conflicts Resolution**

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Whether consociational democracy led to fairness in implementation of county government development projects across the sub-counties	Yes	30	9.4	9.4
	No	289	90.6	100.0
	Total	319	100.0	
Whether consociational democracy led to successful resolution of political disputes without involving the courts	Yes	142	44.5	44.5
	No	177	55.5	100.0
	Total	319	100.0	

Source: Research Data (2022)

On how consociational democracy led to fairness in implementation of county government development projects across the sub-counties and successful resolution of political disputes without involving the courts, the following responses were obtained from the respondents;

There have been claims that certain communities have not been factored in distribution and development agenda. No equal distribution of government projects mostly the youths and women are neglected. No fairness, there's biasness on implementation of resources. Tribalism/ favour by the county government administration has led to unfair distribution of resources and projects. Projects within the County are channelled to areas dominated by kinsmen of the Governor of the day (Interview A, 19/3/2022)

Yes, though not 100%, still the county government has to consult the national government. In addition, whoever comes to power wants to do his/her own things hence neglecting those wanted by opponents. Once there has been an agreement, parties move to it wherever there are conflicts. However, the system is still very new and communities are accepting slowly by slowly (Interview L, 29/3/2022)

Local leaders solve local disputes in their locality. Resolutions are met and achieved at village levels through negotiations. At low levels, political positions such as MCA and MP's have helped. However, for gubernatorial positions each ethnic group forces their leader to seek justice in court. Due to ethnic differences, they still end up in courts. The teams involved in the resolution of the political disputes are often inclined to a political side hence impairing the provision of justice (Interview C, 20/3/2022)

On what could be improved in the use of consociational democracy in the County, the respondents proposed the following;

Involvement of all groups in the community without segregation e.g., youths, women and other marginalized groups. Bring every person on the negotiation team in the use consociation democracy (Interview A, 19/3/2022)

Foster more inclusivity among various communities. Enhance coexistence amongst different tribes in the country. Good governance and distribution (equal) of resources. There is need for sensitizing the communities and capacity building them on the above (Interview B, 20/3/2022)

#### **4.3.3 Challenges and Opportunities of Consociational Democracy**

The third objective of the study was to determine the challenges and opportunities of consociational democracy in addressing ethno-political conflicts in Tana River County, Kenya. The findings indicate that 92.5% of the respondents agreed that there were instances where the negotiating teams were financially induced to favour certain groups or candidates while 7.5% disagreed. In addition, 90.3% of the respondents agreed that there were political differences in conflict resolution whereas 9.7% of the respondents disagreed. Most respondents (93.1%) agreed that there were unequal resources distribution and management whereas 6.9% disagreed.

The findings also indicated that 74.3% of the respondents agreed that there was lack of diversity and inclusivity whereas 25.7% of the respondents agreed on the same. Further, 78.4% of the respondents agreed that dissatisfied opinion leaders were not in

the negotiating team who work to undermine the negotiation process while 21.6% of the respondents disagreed. Also, 57.7% of the respondents disagreed that there were parties outside the county rooting for particular candidates and therefore influence the process of negotiations whereas 42.3% agreed on the same.

The findings also illustrated that 88.1% of the respondents agreed that there was lack of independent experts in the process of negotiations whereas 11.9% of the respondents disagreed. Moreover, 83.7% of the respondents agreed that there was lack of community participation in the choice of negotiators whereas 16.3% of the respondents disagreed. Most respondents (89%) of the respondents agreed that there was failure to regularly update the community on the progress of the negotiations whereas 11% of the respondents disagreed. Lastly, 90% of the respondents agreed that there were some representatives making unrealistic demands which slow down negotiations while 10% of the respondents disagreed. The findings are shown in Table 4.8.

**Table 4.8: Challenges and Opportunities of Consociational Democracy**

		Yes	No
There are instances where the negotiating teams are financially induced to favour certain groups or candidates	f	295	24
	%	92.5%	7.5%
Political differences in conflict resolution	f	288	31
	%	90.3%	9.7%
Unequal resources distribution and management	f	297	22
	%	93.1%	6.9%
Lack of diversity and inclusivity	f	237	82
	%	74.3%	25.7%
Dissatisfied opinion leaders not in the negotiating team who work to undermine the negotiation process	f	250	69
	%	78.4%	21.6%
Parties outside the county rooting for particular candidates and therefore influence the process of negotiations	f	135	184
	%	42.3%	57.7%
Lack of independent experts in the process of negotiations	f	281	38
	%	88.1%	11.9%
Lack of community participation in the choice of negotiators	f	267	52
	%	83.7%	16.3%
Failure to regularly update the community on the progress of the negotiations	f	284	35
	%	89.0%	11.0%
Some representatives making unrealistic demands which slow down negotiations	f	287	32
	%	90.0%	10.0%

Source: Research Data (2022)

When asked about other challenges face the process of consociational democracy in Tana River County and how the process of negotiations be improved, the respondents gave the following responses;

There is need for more funds to support the process of negotiated democracy. There are those members of the community who because of their positions in government or wealth sway the opinions in their favour - political influence, cultural influence and religion influence. This requires inclusivity (Interview A, 19/3/2022)

Need to solve poverty, illiteracy, inadequate funding for the negotiations, lack of political will, denial to accept outcome of negotiations and different religious background with different beliefs (Muslims). Other things that can be looked onto include biasness and family backgrounds - those with influence and may lack skills and lack

of inclusivity of women especially cushites not involved (Source: Interview C, 20/3/2022)

There is exclusion of the youthful and generation and domination of council of elders in the selection of political leaders. The council of elders are often compromised by the political class in a bid for them to be endorsed as the suitable candidates. There is therefore need for more education initiatives, having independent experts to facilitate in the negotiation process and opening up more workshops on educating or creating awareness to the communities on goodies in the process.

By bringing everybody in the negotiation table and giving back feedback, using emotional intelligence, control discussions, total political goodwill, education-intensify education to locals, involve all people men, women, and youth, need for training and capacity building, breakdown of tribal supremacy, include women, inclusion of all age groups in the negotiation process and inclusion of neutral persons in the negotiation process (Interview L, 29/3/2022)

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **DISCUSSION, SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents the discussion of the findings, summary of findings, conclusion based on the interpretation of the results and recommendations for the study. The recommendations are based on practice and policy implication as well as areas for further research.

#### **5.2 Discussion**

This section discusses the results on the examination of the contribution of consociational democracy in addressing ethno-political conflicts in Kenya. The section is guided by the specific objectives of the study which are to establish the extent of application of the pillars of consociational democracy as practiced in the management of ethno-political conflicts, assess the effectiveness of consociational democracy in the management of ethno-political conflicts and determine the challenges and opportunities of consociational democracy in addressing ethno-political conflicts in Tana River County, Kenya.

A total of 319 out of 397 questionnaires had all questions completely responded to and were found suitable and eligible for analysis giving an overall response rate of 80%. However, there were challenges accessing all respondents since the area is marred with insecurity and has households sparsely distributed, making it hard for the researcher and the research assistants to access all areas of the County. This response was nonetheless excellent as per Bryman (2016) who recommended a response rate of 60% or more and therefore considered sufficient for analysis in this research. The findings indicate that most of the respondents aged 44-58 years who were old enough

to familiarize with the region. The findings also indicated that 44.2% of the respondents had attained secondary level education which initiated that the respondents achieved high levels of education. These findings are in line with those of Musyoka (2019) who found similar demographics in Tana River County, Kenya.

The findings indicated that 65.5% of the respondents had lived for duration of 15 years and above in Tana River County which indicated that most of the respondents had lived for a long period of time in the region thus they were aware of the kind of questions postulated unto them. Furthermore, 81.5% of the respondents were married and 61.4% of the respondents were self-employed. These factors were found to influence the respondents' decision to 'accept' consociational democracy. Musembi, and Iteyo (2018) argued that having the respondents who are residents of the area give to good results for analysis, hence supporting the current study findings in Tana River county, Kenya.

### **5.2.1 Pillars of Consociational Democracy in Addressing Ethno-Political Conflicts**

The findings indicated that most respondents agreed that they were involved in consociational democracy in Tana River county. In line with the findings of the study, Fazaeli *et al.* (2020) agreed with the current study findings that consociational democracy is needed to solve ethno-political conflicts that categorize and foreground ethnic and religious differences. Consociational democracy is also important in altering the perceptions of one side as a result of cognitive and informational biases as well as communication distortion. In addition, Carciumaru (2019) agrees with the findings of the study that consociational democracy can be used in countries that are deeply divided into distinct religious, ethnic, racial, or regional segments conditions usually considered unfavourable for stable democracy, as in in the case of Tana River

county, Kenya. The same findings were posited by the key informants that Tana River county being a cosmopolitan area, involvement of everyone would play a major role in solving ethno-political conflicts in the area.

The findings indicated that majority of the respondents who were involved in the structure of consociational democracy were from all ethnic groups, meaning that not all the people from all communities are involved in some instances. This shows that there was partiality in the way consociational democracy was practiced in the County. Mutungi (2019) agrees with the findings of the study that little is known about the specific dynamics in the county that informs adoption of the consociational democracy model, the extent of its support among the population and the structure of the negotiations embodying the model.

The findings indicated that most respondents agreed that there were people who negotiate and compromise of people who are aged as they are thought to possess the experience in negotiations. The key informants also indicated that those involved were of relatively old age, as they formed majority of the responses in the study. A study conducted by Canetti *et al.* (2017) on exposure to violence, ethos of conflict and support for compromise agrees with the findings of the study that exposure to political violence provokes support for the ethos of conflict and hinders support for compromise through perceived psychological distress. The study found that usually those who were aged were involved in negotiations, and the young people (youths) were excluded. The study's main conclusion is that age acts as a mediating variable in the relationship between violence and attitudes toward peaceful settlement of the conflict.

The results also showed that the majority of the respondents disagreed that women were involved in the negotiations. The key informants indicate that this could be attributed to cultural beliefs in the area. The resolution UN 1325 requires states to engage women in peace building. However, Visoka and Richmond (2017) disagrees with the findings of the study that the idea of non-coercive ways of addressing conflicts by negotiations of peace agreements is encouraged compared to coercive means. This make it clear that even women can engage in power sharing negotiations, as opposed to Tana River County, Kenya where women were found to be excluded from such discussions.

The findings established that most of the respondents agreed that political leaders played a role in establishment of consociational democracy in Tana River County, Kenya. In line with the findings of the study, Rohwerder (2015) determined that political leaders and the civil society should prioritise the bottom-up reconciliation programs between ethnic, communities, government and political leaders and this can best be achieved when political leaders come together to solve conflicts affecting their areas. The political leaders must create opportunity and guarantee space for active citizen engagement. Sustainable mechanisms have been found to be effective; preventing violence requires sustained support and long-term conflict prevention mechanisms. This is in line with John Paul Lederach triangle/ model which show importance of grassroots in peace building/ conflict resolution engagement.

### **5.2.2 Effectiveness of Consociational Democracy in Ethno-political Conflicts**

The findings indicated that the majority of the respondents contended that consociational democracy had led to inclusion of all ethnic groups in the county in political leadership and governance. There were instances of corruption and nepotism as cited by the key informants. In line with the findings of the study, Cross and Sorens

(2016) also determined that not all people were involved in political leadership and governance, and recommended inclusion of other parties such as women, youths and other marginalized groups. Further, Rohwerder (2015) analysis of conflict determined that the constitution and reform agenda remain an opportunity to move beyond short-term crisis management and resolve underlying grievances and potential drivers of future conflict. Involvement of all parties is emphasized, but this was not the case in Tana River County, hence disagreeing with the study findings. The key informants indicated that there were instances of involvement such as in sports, conferences and meetings, but this did not include all parties, thus affecting the effectiveness of consociational democracy in addressing politically instigated inter-ethnic conflicts in Tana River County.

The results indicated that most respondents indicated that consociational democracy had not led to equitable distribution of county government employment opportunities. This position was emphasized by the key informants. Disagreeing with the findings of the study, Hughes and Kostovicova (2020) said that the consociational model of democracy in Germany and French Republic was a very essential mechanism for managing conflict in multi-cultural communities, by attending to the enablers of conflict such as lack of equity in power and resource sharing. The difference in the findings can be explained by the difference in locality, and the way political alignments and how political leaders are chosen based on locality and political alignment. In addition, Musah (2018) added that the consociational model of democracy had been advanced as the most suitable to transform the social-political conflict enablers in plural settings because of its inclusion and proportionality principles that directly address issues around access to power and resources equitably, hence also positing different results from those of the current study.

The findings also illustrated that the majority of the respondents pointed that consociational democracy led to fairness in implementation of county government development projects across the sub-counties. Disagreeing with the finding of the study, Checkel (2012) looking at the pluralist theory argued that consociational democracy is hinged on three basic principles; power is dispersed and fragmented, policies are established through negotiations and comprise and tend to be fair to all people in the long run. However, the findings agreed that the larger the group, the more influential it is, and groups provide more effective means of representation, but this was also true for Tana River County.

The results showed that most respondents indicated that consociational democracy led to successful resolution of political disputes without involving the courts. Findings by Carciumaru (2019) go hand in hand with the study findings that consociational democracy did not always lead to successful resolution of political disputes, as some major groups were excluded. There is need for policy makers and analysts to make a point of reference which will enable them to re-draft government and political policies in view of conflict resolution since political conflict in multi ethnic environment is becoming an endemic phenomenon.

### **5.2.3 Challenges and Opportunities of Consociational Democracy**

On the challenges and opportunities of consociational democracy in addressing ethno-political conflicts in Tana River County, Kenya, the findings show that most household heads agreed that there were instances where the negotiating teams were financially induced to favour certain groups or candidates. These findings were also emphasized by the key informants. Findings from Lambore (2016) disagree with the current study findings that in developing countries, consociational democracy usually worked because of understanding from both parties and no enticement was practised.

However, this was not the case in Tana River County, where politics of clans and families dominated. Therefore, for sustainable peace to be witnessed in all war-torn areas, leaders should identify and support legal practice courses, thereby providing them with the legal mandate and the financial support to operate on a large-scale, without any kind of enticement.

The results also illustrated that majority the house household heads respondents agreed that there were political differences in conflict resolution in Tana River county. The findings of the study are supported by the findings of Fazaeli *et al.* (2020) who argued that consociational democracy was hampered by ethno-political conflicts that categorized and foregrounded ethnic and religious differences and altered the perceptions of one side as a result of cognitive and informational biases as well as communication distortions. The key informants indicated that every group had some views that could distort the progress made in negotiations, which made the process longer than expected.

The findings indicated that most respondents agreed that there was lack of diversity and inclusivity. In line with the findings of the study, Miguel and Gugerty (2015) agrees with the study findings when the authors conducted a study on ethnic diversity, social sanctions, and public goods in Kenya and reported that ethnic diversity is associated with lower funding and worse facilities, and there was suggestive evidence that it led to poor quality of negotiations. Ichuloi *et al.* (2019) added that the adoption of consociational democracy model whose principles of inclusivity, proportionality and segment autonomy had been argued as the pathway to addressing the conflict drivers, including those that were politically motivated.

The findings indicated that the majority of the respondents agreed that there was lack of community participation in the choice of negotiators. Similar findings by Miguel and Gugerty (2015) indicated that lack of community participation in the choice of negotiators in diverse communities led to collective action failures. Further, a research conducted by Musyoka (2019) indicated that other communities such as Munyoyaya, the Somali community, Wailwaha (Malakote), Watta and the Wardei often feel left out in the negotiations between farmers and pastoralists and have resulted to support any of the major warring groups, further escalating the conflicts. This has led to challenges such as poor development of the affected areas.

The results indicated that most respondents agreed that there were some representatives making unrealistic demands which slow down negotiations. In line with the findings of the study, Hernandez (2017) while conducting a study on Philippines Moro conflict found that unnecessary demands from one side led to the problems and prospects in the quest for sustainable peace. The same position was possessed by the key informants of the study, where some communities made demands that derailed the whole process of negotiations.

### **5.3 Summary of Findings**

The study sought to examine the contribution of consociational democracy in addressing ethno-political conflicts in Tana River County, Kenya. Specifically, the study evaluated the extent of application of the pillars of consociational democracy as practiced in the management of ethno-political conflicts, assessed the effectiveness of consociational democracy in the management of ethno-political conflicts and determined the challenges and opportunities of consociational democracy in addressing ethno-political conflicts in Tana River County.

On the evaluation of the extent of application of the pillars of consociational democracy as practiced in the management of ethno-political conflicts in Tana River county, the study found that the older household heads were involved in consociational democracy in Tana River county, as opposed to the younger household heads. It also found that those who were involved in the structure of consociational democracy were from all ethnic groups, in most instances. The political leaders further, played a role in establishment of consociational democracy in Tana River County.

On the assessment of the effectiveness of consociation democracy in the management of ethno-political conflicts in Tana River County, the study found that the constitutional democracy had led to inclusion of most ethnic groups in the county in political leadership and governance. Further, consociation democracy had not led to equitable distribution of county government employment opportunities through lack of equity in power and resource sharing. Finally, consociation democracy did not lead to fairness in implementation of county government development projects across the sub-counties which led to unsuccessful resolution of political disputes without involving the courts.

On the determination of the challenges and opportunities of consociational democracy in addressing ethno-political conflicts in Tana River County, the study found that the negotiating teams were financially induced to favour certain groups or candidates. In addition, the research found that there were political differences in conflict resolution which led to lack of diversity and inclusivity. Finally, the study found out that there was lack of community participation in the choice of negotiators and some representatives made unrealistic demands which slow down negotiations.

## **5.4 Conclusion**

Based on the study findings, the discussion and the conclusion made, the study makes the following conclusions:

On the evaluation of the extent of application of the pillars of consociational democracy as practiced in the management of ethno-political conflicts in Tana River County, the study concluded that the involvement of household heads in consociational democracy led to cohesion and togetherness in the process of consociational democracy, where different people from different ethnic segments were featured. However, women and youths were usually missing from the negotiation teams.

On the assessment of the effectiveness of consociational democracy in the management of ethno-political conflicts in Tana River County in Kenya, the study concluded that even if there was no equitable distribution of county government employment opportunities through lack of equity in power, constitutional democracy had led to inclusion of most ethnic groups in the county in political leadership and governance.

On the determination of the challenges and opportunities of consociational democracy in addressing ethno-political conflicts in Tana River County, the study concluded that there was lack of community participation in the choice of negotiators with some representatives making unrealistic demands which slow down negotiations, negotiating teams were financially induced to favour certain groups or candidates which brought up political differences in conflict resolution.

### **5.5 Recommendations**

Based on the study findings, the discussion and the conclusion made, the study makes the following recommendations:

On the evaluation of the extent of application of the pillars of consociational democracy as practiced in the management of ethno-political conflicts in Tana River County, the study recommends that youths and women should be involved in the power sharing and resource negotiations in the county. This would enhance equality in age and gender balances hence promote ethno-political conflicts management through diverse views that affect different types of individuals and segments.

On the assessment of the effectiveness of consociational democracy in the management of ethno-political conflicts in Tana River County, the study recommends that there should be equitable distribution of county government opportunities including employment, appointment and resources, which will lead to inclusion of all ethnic groups in economic, political leadership and governance.

On the determination of the challenges and opportunities of consociational democracy in addressing ethno-political conflicts in Tana River County, the study recommends that the negotiating teams should always be ready to compromise their positions as this is the only way that an agreement to resolve conflicts can be achieved. The community should also work together in the selection of representatives which will ensure that their views are heard and hence fastening the negotiations for a stable society.

### **5.6 Suggestion for Further Research**

This research study was only conducted in Tana River County. This limited the scope of the study in coverage. The study therefore recommends that other studies can be

conducted on the Socio-economic implication of politically advanced inter-ethnic conflicts in Tana River County, Kenya. Further studies can be carried out on the Role of government institutions in the management of inter-ethnic conflicts between pastoralists and agricultural communities in Tana River County, Kenya.

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## **APPENDICES**

### **Appendix 1 - Introduction Letter**

**RE: THE ROLE OF CONSOCIATIONAL DEMOCRACY IN ADDRESSING ETHNO- POLITICAL CONFLICTS: THE CASE STUDY OF TANA RIVER COUNTY, KENYA.**

#### **Dear Respondent**

Dear respondent, you are requested to answer the attached questionnaire. I am a Masters student from **AFRICA NAZARENE UNIVERSITY**. I am conducting a research on the above topic which is meant for academic purposes only. The responses will be confidential.

Kind Regards

**DANIELLAH NDANU NDAMBUKI**

**Appendix 2 - Questionnaire for Household Heads****SECTION I: BACKGROUND INFORMATION**

## 1. Age

- 18-30
- 31-43
- 44-58
- 59 and above

## 2. Education level

- No education (non-formal) education
- Primary
- Secondary
- College Level
- Post Graduate Level
- University Level

## 3. Length lived in Tana River County

- 5 years and below
- 6-10 years
- 11-15 years
- 15 Years and above

## 4. Marital Status?

- Married
- Single

## 5. What is your employment status?

- Employed
- Self-employed
- Unemployed

## SECTION II: PILLARS OF CONSOCIATIONAL DEMOCRACY

To what extent do you agree with the following statements? Use a scale of 1 = Strongly Disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Neutral, 4 = Agree, 5 = Strongly Agree.

1. Are you involved in consociational democracy in the County?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

2. If yes, who are involved in the structure of consociational democracy in the County?

All ethnic groups [ ]

Some ethnic groups [ ]

Government officials [ ]

Non-governmental organizations [ ]

Other (Specify)

3. Do those who negotiate comprise of people drawn from your age group? Yes [ ] No [ ]

Please explain your answer.

.....  
 .....

4. Are the women involved in the negotiations?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

5. Are there beliefs that bring about the kind of consociational democracy practiced in Tana River County?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

6. If yes, what are these beliefs?

.....  
 .....

- e. Do political leaders play in a role in the establishment of consociational democracy in Tana River County?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

- 7. If yes, what role do they play?  
.....  
.....
- 8. How do the negotiating teams conduct their discussions on ethno-political conflicts in Tana River County?  
.....  
.....
- 9. What are the major activities involved in reaching consensus among people when conflicts occur?  
.....  
.....
- 10. Are candidates for consideration from various ethnic groups elective or based on preference from the ethnic group?  
Elective [ ] Ethnic preference [ ]
- 11. Are candidates briefed about the negotiations prior to the announcement of agreements to the general public  
Yes [ ] No [ ]
- 12. Are other groups given chance to propose their own preferred candidates to the negotiation teams?  
Yes [ ] No [ ]
- 13. Are there neutral people in the negotiating teams?  
Yes [ ] No [ ]

**SECTION III: EFFECTIVENESS OF CONSOCIATIONAL DEMOCRACY**

- 1. What are the existing conflict resolution mechanisms in addition to consociational democracy in the County?  
.....  
.....

.....  
.....

2. How has consociational democracy been used in the County to solve ethno-political conflicts?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

3. Has consociational democracy led to inclusion of all ethnic groups in the county in political leadership and governance?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

Please explain your answer.

.....  
.....

4. Has consociational democracy led to equitable distribution of county government employment opportunities?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

Please explain your answer.

.....  
.....

5. Has consociational democracy led to fairness in implementation of county government development projects across the sub-counties?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

Please explain your answer.

.....  
.....

6. Has consociational democracy led to successful resolution of political disputes without involving the courts?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

Please explain your answer.

.....  
.....

7. Please state what you think could be improved in the use of consociational democracy in the County.

.....  
 .....

#### **SECTION IV: CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES OF CONSOCIATIONAL DEMOCRACY**

1. Please indicate if the following challenges have been experienced in the process of implementation of consociational democracy in Tana River County.

	Yes	No
There are instances where the negotiating teams are financially induced to favour certain groups or candidates		
Political differences in conflict resolution		
Unequal resources distribution and management		
Lack of diversity and inclusivity		
Dissatisfied opinion leaders not in the negotiating team who work to undermine the negotiation process		
Parties outside the county rooting for particular candidates and therefore influence the process of negotiations		
Lack of independent experts in the process of negotiations		
Lack of community participation in the choice of negotiators		
Failure to regularly update the community on the progress of the negotiations		
Some representatives making unrealistic demands which slow down negotiations		

2. What other challenges face the process of consociational democracy in Tana River County?

.....  
.....  
.....

3. How can the process of negotiations be improved?

.....  
.....  
.....

**Appendix 3 - Interview Guides**

1. What pillars of consociational democracy are practiced in the management of ethno-political conflicts in Tana River County?
2. How effective is consociational democracy in the management of ethno-political conflicts in Tana River County?
3. What are the challenges and opportunities of consociational democracy in addressing ethno-political conflicts in Tana River County?

## Appendix 4 – ANU Introduction Letter



9<sup>th</sup> February 2022

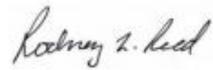
**RE: TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN**

---

Daniellah Ndanu Ndambuki (16J06DMGP001) is a bonafide student at Africa Nazarene University. She has finished her course work and has defended her thesis proposal entitled: -

*“Contribution of Consociational Democracy in Resolving Ethno- Political Conflicts in Tana River County”.*

Any assistance accorded to her to facilitate data collection and finish her thesis is highly welcomed.



**Prof. Rodney Reed**  
**DVC, Academic & Student Affairs.**

Appendix 5 – NACOSTI Permit

  
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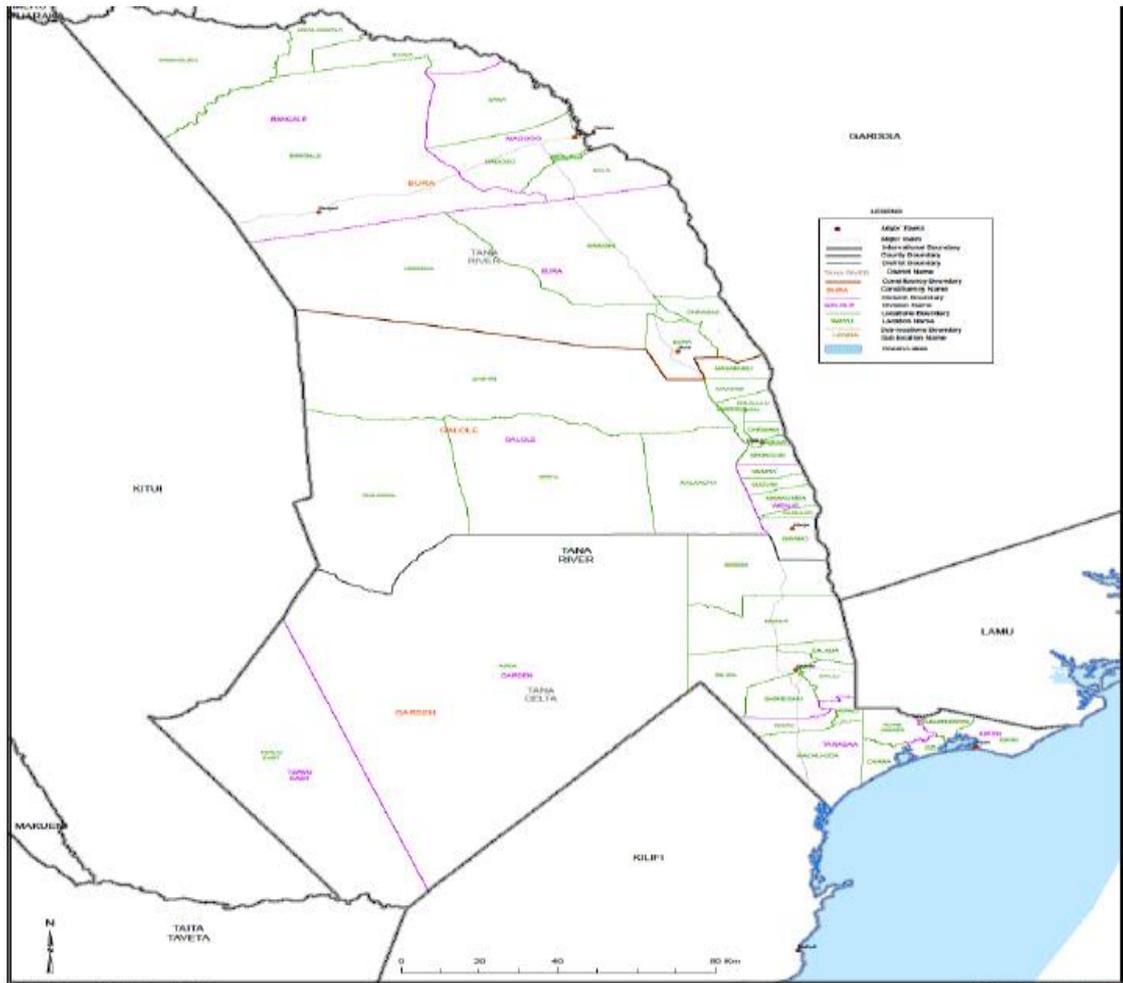
  
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**Appendix 6 - Map of the Study Area**



*Source: Tana River County Development Planning Office, 2018*

## Appendix 7: Turnitin Plagiarism Report

### CONTRIBUTION OF CONSOCIATIONAL DEMOCRACY IN ADDRESSING ETHNO- POLITICAL CONFLICTS IN KENYA: THE CASE OF TANA RIVER COUNTY, KENYA

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