

**INFLUENCE OF POLITICAL CULTURE ON INTERCOMMUNAL
COHESION: CASE OF MIGORI COUNTY, KENYA**

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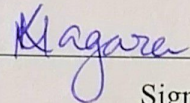
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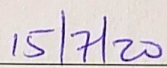
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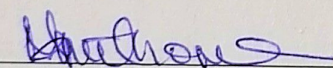


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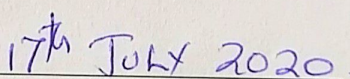
Supervisors' Declaration

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

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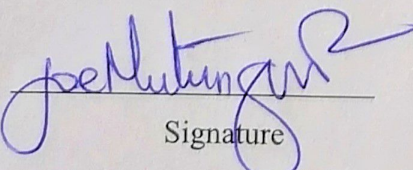


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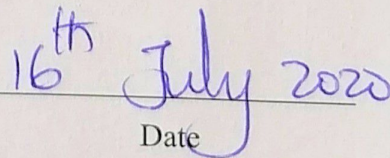


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Mr. Joseph Mutungi



Signature



Date

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my family which includes my mother Marcella Magara, my husband Alfred Michira and son Enock Nyankieya for their incredible support and encouragement during my studies.

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ABSTRACT

Elections remain high-stakes affairs across the world. Studies indicate that often social cleavages – religious, gender, racial, ethnic and tribal lines among others – are exploited by politicians as a means to acquire and retain power. The objectives of this study were to establish how ethno-political identity and political patronage influenced intercommunal cohesion at the subnational level and explore corrective measures to address the divisive elements of political culture so as to enhance intercommunal cohesion in Migori County, Kenya. Cultural Identity Theory was used to explain the relationship between the variables of the study. Descriptive research design comprising of qualitative and quantitative methods was used to describe the relationship between the variables of the study. The target population of this research consisted of elected politicians and the residents of Migori County who have lived in the county at least in the last five years and from whom a sample size of 384 was obtained to participate in the study. Questionnaires and interview schedules were used to collect data while frequency graphs and charts were used to analyse quantitative data while content analysis was used to make sense of qualitative data. The study established that ethno-political identity and political patronage had negative effects on intercommunity cohesion in Migori County. Precisely, the study established that minority communities felt that their voice did not matter in the county political matrix unless they were allied to the party supported by the dominant ethnic community. It was further found that people who disagreed with the dominant political party and the local political kingpins were branded community traitors and unworthy of seeking political leadership in the county and this fostered political animosity within and between ethnic communities in the county. Comparatively, the two dominant communities living in the county were found to hold diametrically opposed political positions and support for different political parties and this served to undermine cohesion among them. The practice of democracy was also found to be subject to manipulation and gerrymandering as the popular will of the people particularly in political party primaries was disregarded by party leaders to the chagrin of its members. In terms of corrective measures, majority of the respondents were of the strong view that the law regulating political parties needed to be implemented, particularly in light of party financing disclosure so that rich unpopular people do not undermine democracy using their resources and consequently weakening cohesion. It also emerged that the state authorities responsible for fostering unity needed to be more visible and active at the grassroots to help fight stereotypes. In conclusion, in view of the two facets of the country's political cultures that were studied in this research, Kenya's political culture has negative implications on intercommunal cohesion. Politicization of ethnicity and political patronage in Kenyan politics weaken the social bonds among different ethnic communities. The corrective approaches that have so far been put in place are relatively effective with electoral reforms being more effective than political party reforms. The following recommendations are made based on the findings of the study; the government of Kenya should step-up electoral reforms efforts that will help the country address problems of ethnically inclined political activities, the NCIC to work together with IEBC to punish those who breach the set codes of conducts, the NCIC is encouraged to work closely with the citizenry and other politicians to identify individuals and institutions that encourage the undesirable political culture practices and punish them appropriately, and the general public is urged to shun politicians and political institutions that are founded on ethno-political identity and political patronage and give leadership opportunities to candidates and parties that promote inclusivity and social cohesion.

OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

Ethno-political identity: the basis for social association among members of a society who share a common ethnic identity and political views.

Ethnic alignments: positioning of members of a community based on their ethnographic commonalities in the pursuit of a particular interest such as political office.

Ethno-political symbols: these are symbols established by members of political formations who are also made up certain ethnic communities or groups of ethnic communities used to identify themselves and also shape perception of their followers and those of their opponents.

Intercommunal cohesion: the element of togetherness and bonding exhibited by members of a community drawn from different ethnic backgrounds.

Political culture: set of shared beliefs, views, attitudes, normative judgments and sentiments held by a society that give order and meaning to political processes and activities in the society and which provide the principal assumptions that govern behaviour in the political system.

Political patronage: A political practice where visible political actors exercise their power and influence, real or imagined, to affect changes or processes in favour of an individual or community.

Social cohesion: extent of harmony, unity and connectedness among individuals and communities of society towards the wellness of the society. It staves off exclusion and marginalization.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ANOVA	:	Analysis of Variation
IEBC	:	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
MTCs	:	Micro-Targeted Campaigns
NACOSTI	:	National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation
NCIC	:	National Cohesion and Integrated Commission
ODM	:	Orange Democratic Movement
OECD	:	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
SIV	:	Social Identity Voting
UK	:	United Kingdom
USA	:	United States of America

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter sets the stage and creates broader picture for the study to capture the audience's attention. It is organized into different sections that elaborate on the study topic by presenting detailed discussions on the dependent and independent variables. The main sections of this chapter of the document, in logical order, are; the statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research question, the study's significance, scope of the study, limitations and delimitations of the study, and the conceptual framework.

1.2 Background of the Study

World over, elections are high-stakes affairs. This is evidenced by the extreme extents that some politicians are always willing and ready to go to in order to get themselves or their preferred candidates win political seats against their political rivals. Whether in the Americas, South Africa, Nigeria, Asia or any other place across the world, different countries have what can be termed as their own 'political culture', a set of political trends, processes and mechanisms that widely and commonly practiced in the specific countries (Voinea, 2020). For instance, in most democratically developing countries, instances of political outfits hiring youths, arming them and equipping them to protect their interests are not new realities in the political sphere across the world but mundane practices that the world seem to have gotten used to.

All the pointers indicate that often social cleavages – religious, gender, racial, ethnic and tribal lines among others – are exploited by politicians as a means to political expedient ends (Zielinski, 2002). This is the reality even in the most developed nations of the world as observed by commentators drawn from across different disciplines,

more so political commentators. A study by Krauss (2015) on inequality of politics in the United States of America (USA) established that the perceptions of social class were consistently related to political participation. The same study also showed that over the years, consistent data on American voting patterns reveal that those from relatively lower social class backgrounds, namely lower income, education, and occupation status, were less inclined to vote than their more advantaged upper social class counterparts. Ricard (2018) argues that the Trump presidency would have not been a reality had the 45th president of USA not ridden on the racism tide. Other observers like Hooghe and Dassonneville (2018) who share this view argue that President Trump held the card of racism concealed in racist resentment and anti-immigrant sentiments to successfully get himself elected as president of the USA. It is further argued by Bouie (2016) that race is a permanent factor in American society and one that plays a significant role in the nation's politics through unabashed activation or coded rhetoric. Social stratification, driven by the psychology of social class, seems to me the most common source and driver of politics of differentiation. These factors influence individuals' and groups' political thoughts, feelings and behaviours (Manstead, 2018).

The racist nature of politics against the blacks is the same in the United Kingdom (UK), with a twist of social class added to it. Flemmen and Savage (2017) argue that there is renewed and growing revival of politics of racism, an agenda driven mainly by the disadvantaged white populations, especially on the backdrop of increased terrorism attacks that were experienced in the UK from the year 2001. The economically poor whites seem to hold the view that immigrants and people of colour significantly compound the political challenges facing the country (Narayan, 2019). In the same vein, Bhambra (2017) notes that racism and more particularly anti immigrant sentiment was a key feature of the Brexit referendum vote. Surveys carried out in the

UK in the last two decades have also shown that some level of class centric prejudice has been an issue of concern in the political sphere. These surveys found that the middle and upper class citizens have tendencies of looking down upon the financially disadvantaged members of their societies with a feeling that their votes do not count for much in the elections (Flemmen & Savage, 2017).

Ishkanian (2017) posits that in less democratic nations like Armenia there is always an impression that elections are always going to be problematic. In such countries, the nature of politics in these countries is such in a way that instrumentalization and politicization of ethnicity is often used as a means of mobilizing and consolidating political support. Minority groups are denied their democratic rights of equal access to socio-economic, political and cultural resources (Butale, 2018). This is an inescapable fact and a commonplace of political life. This is due to the fact that politicians mobilize their supporters along the different social cleavages thereby creating tinderbox situations that in effect stoke polarization along social cleavages. Rodin (2013) argues that the formation of ethnic identities by relating to the ethno-political symbols and values makes it possible to present more clearly the boundaries and content of ethnic cohesion and integrity. This argument is drawn from the findings of a study carried out in Latvia which advanced that these formations create collective image of the ethnic majority and ethnic minority communities. Such formations can be detrimental to community cohesion.

Africa is no different from other parts of the world. In Africa tribalism and ethnicity have their legacies in politics. Saliency of ethnicity in this continent as a political cleavage across African countries like Ghana, Uganda and Kenya has continued to grow over time (Cheeseman, Lynch & Willis, 2018). This is contributed to by the fact that the continent is made up of many tribes and ethnicities which, even

before colonization, competed against one another for resources (Young, 2017). This competition for resources over time has been carried into politics, thereby providing the social cleavage for voting behaviour and party affiliation in Africa. Given the ethnic nature of politics in Africa, Ilorah (2009) contends that political leadership in most African nations, with their ethnic diversities, is typified by ethnic bias and favouritism. Consequently, citizens are thus treated unequally in many respects, particularly when it comes to national resource allocation and political representation, depending on their ethno-political alignments in relations to the ruling class (Kroeger, 2012).

These political tendencies and realities inevitably lead to socio-structural consequences in multi-ethnic societies, one of which is social cohesion among ethnic communities. In a study carried out in Kenya on perceptions of social cohesion, Naituli and Nasimiyu (2018) argue that social cohesion is important for creating an environment of peaceful coexistence member of different social cleavages. For intercommunal cohesion to thrive among members of different social groupings, Langer, Stewart and Venugopal (2012) while commenting on a study carried out in Kenya and other African countries, emphasize effective presence of three components; equity (fairness), trust among people, and the propensity of members of communities to prefer national identities to their group (or ethnic) identities. Contrary to the popular rhetoric that political leaders can increase electoral support by appealing to perceived ethnic grievances, study by Horowitz and Klaus (2018) carried out in the expansive Rift Valley region of Kenya found that largely, voters in conflict-prone settings may be less easily swayed by divisive ethnic rhetoric.

However, a small proportion of the ethnic “insiders” who felt land insecure were exceptions to this finding. In Migori County, Mitullah (2017) found that to quell the simmering tension between the two dominant ethnic tribes and reach a compromise, a

socio-political power distribution deal was stricken whereby the positions as deputy governor and senator were promised to the Kuria. Further, the recent political mayhem and conflicts that broke out after the 2017 general election. Largely, as Elfversson (2019) observes, the conflicts were attributed to negative political culture.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Social cohesion remains an area of interest among researcher and scholars, especially those who hail from societies or communities where conflict tend to threaten peaceful coexistence among members of their societies. The interest is largely driven by the fundamental role cohesive social relations play in the growth and advancements of communities. In Kenya, cohesion among the different ethnic communities arguably seems elusive (Nyaura, 2018; Kwatamba, 2008). Although this elusion can be explained by a number of factors such as competition for natural resources like pasture as has been the case sometimes in the North Eastern regions of Kenya, the general observation from experts and the wider general public is that politics is at the centre of the divisions observed among different ethnic groups in the country (Biniam, 2015).

However, despite these assumption and gut feel convictions, it is noteworthy to observe that not many studies have been conducted with respect to the culture of Kenyan politics and the effect this has on cohesion among different communities in countries based on their ethical differences. Existing studies have largely focused on the subject of ethnicity and how it shapes and in turn is shaped by political activities in the country. For instance, Nyaura (2018) assessed how devolution of in Kenya consequently led to devolution of ethnicity in the country. Wanjiku (2017) set out to find possible solutions on how ethnic-based politics in the country can be addressed in the country. On the subject of national cohesion, Guyo (2013) assessed the contribution of mass media in Kenya to promote social cohesion in the country.

Therefore, arguably, while for a long time instrumentalization of ethnicity as a means to achieving political ends has been synonymous with Kenya, its effect on social cohesion among communities in Kenya remain unexplored. In addressing the existing research gap, this study assessed the implications of Kenya's political culture on intercommunal cohesion in the country with a focus on Migori County. To arrive at reliable findings, comparisons were made of intercommunity relations during the political off peak and the relations in the immediate periods before and after general elections as well the actual election periods.

1.4 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of a study highlights to a reader the primary goals of a study by explaining why the study is being carried out (Simon, 2011). Every electoral cycle some degree of disintegration in social cohesion among different ethnic communities is usually experienced in Kenya. This disintegration tends to be more manifest in the cosmopolitan urban centres in Kenya where the societal make-up in terms of ethnic communities is more heterogeneous. The purpose of this study therefore is to delve deep and unearth some of the causes of ethnic disintegration experienced in the nation during general election periods in the country.

1.5 Objectives of the Study

The general objective of this study is to establish implications of Kenya's political culture on intercommunal cohesion among the county's various ethnic communities.

The specific objectives of this study are to;

- i) Establish how ethno-political identity influences intercommunal cohesion in Migori County.
- ii) Determine effects of political patronage on intercommunal cohesion in Migori County.

- iii) To explore corrective approaches to divisive elements of political culture to enhance intercommunal cohesion in Migori County.

1.6 Research Questions

- i) How does ethno-political identity influence intercommunal cohesion in Migori County?
- ii) What are the effects of political patronage on intercommunal cohesion in Migori County?
- iii) Which corrective approaches to divisive elements of political culture have been instituted to enhance intercommunal cohesion in Migori County?

1.7 Significance of the Study

Dusitnanond (2007) defined significance of a study as the contribution a research makes to the broad literature or set of broad educational problems upon completion. The findings of this study would of immense significance to a number of stakeholders both in the country and beyond. In terms of policy making, the key actors in the Kenya's election, that is the National Cohesion and Integrated Commission and Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC), would find the outcomes of this study to be of significance in guiding policy formulation so that electoral activities in the country, whether by politicians, political parties or even the general populace, do not take the dimension of ethnicity and political patronage. The policies would define stringent penalties for those who break the laid out policy guidelines. The NCIC, a constitutional body in Kenya tasked with the mandate of ensuring that despite differences in values and beliefs which stem from their different ethnic backgrounds, would find the findings of this document useful in ensuring that Kenyans remain united people despite different views they may hold on any issue including politics. Kenya's law making organ, the legislature, would also draw on the findings of this study to

formulate, or adjust exiting election conduct laws, to ensure that social differences are not unfairly exploited by the political class to divide citizens of the country.

This study's finding may also be of use to non-governmental institutions whose objectives and interests are to patch the country's social fabric which from one electoral period to another, gets torn as a result of politically stoked differences. Grassroots organizations working in the informal settlements focusing entrenching cohesion among residents of such settlements could also find this research papers and its findings valuable in achieving their organizational objectives. This study can also serve as a source of empirical literature to researchers carrying out studies on related subject hence its usefulness to the academia and other scholarly work. The outcomes of this study are also expected to be of significance to the country's general populace who, in addition to other research outcomes that are already published, would be able to gain further insight on how certain negative elements of politics divide them and how best they can approach these divisive elements in order to remain in good social relationships with their compatriots from different ethnic communities.

1.8 Scope of the Study

Simon (2011) states that the scope of a study outlines the extent and parameters of content that is covered by the means of the research in order to come to logical and satisfactory conclusions answers to the research. Geographically this study was confined to Migori County, in the Nyanza region of Kenya. Migori County is one of the few counties in the country that though located in a rural part of Kenya, is relatively cosmopolitan with few dominant ethnic groups hence this study's interest in the county as a good geographical setup. The county is home to the Luo, Kisii, Kuria, Suba, Luhya and Somali ethnic communities of Kenya, with the Luo and Kisii being the dominant ethnic communities. With regard to time period, this study was narrowed to the period

from the two recent-most general election to present. It is during periods immediately preceding and after the election times that strains in relationships between ethnic communities are mostly observed as a result of differences in political affiliations driven by different factors, some of are the basis for the specific objectives of this study.

1.9 Delimitation of the Study

Delimitations of a study, according to Theofanidis and Fountouki (2018), refer to the boundaries that a researcher has set for a study. Delimitations are essential in outlining certain areas that this research survey does not cover. This study did not engage residents of Migori County who have not lived in the county for more than four years because it is assumed that they were not present in the county, at least in the most recent general election, to experience how the political culture affected cohesion of members of the ethnic groups in the county. In the same vein, individuals from neighbouring counties who are not residents of Migori County were not be involved in the study. The study was specifically be interested in the areas stated in the specific objectives viz. ethno-political identity, political patronage and corrective approaches to divisive elements of political culture to enhance intercommunal cohesion hence other aspects of the country's political culture were considered in this study though they may get mentioned from time to time.

1.10 Limitations of the Study

Price and Murnan (2004) define limitations as characteristics of research methodology that have the potential to affect the interpretation of the research findings. The credibility study's findings could be affected by respondents' unwillingness to give reliable information regarding the subjects of this survey. Along the same line, lack of motivation to participate in the survey could also affect the reliability of the findings of this study. To address these potential challenges, the respondents were assured of

confidentiality and anonymity of their responses and identities. Further, the potential participants were explained to and convinced how this study addresses their interests and that of their communities hence the need for them to participate. Disproportionality in representation of respondents from the different ethnic communities living the county could also affect the outcomes of this survey. To address this concern area, the researcher ensured adequate and fair representation from all the ethnic communities of Migori County.

1.11 Assumptions of the Study

In research, assumptions refer to factors beyond the control of a study that have the potential to influence the findings of the study as well as the interpretation of the findings (Simon, 2011). One of the key assumption of this study was that political culture may influence intercommunal cohesion. It was also assumed that the relevant authorities in the County Government of Migori would accord the researcher the necessary support to enhance the success of this study. The assumption that the targeted number of respondents would be fully achieved and that all of them would willingly and comprehensively participate in this study has also been made. They survey also assumed that respondents would give credible and accurate information with regard to the survey questions. Given that this study was conducted in English, language barrier could affect the quality and reliability of the data collected. This challenge was overcome through the use of locals who translated the questions and instruction of the questionnaire into local dialects to enhance understanding and elicit appropriate response from the respondents.

1.12 Theoretical Framework

This study was anchored on two theories, namely the theory of cultural identities propounded by Lustig (2013) and the theory of group cohesiveness attributed to

Festinger (1951).

1.12.1 Theory of Cultural Identities

Advanced by Lustig (2013), cultural identity theory examines, understands, and describes the communitive processes through which individuals from different communities get to learn, construct, and negotiate their cultural group identities in intercultural communication interactions. The theory builds knowledge about the communicative processes in use by individuals to construct and negotiate their cultural group identities and relationships in particular contexts (Collier, 2009). In the context of this study, this brings in the concepts of cultural identity and identity politics.

Cultural identity is often related to ethno-cultural identity and lays particular stress on the group destiny of a people or ethnic group from which its members cannot withdraw. Political identity, on the other hand, highlights the subjective values and intentions chosen, judged and assessed by the members of society. With identity politics, individuals engage when they mobilize on the basis of, and when they define their experiences, their political problems, and their aims in terms of the good of identity-groups. Historically, according to Hayward and Watson (2010), identity politics grew out of the experience of identity-based oppression: the experience of inequalities in resources and opportunities that people encountered as members of particular identity groups.

On the back drop of this, political scientist Osborn (2005) contended that future wars would be fought between cultures and not between countries or ideologies. Consequently, considering the high complementarity and the mutual stimulation between cultural identity and identity politics, cultural identity is the pivot for entry into the actual practice of community politics as is already manifest in the contemporary societies in the world hence the relevance of the theory to this study.

1.12.2 Theory of Group Cohesiveness

Social cohesion comes into focus when ties link members of one social group to another social group as a whole. Cohesive groups are more inclined and readily work together to participate to stay with the group and achieve their goals together. Festinger's (1951) theory of group cohesiveness as attractiveness to people which have the best care within the group and attractiveness to the group as a whole. The proponents of this theory argue that social cohesion it can be broken down into four main facets; social relations, task relations, perceived unity, and emotions. Social relations, which is the most important facet for this study, refers to connections that exist between individuals and communities that have continuous interactions that are perceived by the participants to have personal meaning (Psaltis, Gillespie & Perret-Clermont, 2015). With a growing tendencies of hostility towards other ethnic communities, the applicability of this theory to this study is that it explains the importance social cohesion is an important determinant of peaceful, democratic and prosperous communities and nations. In line with the theory, promoting social cohesion fosters bonds within and across social groups, and fosters greater trust in the institutions of governance.

1.13 Conceptual Framework

In the context of Kenyan politics, belonging to or identifying with a given ethnic community is considered a critical factor in political context. This explains the impetus that drive politicians in the country to seek to associate themselves with the 'right' ethnic group in the region in which they are vying for a political seat. Similarly, political patronage, the ability to reward or promise rewards to individuals who support a political candidate also plays a significant role in determining the ability of a candidate to clinch a political seat they are contesting for. The factors eventually shape and affect cohesion between the various constituent communities in the specific geographical

regions from which the candidates come from. Corrective approaches also influence intercommunal cohesion as highlighted in the Figure 1.1.

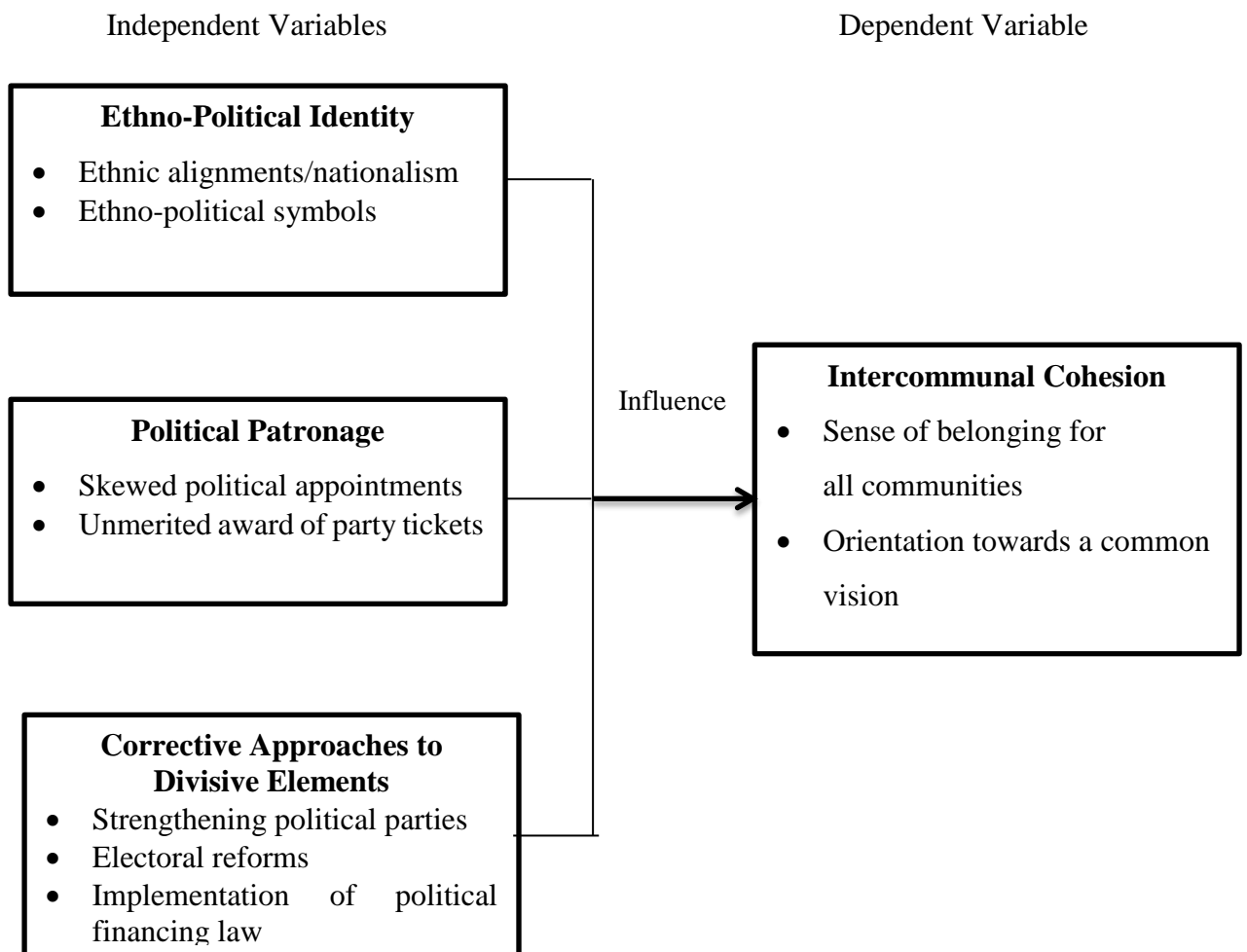


Figure 1.1: Conceptual Framework
Source: Researcher, 2020

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews previous studies on areas related to the variables of this study. The review is done progressively according to the specific objectives of the paper. The chapter therefore presents findings of related research papers, which are important in drawing the existing knowledge gaps which this study is subsequently based on.

2.2 Empirical Review

This section presents a review of related studies that help project the literature gaps that this study will be addressing.

2.2.1 Ethno-Political Identity and Intercommunal Cohesion

It simply does not matter the 'identity' in question, whether ethnic, religious, racial, sexual orientation or nationalism, Rudolph (2019) observes that ethnic identity remains a potent force in societies as well as in domestic and international politics throughout the world. Ethnocentrism, the underlying belief that an individual's culture is better and superior to those of others, is a major cause of divisions among members of different ethnic communities (Njoroge & Kirori, 2013). Interlaced with negative politics, ethnic differences can have profound undesirable consequences on social cohesion, an important determinant of a peaceful coexistence, democratic and prosperous society. Identity and discrimination along any social cleavage is ultimately destructive of social cohesion and leads to divisiveness, a misplaced sense of 'exceptionalism' and an unbridled self-interest that fractures the inclusivity and pluralism of the centre. It can therefore be said that social cohesion is essential because it promotes sturdier bonds within and across different diverse social groups more so in contexts where there is a history of conflict, hostility, or mistrust between different

identity groups (Hino, Langer, Lonsdale & Stewart, 2019).

In most European countries, Cebotari (2010) observed that identity values played a central role in national pride exhibited by majority of the natives of the respective countries that were captured in the research study. Subsequently, minority racial groups found it difficult to integrate and assimilate in the societies in which they lived. The differences played out more vividly during election periods where sometimes ethno-political contention between the hosts and minorities led to deterioration of the social cohesion that had been created among the groups over time. Politics of identity are negative, confrontational and competitive and are often driven by the propaganda of victimhood. In Latvia, Rodin (2013) established that national identity, which structurally consists of political identity and ethnic and cultural identity, negatively affected social cohesion among different social groups in the country. Similar findings were reached by Gaponenko (2013) in a study carried out on Baltic States in post-Soviet period.

Commenting about identity politics in Namibia among different economic social classes, the rich and the poor, Gargallo (2010) observes that ethnic identity is part of the socio-political Namibian national environment. The author further argues that identity politics in Namibia is a reflection of the failure of mainstream politics which leave citizens of the nation with no option but to resort to identity politics whenever they feel marginalized. In Namibia, dissimilar from other contexts that have been reviewed herein, identity politics is largely driven by perceived unequal distribution of resources which in effect results into competition for resources. Competition for resources in turn causes political and social schisms social identity lines thus exacerbating political fault-lines which threaten social cohesion (Suzman, 2002). Political intolerance, Gibson and Gouws (2000) argue, is driven by attitudes

toward group solidarity and strong group identities pose a difficult challenge for the consolidation of social cohesion. In South Africa Gibson and Gouws (2000) found that some citizens were unwilling to tolerate their political enemies due to strong in-group positive identities which effectively created strong out-group negative identities that threatened the social cohesion among individuals of different races, ethnicities and nationalities.

There seem to be some conviction in Kenya's political cycle that 'identity matters', and true to some extent, gauging by the findings of some studies carried out along that subject line, ethnic identity plays a critical role in Kenyan politics. Njoroge and Kirori (2013) established that ethnocentrism contributed significantly to disruptions in cohesion among communities of diverse ethnic backgrounds in Kenya. One of the glaring outcomes of ethnicity-based politics in the country has been Social Identity Voting (SIV), a model of voting behaviour where voters vote for their preferred candidate based not on their political ideologies or other factors but on the basis of their social group commonality. The inevitable nature of the politicization of ethnicity and ethnic conflict in pluralist, multicultural ethnic societies entrenches division among different ethnic communities in Kenya (Mulubale, 2017).

The generally seemingly foregoing conclusion among the studies reviewed on this variable is that as long as politics are based in identities, such ethno-political identities, they always leads to nery relationships between different communities which eventually break the cohesive bonds between different social groups.

2.2.2 Political Patronage and Intercommunal Cohesion

Political patronage, sometimes referred to as political cronyism, is not a new phenomenon in the world of politics. Political patronage is conceived of as a form of transactional exchange relation between one or more parties, it is a timeless practice

that has existed both in the historic times and in the modern societies, in democratic and non-democratic regimes, and on local, regional, national and international platforms (Chen, Cheng, Gong & Tan, 2017; Ennser-Jedenastik, 2013). Political party patronage, which Kopecký (2006) describes as a form of transactional exchange between a political party and a supporter or groups of supporters in which state resources or privileged access to those who control state resources, are traded for political support within the wider society, can be seen as a facet of political patronage. Party patronage has in some instances helped to provide party leaders with the means to build and maintain party organizations, by means of distributing selective incentives to party activists and party elites in exchange for organizational loyalty or other benefits. Further, to party leaders, party patronage has been fundamental in development of clientelistic networks as a means of maintaining their electoral support (Hopkin 2006). However, Levitsky and Way (2012) argue that party patronage only enhance elite cohesion during times of normalcy by providing institutionalized access to the spoils of power. However, it often fails to do so during crises resulting into breakdown of the identities, norms, and organizational structures that bonded political cronies together.

Commenting about state legitimacy, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2010) notes that in legitimate states, citizens readily accept the ‘rational-legal’ authority of the state in which fairness and justice exist in rule of law, separation between public and private, and open economic and political competition in accessing resources. However, in illegitimate and fragile states, there are different centres of power hence multiple sources and forms of legitimacy coexisting side by side and competing for resources thus resulting in conflicts from time to time. Further, in weak states, the formal institutions have weak capacity to govern

and engage with citizens. Such situations provide the right environment from political patronage and clientelism to take root and thrive because of the critical role it plays in managing violence, distribution of resources hence preservation of stability. The effect is that relationships between different social groups, based on the different cleavages, in such contexts get easily and even quickly disintegrated. This argument is backed by Babajanian (2012) who, in a research study carried out in Sierra Leone, argues that the disintegration of the social fabric of the populace is easily advanced by the political patronage's highly selective nature creates room for selectivity and division.

Patronage is ubiquitous and permeates across various disciplines and professions. Its ubiquity and manifestation in business organizations prompted Khatri and Tsang (2003) to carry out a study on cronyism between superiors and subordinates with an aim of examining its implications on a number of factors including job satisfaction, organizational commitment and ingratiation, employee and organizational performance, and employee motivation. The outcomes of the study indicated that while sociability might have positive effects on the various factors assessed in the study, cronyism among employees and their superiors is counterproductive and may further weaken social cohesion among peers in the organizational setup. Similar findings were established in a study carried out by Panizza, Conrado and Gerardo (2018) in Argentina's and Uruguay's central public administration.

Nations vary substantially in the level of political patronage practiced in their respective political systems. While in the developed, highly democratic nations it may be subtle, in the less developed and less democratic nations rightly pronounced and very obvious. A cross-section data on 40 African countries (Arriola, 2009) and in South Africa (Mamogale, 2014) it was observed that political patronage stokes and spikes political conflicts. This, according to the author, is because leaders who intend to cling

to power against the will of the general populace fractionalize ethnic communities through political patronage. This they do by expanding their patronage coalition through public appointments and awarding of government tenders. Subsequently, this lowers the probability such leader being deposed through a coup. Bamidele (2015) observes that despite transformations in the political landscape in Nigeria, political patronage has remained a stubborn stain in the country's quest to realize true democracy. The author notes that the clientelistic structure characterized by occupation of state offices by patrons acting as 'gatekeepers' continue to drive wedges among the country's more ethnic communities. The resultant effect of this brand of politics in Nigeria has been emergence and sustenance of class of elites who control the economic and political powers and their followers who yield their loyalty to this class of elites in order to secure access to state jobs and resources. Further, the clientelistic structure, have led to differential in development between rural and urban areas. Among the armed forces of Democratic Republic of Congo, Verweijen (2018) established that patronage networks weakened undermine cohesion both peer and commander-subordinate bonding.

It is no doubt that the nature of Kenyan politics is such that it is characterized by patronage. Political patronage in the distribution of national resources is deemed as one of the challenges in realization of national cohesion and integration in Kenya. This is according to a training manual developed by Ministry of Justice, National Cohesion and Constitutional Affairs and the NCIC (2011). The finding by Kanyinga (2016) that political patronage and ethnic interests historically had hindered efforts to introduce decentralization lends credence to this view by the former Ministry of Justice, National Cohesion and Constitutional Affairs. Wanyama and Nyambedha (2017) found that political patronage has dogged the cash transfer programmes in Kenya and made it

difficult for the programmes to be successfully replicated and expanded to other regions of the country whose communities are not represented in the top levels of the government. Using generational grouping as a social cleavage yardstick, Ranta (2017) established the Kenyan youth active in party politics often suffered exclusion in their political careers as a result of political patronage that effectively proves to be an obstacles towards realization of their political objectives. In a separate study on influence of political patronage on the operationalization of public procurement law in Kenya, it was established that in flouting procurement roles and promoting cronyism, cabinet secretaries use their appointing authority to employ cronies, kin, friends, and members of their tribes to head crucial departments like finance, accounts and procurement so that they, the cabinet secretaries, can maintain indirect control over the procurement processes and ensure full and prompt payments to tenders serviced through their proxies. The appointees were also found to further political patronage appoint their cronies and to perpetuate tender corruption (Njuguna, 2017).

2.2.3 Corrective Approaches to Divisive Elements of Political Culture Towards Enhancing Intercommunal Cohesion

Ethnic and populist driven leadership are putting democracy in danger. Across the world, divisive politics based on social cleavages rather than political ideologies is tearing at the seams of democracies and Kenya is no exception. Divisive politics, grounded on whatever basis, makes it difficult for government to conduct the essential tasks of governance such as passing budgets essential for implementation of government programmes and other services necessary to keep a country running. Further divisive politics complicates governments' efforts to address intricate national problems whose solutions require bipartisan support. In effect, such negative politics only contribute to weakened trust and confidence in national leadership and public

institutions.

Previous studies reveal approaches that different countries have taken and address divisive elements of politics in their societies in order to foster democracy. Liviatan (2009) notes that in Israel and India the diversity syndrome made latent the underlying divisions which eventually led to dysfunctional activities like regional chauvinism and pseudo-secularism. Objective legal and judicial actions were therefore used, and are still being used to limit politics drive social fragmentation and majoritarianism in the country (Khobragade, 2009). The Supreme Court of India particularly has been instrumental in diffusing ethno-political fragmentation tendencies by politicians. For instance, the court has on numerous occasions spoken out in defense of democratic institutions and against hate crimes and political violence.

In Ecuador, the findings of the study carried out by Bowen (2015) on rethinking democratic governance indicate that liberal political leadership, especially by the top national political leaders and leading local political leaders can play a decisive role in encouraging social cohesion and de-escalating partisan divides. Bowen argues that the current President of Ecuador, Lenín Boltaire Moreno Garcés, has used this approach effectively by rejected the polarizing and divisive political tactics of his predecessor Rafael Correa despite the fact that the two leaders hail from the same political party, PAIS Alliance. The veracity of this finding can be based on the premised that liberalism focuses on the constructive role of the state in preserving human rights and promoting economic opportunities for all hence its popularity. Further, as opposed to conservatism, liberalism promotes equal opportunity for minorities. In Myanmar research findings show that commitment of the country's political leadership has been integral to entrenching social cohesiveness, democracy, political development and economic growth (Renshaw, 2013). This finding can be premised on the view that

social cohesion, which the party was promoting, is important in bringing people of different social backgrounds together, enhancing economic growth and easing inequalities among people in developing countries like Myanmar.

Köröseyi (2013) defines political polarization is a process whereby the customary multiplicity of differences in a society progressively align along a particular dimension and individuals gradually perceive and portray politics and society in terms of 'us' versus 'the'. Severe political party polarization and political fragmentation have the potential to weaken democracy (Tucker, Guess, Barbera, Vaccari, Siegel, Sanovich, Stukal & Nyhan, 2018). The same notion can be applied to ethno-politics and politics of identity because instrumentalization and politicization of ethnicity divide societies into political "tribes" which eventually undermines democracy and socially cohesive coexistence. If left unchecked, democracies can quickly morph into anarchies and other bad systems of governance under intense divisive politics. McCoy, Rahman and Somer (2018) established that in the US and other developed democracies, strengthening of political parties has been effectively used to address problems of polarization. Strengthen political party internally and externally ensures that they are not captured by few influential political party members. This not only improves the health and longevity of the party but also enhances the democratic spaces while reducing animosity between rival political factions and their followers. In addition to strengthening political parties, empowering and informing neutral, nonpartisan voters is another approach that has been found by researchers to address polarization in US (Porter, 2007).

Once a society becomes deeply divided, it is very difficult to heal. This explains the need and importance of taking standpoints and timely implementing and effective measures to put to an end divisive ethnic politics. In Africa where almost all countries

continue to grapple with politics of ethnic identity, social cohesion fabric of communities in different countries across the continent has been severely worn out. Studies and other literature however show that progressive efforts are being made towards mending ties and once again strengthening the social bonds and ties. Just like anywhere in the world, elections in the continent are bitterly contested and more often than not do end serious divisions and animosities not just between political contestants but also their followers, who in most cases are largely drawn from common ethnic backgrounds and those supporting them. Negotiated democracy has therefore become a common approach in the continent and has over time healed ethnic wounds of societies in countries that have religiously observed its principle. In Zimbabwe for instance, Levitsky and Way (2012) and Chigora and Guzura (2011) established that the outcomes of negotiated democracy between former president the late Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe Africa National Union-Patriotic Front and former opposition leader the late Morgan Tsvangirai's Movement for Democratic Change in 2008 was instrumental enhancing cohesion between the country's dominant ethnic community Shona and other ethnic communities like Ndebele, Kalanga and Tonga. The same approach has effectively used in Kenya in 2008 (Elfverson & Sjögren, 2019) and in South Africa (Maharaj, 2008).

In Kenya, the politics of ethnicity is real. It has its roots deeply embedded not just in political ideologies but also in selfish interest of the ethnic politicians whose aim is to serve not the electorates' interest but their own interests and the interests of their ethnic communities. Other possible causes for divisive ethnic politics include underlying factors such as historical injustices, economic inequality, marginalization and political party alignments and realignments. The politics of ethnic identity subsequently becomes an inter-community competition, not merely for representation

in governance, but for selfish accumulation of resources. As has been practiced in other countries, electoral laws and institutional reforms captured in Kenya's 2010 constitution are gradually turning out to be effective approaches to limit divisive elements of the country's political culture. The legal reforms such as decentralizing political power or changing electoral rules. Kenya's 2010 constitution for instance sought to address the seemingly perennial ethnic division problem caused by political figures by easing ferocious competition for national office by giving regional officials greater autonomy and control over state resources. The reforming of electoral system has also been lauded as the right approach toward addressing the winner-takes all politics which has been known to be at the centre and synonymous with bitter political fallouts after elections thus causing animosity among different ethnic communities in the country (Cheeseman, Kanyinga, Lynch, Ruteere & Willis, 2019).

2.3 Summary and Research Gaps

While politicization of ethnicity is widespread in Kenya, less has been researched about systematic relationship between the effect of Kenya's political culture and cohesion among different social groups in the country, more so the country's ethnic tribes. Further, while divisive political culture and practices have been perennial problems in Africa, Kenya and other less democratically developed nations like Brazil, Turkey and Burma, relatively less studies have been conducted with regard to corrective approaches that can be applied to remedy the ethnic and social divisions that are seemingly inherent in ethnicized political competitions. In light of these gaps, this study sought to explore how the three elements (the specific objectives) of Kenya's political culture identified herein influence cohesion among different ethnic communities in the country. The goal of this paper was to analyze the interaction of the culture of Kenya's political class in relation to social cohesion in the Kenyan society. Thus, the main issues

that survey figured out were the basic aspects of Kenya's political culture namely ethno-political identity, political patronage and effectiveness of the corrective approaches to divisive elements (strengthening political parties, electoral reforms and implementation of political financing law) put in place to enhance intercommunal cohesion within the hierarchic ethno-political stratification in Migori County, and how these factors contribute to strong cohesive bonds or result in mutual confrontation among the different ethnic communities in the county.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the research approach and process that were taken during the survey by way of detailing the research methods used to conduct the study. It explains how the data needed to address the research objectives and questions was collected, analyzed and presented. The chapter further explains about the population and sampling techniques used for the research.

3.2 Research Design

Rahi (2017) defines research design as the overall strategy that a researcher chooses in order to integrate the different components of the study in a coherent and logical way to ensure that the research problem is effectively addressed. Cross-sectional descriptive research design was used to describe the relationship between the variables of the study. A combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches to research were used to conduct this study. This combination was of significance in enhancing the results and findings of the study by ensuring that the shortcomings of one approach are offset by the fortes of the other (McKim, 2017).

3.3 Research Site

There are other suitable regions in Kenya that the study would have been conducted. However, due to a number of interesting factors, Migori County in the former Nyanza region of the country was selected as an ideal site for a number of reasons. Migori County is one of the few counties in the country that though located in a rural part of Kenya, it is relatively cosmopolitan with few dominant ethnic groups hence this study's interest in the county as a good geographical setup. The county is home to the Luo, Kisii, Kuria, Suba, Luhya and Somali ethnic communities of Kenya,

with the Luo and Kisii being the dominant ethnic communities. Another perspective that makes Migori County an appropriate site for the study is because of the communal violence between the Luo ethnic community (the numerically largest group in the county) and the Kuria (the numerically second largest group in the county) ethnic community that was experienced during the 2013 general elections. Being the second largest ethnic group numerically in the county, and ahead of the 2013 general elections, the Kuria ethnic community were apprehensive of being excluded from power which would mean that they would not have a stake in the distribution of county's resources. Subsequently, elites of the Kuria ethnic community used their numerical advantage to leverage their community's position in the presidential elections if they were promised a political seat in the Migori County government (Mitullah, 2017).

3.4 Target Population

Target population refers to the group of people or objects from which the sample of a research study were drawn or the group of people or objects to whom the researcher wants the research results to apply. The target population of this research mainly consisted of the current elected politicians in the county. This group of individuals were of relevance to this study because besides being easily identifiable and accessible, they have first-hand knowledge about the topic of study and also know what is going on in their communities within the county. This group of people included the governor, senator, women representative, the members of national assembly and the members of the county assembly. Also to be involved in this study are the adult residents of Migori County who have lived in the county in the last five years (in order to cover, at least, the recent most general election). Given their knowledge and understanding of the county's political intrigues, they can provide insight on the subject matter of this research study and give recommendations for probable solutions.

Table 3.1: Target Population

Target Population Characteristic	Frequency	
Governor	1	
Senator	1	
Currently serving political class	Women representative	1
	Members of national assembly	8
	Members of the county assembly	40
Adult residents of Migori County	669,861	
Total	669,912	

Source: (KEBS, 2019; IEBC, 2017)

3.5 Study Sample

3.5.1 Sampling Procedure

According to Ogula (2005), sampling procedure refers to the technique that a researcher uses to choose a sub-group from the target population to participate in a research study. For this study both non-probability and probability sampling techniques were used to select the survey participants. Purposive sampling was used to select members of the political class who were engaged in the data collection phase of the survey. This implies that despite many politicians existing in the county, only those who were elected during the 2017 general elections and are currently serving in their respective capacities were involved in this study. Stratified random sampling was used to choose respondents from the general public. Strata based on the different ethnic communities that exist in the country were developed. Members of the general public were then stratified placed in their respective stratum. This was done to ensure that members from the different ethnic communities are represented in and given equal opportunity to participate in the survey in order to at least present views from their ethnic communities.

3.5.2 Study Sample Size

Only a small sample of the targeted population was chosen for research in order to enhance the accuracy of the results and findings of a study (Austin Research, 2014). Krejcie and Morgan (1970) table for sample size (Appendix V) was used to arrive at an optimal sample size that is representative of the targeted population. Thus, drawing from the total number of individuals making up the survey's target population, the sample size for this study was 384 individuals. This number was distributed as shown in Table 3.2. The sample was distribution of residents was equally done according to the 40 electoral wards save for the Kakrao ward where the pilot study was conducted.

Table 3.2: Distribution of the Sample Size

Target Population Characteristic	Sample Size	
Governor	1	
Senator	1	
Currently serving political class	Women representative	1
	Members of national assembly	8
	Members of the county assembly	40
	Residents of Migori County	333
Total	384	

Source: Researcher, 2020

3.6 Data Collection

3.6.1 Data Collection Instruments

Primary data, which refers to refers to first-hand data obtained from the field, was collected for this study. As far as data collection instruments are concerned, the conduction of the research involved exclusive use of semi-structured questionnaire and unstructured interview schedules. The questionnaire was solely used to collect data form the general public and the MCAs and had both open-ended and closed-ended

questions as per the specific objectives of this study. The interview schedules on the other hand was used to collect data from the political class and was mainly composed of open-ended questions to allow the respondents to give their detailed opinions regarding the issues under study.

3.6.2 Pilot Testing of Research Instruments

A pilot test was of significance in identifying possible questions that are either not easy to comprehend or do not sense to participants as well as other problems with the data collection instruments that might lead to biased answers. The originally developed survey instruments was therefore administered to 38 (10% of the sample size) pilot participants whose profiles match those of the target population in order to evaluate the suitability of the instruments. The pilot testing was done in Kakrao ward because of the relatively cosmopolitan composition of the ward. This was therefore excluded during the actual data collection exercise. Additionally, expert advice was sought from the supervisor in order to have their insight and input on the data collection instruments in order to improve their content.

3.6.3 Instrument Reliability

Reliability ensures that there is precision with which data is collected. If the same results are gained time after time, no matter how many times you conduct a piece of research, this suggests that the data collected is reliable (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2013). To ensure the reliability of the questionnaire, Cronbach's Alpha test was used to determine the reliability of the data collection instrument. The questionnaire was administered to the test group twice after a given interval and the results were compared. The data collections instruments are expected to be adequate in terms of content for data collection. Cronbach's alpha value of 0.6 or more was adequate in ascertaining the reliability of the data collection instruments.

With regard to qualitative analysis, content analysis and narrative analysis approached was employed. Content and narrative analysis approaches were used to analyze data collected from interviews, FGDs and the open-ended questions in the questionnaires. Using these two approaches, the researcher focused on exploration of experiences, beliefs, views, values, meanings, and feelings of the respondents to drawing meaning and make sense of the data and at the end of it all understand current levels of basic and digital financial education programs, exchange programs, management, strategy development and execution among SACCOs in Kenya.

3.6.4 Instrument Validity

Validity is the degree to which results obtained from the analysis of the data actually represent the phenomenon under study. Mugenda and Mugenda (2012), notes that validity has to do with how accurate the data obtained in the study represents the variables of the study and is a true reflection of the variables. It is only then that inferences based in such data would be accurate and meaningful. To ascertain validity of the questionnaire the researcher consulted statistician for further improvements to make criticism and comments on the same. Their comments were incorporated in the questionnaires before the final administration of the instruments on the participants of the study. Also, during the questionnaire testing, the researcher freely interacted with the respondents. The friendly atmosphere enabled the researcher to discover some short-comings in the research instruments and, therefore, make necessary adjustments before using them for the actual study. Responses to the test indicated to the researcher how well the variables of interest were represented for meaningful data, enabling appropriate adjustments to be made.

3.6.5 Data Collection Procedure

Prior to carrying out the interviews, the researcher sought consent from the

politicians in order to have audience with them regarding the survey. The interview schedule was then sent beforehand to them to enhance their preparation for the interview. Meetings were then held with the politicians where the actual interview was carried out. At the same time, with the help of research assistants, questionnaires were distributed to non-key informants constituting the sample. The assistants guided and take the participants throughout the questions after which they collected the instruments back immediately at the end of the sessions. The entire data collection process – both interviews and issuance of questionnaires – is expected to last for one month.

3.7 Data Analysis

The coding technique was used to analyse the collected information. Using this technique, the analyst demarcated the data into segments. Each segment was labelled with a code that suggests how the associated data segments inform the research objectives. After coding, reports were prepared accordingly by summarizing the prevalence of codes, discussing similarities and differences in related codes across distinct original contexts, and comparing the relationship between one or more codes. Data analysis was done using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences version 20 software. Narrative analysis was used to analyze the qualitative data. This involved categorizing verbal the data collected, classifying them into major themes and interpreting within the context of research. These were then reported through verbatim.

3.8 Legal and Ethical Considerations

Before proceeding to the field to collect data, the researcher waited to be cleared by Africa Nazarene University's Board of Post Graduate Studies. This was followed by sending an introductory letter to the Migori County directorate of education informing them of the study and asking for permission to be allowed to conduct the study in the county. At the same time the researcher sought seek research permit from the National

Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI) to be allowed to conduct research. Other ethical considerations such as acknowledgement of sources of referenced information was observed during the study. During the study, the survey participants were assured of their confidentiality. At the end of the study, the findings will be share with the key institutions that enabled the study like NACOSTI and African Nazarene University. To ensure that the study's findings add value to the community and Kenya as a country, the research will not only be published in credible journals but also presented in conferences.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

The chapter presents results obtained from analysis of the data collected from the field. The findings relate to the three specific objectives that guided the study. At the onset, the chapter presents the response rate which is followed by analysis of data on question by question basis.

4.2 Response Rate and Demographic Profile

4.2.1 Response Rate

As explained in chapter three, a total of 384 participants were engaged in this study. Out of this number, 373 responded to questionnaires, that is, the participants drawn from the general public and the county's MCAs. With regard data collection through questionnaires, the success rate was 92% since 343 fully and appropriately answered questionnaires were used in the analysis. Out of the remaining 30 questionnaires, 12 were not returned while 18 had deficits as they were defaced during transportation. The rest 11 participants were engaged in interviews. All the participants targeted for interviews were successfully and fruitfully engaged, thus translating to 100% response rate for the interviews. This therefore implies that the analysis was done based on 354 instruments (343 questionnaires and 11 interviews). The response rate was considered adequate to allow for data analysis and in line with Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) recommendation of a response rate of over 70% as being excellent. Table 4.1 show the response rate of the field data collection process.

Table 4.1 Response Rate

Data collection instrument	Quantity issued/used	Response rate (%)
Interview schedules	11	100%
Questionnaires	373	92%

Source: Field data, 2020

4.2.2 Gender

The outcomes of the analysis presented in Figure 4.1 shows that 59% (202) of the survey participants were male while 41% (141) were female. Despite the respondents being selected randomly, the proportion of gender of is probably an indicator that women could be less interested in political activities as compared to men or that there were specific issues that undermined active engagement of women in the politics of the county.

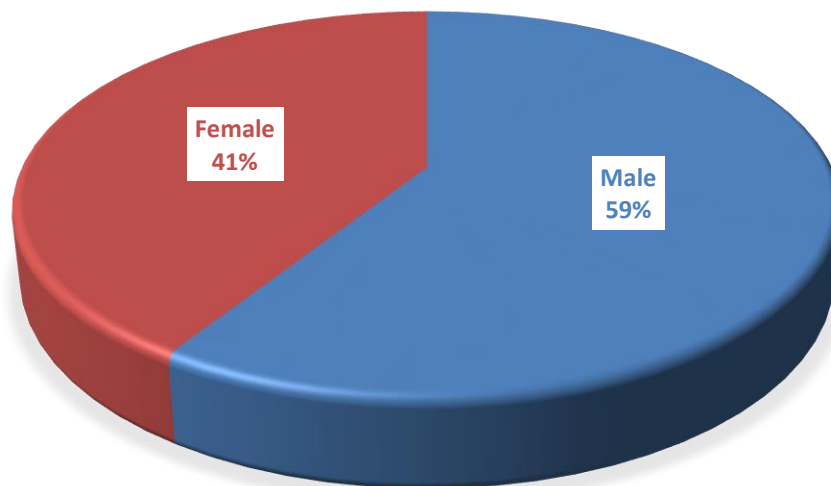


Figure: 4.1 Respondents' Gender

Source: Field data, 2020

4.2.3 Age bracket

Results of the analysis captured in Figure 4.2 show that 24% (82) of the respondents were aged between 28 – 32 years, 28% (96) were of between 23 – 27 years,

15% (51) of ages between 33 – 37 years, 14% (48) were aged between 38 – 42 years, 10% (34) were of between 18 – 22 years and the rest 9% (30) were either 43 years of age or older. The probable explanation of this distribution of age among the respondents is that the young adults (18 – 22 years) may not be very much interested in discussing political issues for different reasons. This could include their minimal understanding of politics as this is still a school going age. Bulk of the respondents (age brackets 23 – 37 years) have much interest in politics and very much engaged in political discussions perhaps because they are more informed on how politics affects their day to day lives and the lives of the people in their communities.

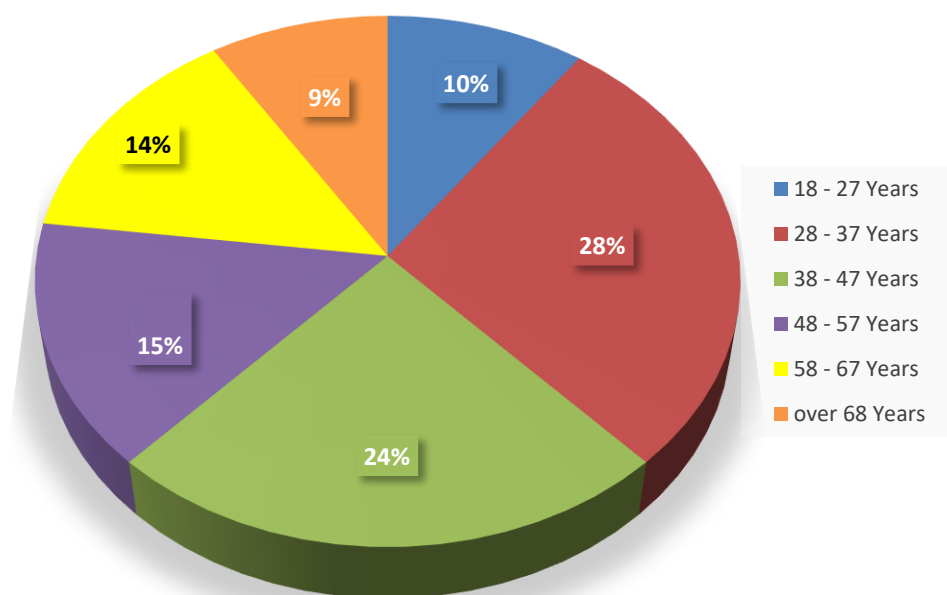


Figure: 4.2 Respondents' Age Bracket
Source: Field data, 2020

4.2.4 Duration Lived in Migori County

With regard to duration lived in Migori County, 27% (93) of the survey participants have lived in the county for between 16 – 20 years, and equal proportion, 27%, (93) have resided in the county for between 21 – 25 years, 20% (69) have lived in the county for 11 – 15 years, 12% (41) of the survey participants have lived in the county for between 11 – 15 years, 8% (27) have been residents of the county for

between 26 – 30 years and the remaining 6% (21) have lived in Migori County for 31 years or more as shown in Figure 4.3. This distribution, with majority of the respondents having lived in the county for more than ten years implies that they have adequate experience on political culture of politicians in Migori County over the years to informedly provide reliably information in this study.

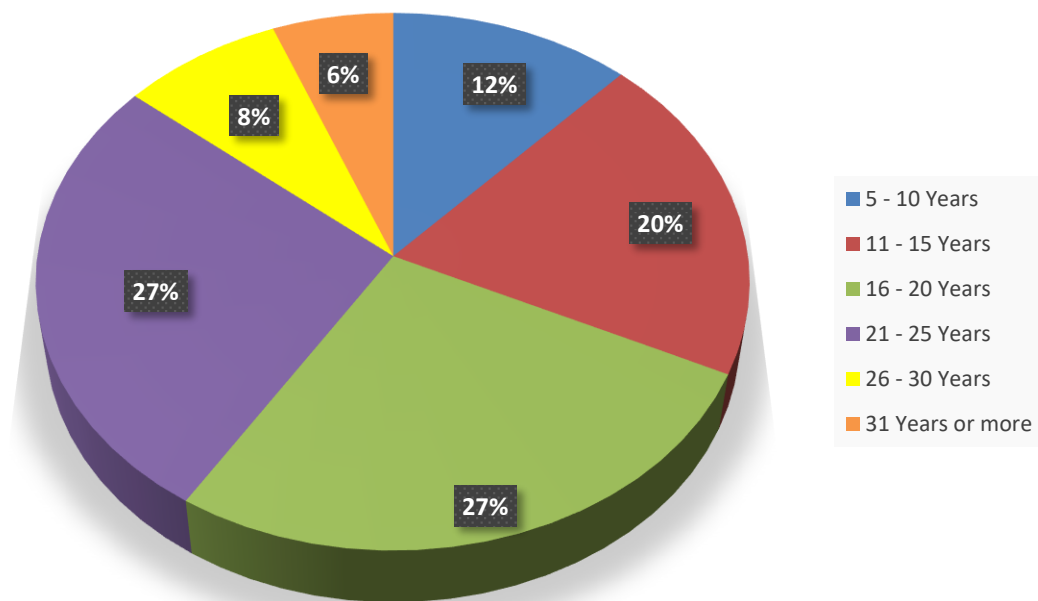


Figure: 4.3 Duration Respondents' Have Resided in Migori County
Source: Field data, 2020

4.2.5 Category of Ethnic Groups

Figure 4.4 shows that 22% (75) of the respondents considered themselves part of the minority ethnic communities residing in Migori County while 78% (268) considered themselves as belonging to the majority ethnic communities. This difference can be explained by the fact that majority of the ethnic communities residing in the country are originally natives of the county while the minority ethnic communities like the Somalis and Luyhas migrated into the county from other parts of the country.

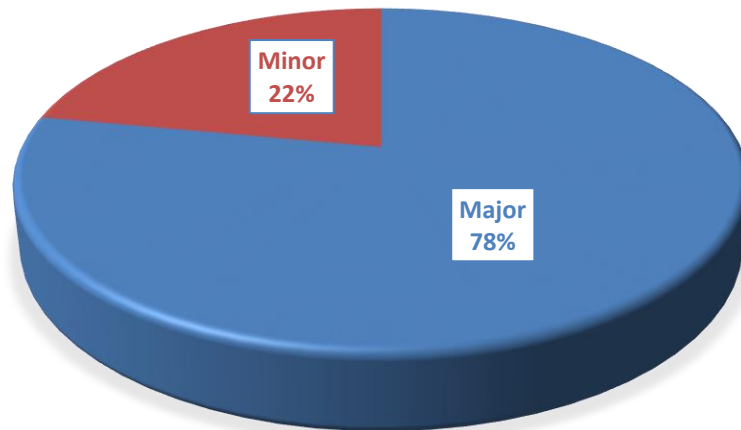


Figure: 4.4 Whether Respondents Belong to Majority or Minority Ethnic Community
Source: Field data, 2020

4.2.6 Settlement of Based on Ethnic Clusters

Majority of the respondents, 69% (237) were of the view that settlements of households across the county based on ethnic clusters while 31% (106) of the survey participants hold a contrary opinion as depicted in Figure 4.5. This outcome indicates possibility of households settling in neighbours where people of their ethnic community is in because they feel comfortable in such settings and the sense of belonging in enhanced as opposed to living with other ethnic communities.

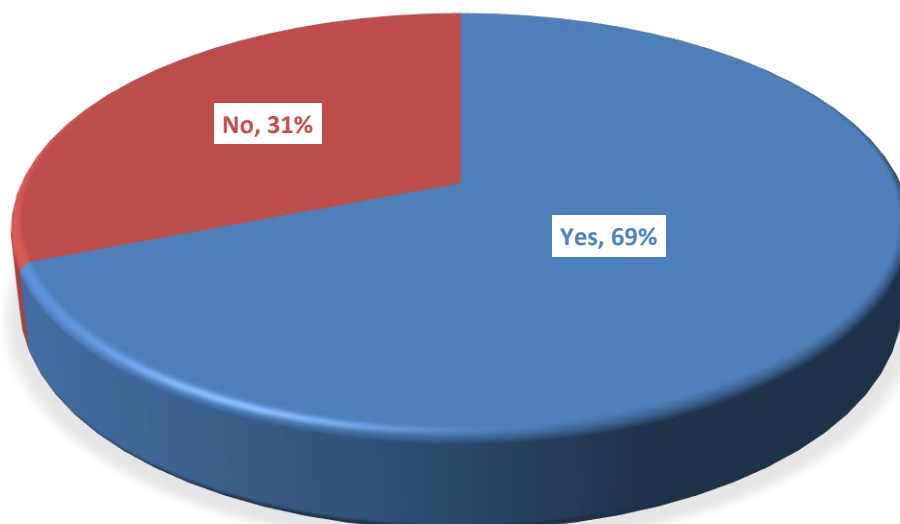


Figure: 4.5 Ethnic Communities' Settlements Based on Ethnic Clusters
Source: Field data, 2020

4.3 Presentation of Findings

The study findings are presented as per the objectives that guided it.

4.3.1 Ethno-Political Identity and Intercommunal Cohesion

Figure 4.6 presents results on the question on whether respondents have ever voted in Migori County before. From the results, a significant majority, 94%, (322) have voted in the county before. Only 6% (21) of the respondents have never voted in the county. The outcomes mean that the majority of respondents can give reliable information in what influenced their decision to elect one candidate and not the other. Those who have never voted in the county probably decide not take part in the elections for various reasons and can also explain the rationale for them not choosing to vote.

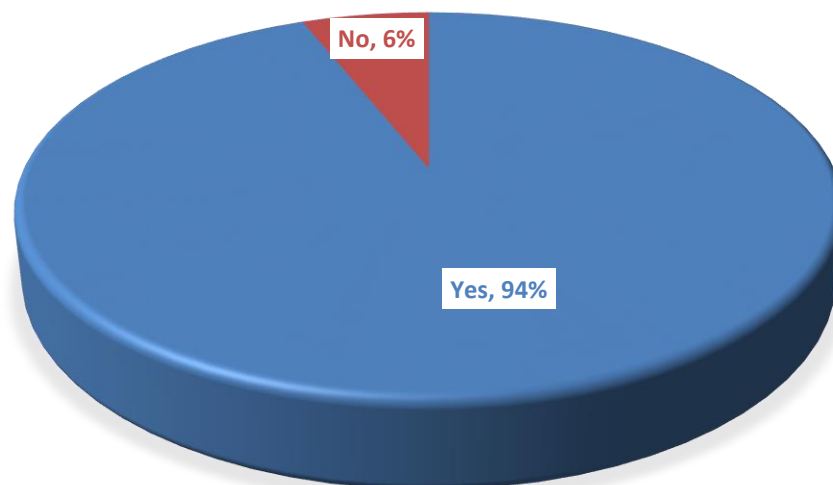


Figure 4.6 Whether Respondents have Voted in the County Before

Source: Field data, 2020

The study wished to establish the basis for assessing political candidates. As per the findings presented in Table 4.2, majority of the respondents, 41%, (141) assessed political candidates on the candidate's ethical affiliation. The proportion that assessed political candidates based on political affiliation, 21% (72) based their assessment on information gathered from candidates' pronouncements in public functions, while 6% (21) assessed political candidates based on information from mainstream media. Those

who relied on opinions from friends and relatives were 7% (24) and the rest 2% (7) carried out their assessment of political candidates using information from social media. From these findings, it can be construed that more than anything else, ethnicity significantly influences the general populations' basis of political candidates' assessment followed by candidates' political affiliation. It seems also from the finding that ethnic background and political affiliation go hand in hand. Other bases of assessing candidates are not commonly used as illustrated by the small percentages.

Table 4.2 Basis of Assessing a Political Candidate

Assessment basis	Percentage
Articles in the mainstream media	6%
Articles in the social media	2%
Attend events where the candidate is addressing the people	21%
Family's/friend's view of the candidate	7%
The candidate's ethnic affiliation	41%
The candidate's political affiliation	23%

Source: Field data, 2020

Survey participants were also asked to indicate factors that influence their decision to vote for their preferred political candidates. From the analysis results captured in Table 4.3, 46% (158) voted for candidates who shared the same ethnic background as them or is affiliated to a candidate that comes from the respondent's ethnic tribe, 40% (137) had their decisions influenced by the political party ticket on which the candidate is vying and 11% (38) based their decision the potential of the candidate to deliver development to the electorates. The remaining 3% (10) cited other reasons such as age highest academic level attained and gender of the politician as the voting influencing factors. These outcomes show that ethnic affiliations influence significantly voters' decision to elect candidates vying for political seats. The second

significant influence, political party ticket, can be closely related to the first influencer because most candidates seek election on popular political party tickets which in most instances are crafted along party lines.

Table 4.3 Influencers of Decision to Vote for a Political Candidate

Influencers of decision	Percentage
If the candidate is comes from the same ethnic tribe as mine/affiliated to a candidate that comes from my ethnic tribe.	46%
If the candidate vies on the ticket of the political party that I am affiliated to.	40%
If the candidate has the potential to deliver development to the electorates	11%
Other reason(s)	3%

Source: Field data, 2020

Asked about the most common means through which elected politicians in Migori County get into office, findings in Table 4.4 show that majority of the respondents, 59%, (202) were of the view that most elected officials in the county get into political office by the virtue of their ethical affiliations, 37% (127) opined that they get into office by virtue of their political party affiliation and the rest 4% (14) of the survey participants were of the view that they get into office because of what they can deliver to the office. These findings again show that ethnicity plays critical component in deciding who successfully vies for political office and who does not succeed. Political party also plays an important role. From these findings therefore, it can be construed that candidates from minority ethnic communities are less likely to successfully vie for office as compared to their counterparts from the majority ethnic tribes in Migori County. Development track record or potential to bring development is less considered.

Table 4.4 Means of Ascent to Political Seat

Means of ascent to political seat	Percentage
Most elected officials in this county get into the office by the virtue of their ethnic affiliations.	59%
Most elected officials in this county get into political office by the virtue of their political party affiliation.	37%
Most elected officials in this county get into political office by the virtue of what they can potentially deliver to the electorates.	4%

Source: Field data, 2020

Respondents were also asked to indicate whether they were of the view that ethnically motivated political alignments are very common in Migori County. Results captured in Figure 4.7 show that such alignments were found to be common by 55% (189) of the respondents, 33% (113) were not certain whether such alignments were motivated by ethnic backgrounds of political candidates/parties while the rest 12% (41) were of the view that ethnically motivated political alignments are very common in the county. Going by the high proportion of respondents who responded affirmatively to this question, the culture of relying on ethnic backgrounds to seek victory in elections is very common in the county.

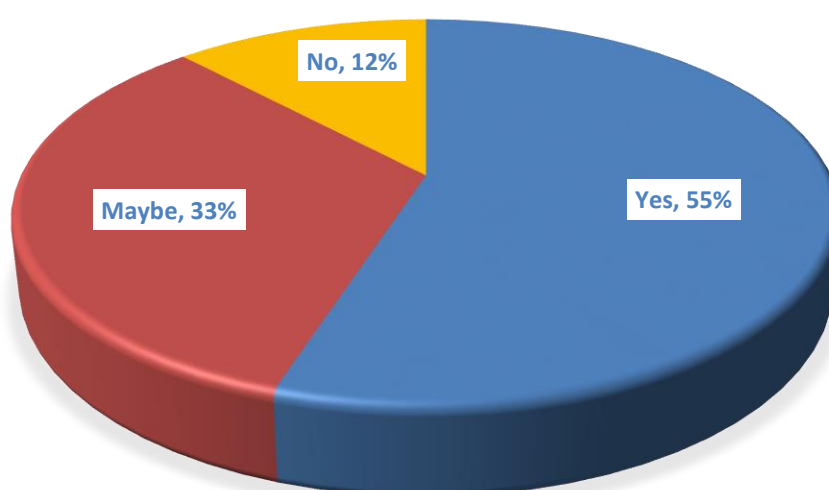


Figure 4.7 Commonness of Ethnically Motivated Ethno-political Alignments

Responses on the question on dimensions of formation of political alliances in the county indicate that alliances formed by the majority ethnic communities are the most common at 51%, (175) followed by alliances formed between majority and minority ethnic community political candidates at 44% (151). At 5%, (17) formations of alliances between candidates from minority ethnic tribes is the least popular dimension on which candidates join forces to win elections as illustrated in Table 4.5. These outcomes imply that because of their numbers, candidates from the majority ethnic tribes are likely to be forcefully, especially for county level positions, if they come together and vie against the minority tribes hence this being the most population dimension for formation of political alliances. The second popular dimension could be informed by the idea that one faction of the majority ethnic tribe needs just an additional small number of votes to win against a candidate from another majority ethnic tribe (for instance a gubernatorial candidate teaming up with a deputy from a minority ethnic tribe) hence this dimension. The third and less popular dimension of formation of alliances between candidates from different ethnic communities can be explained by instances where if a significant number of minority ethnic tribes combine forces, they have the potential to win against a non-cooperating candidate from another minority ethnic community or against a candidate from a majority ethnic community.

Table 4.5 Dimension of Ethnic Political Alignments

Dimension of ethnic political alignments	Percentage
The majority ethnic communities come together to form strong political alliances.	51%
The minority ethnic communities come together to form strong political alliances.	5%
The majority ethnic communities attract the minority communities to form strong political alliances.	44%

Source: Field data, 2020

The study wished to establish whether ethnically instigated political alignments weaken the sense of belonging among the different ethnic communities in the county.

Analysis results presented in Figure 4.8 indicate that 37% (127) of the respondents strongly agreed that political parties founded on ethnicity undermine the sense of belonging for ethnic communities in the county, 49% (168) of the survey respondents agreed with the question statement while 3% (10) were not certain on whether or not such party formations undermine the sense of belonging for ethnic communities in the county. The proportion of respondents who disagreed with the question statement was 8% (27) and the rest 3% (10) strongly disagreed that political parties founded on ethnicity undermine the sense of belonging for ethnic communities in the county. From these findings, it can be construed that intercommunal cohesion, characterized by sense of belonging, is negatively affected by ethnicized political formations.

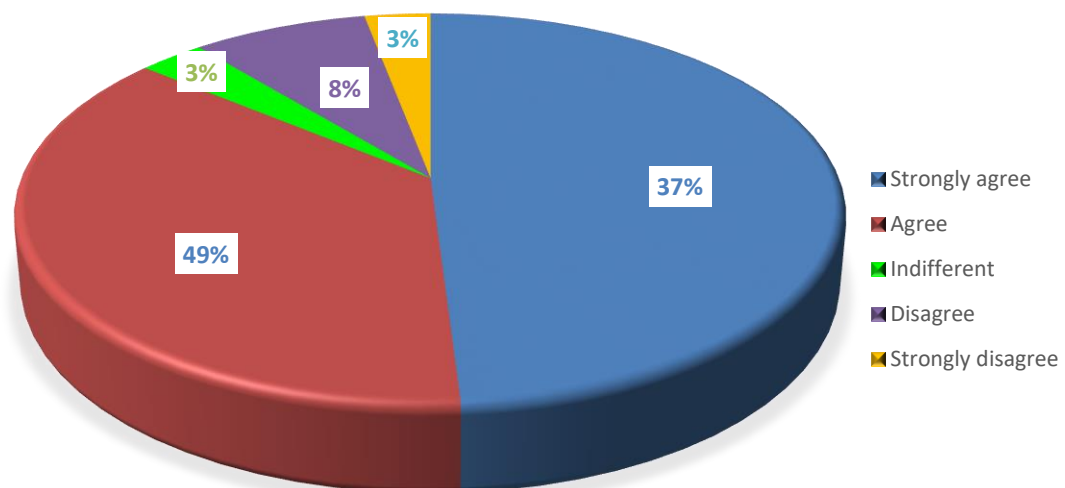


Figure 4.8 Weakening of Sense of Belonging by Ethnically Instigated Political Alignments

Source: Field data, 2020

The study wished to establish whether there was enhancement of orientation towards a common development vision through ethno-political symbols. From the results in Figure 4.9, 52% (178) of the survey participants disagreed that the use of ethno-political symbols by politicians enhances orientation towards a common

development vision of developing the county among all ethnic tribes in Migori County and 20% (67) strongly disagreed with the question statement. The proportion of the respondents that were indifferent with regard to this question was 11% (38). On the other end of the continuum, 13% (45) of the respondents agreed that the use of ethno-political symbols by politicians enhances orientation towards a common development vision of developing the county among all ethnic tribes in the county and the rest 4% (14) strongly agreed with the question statement. The figures imply that ethno-political symbols, an element of the country's political culture, is not good for community cohesion because it jeopardizes achievement of shared societal development objectives and visions.

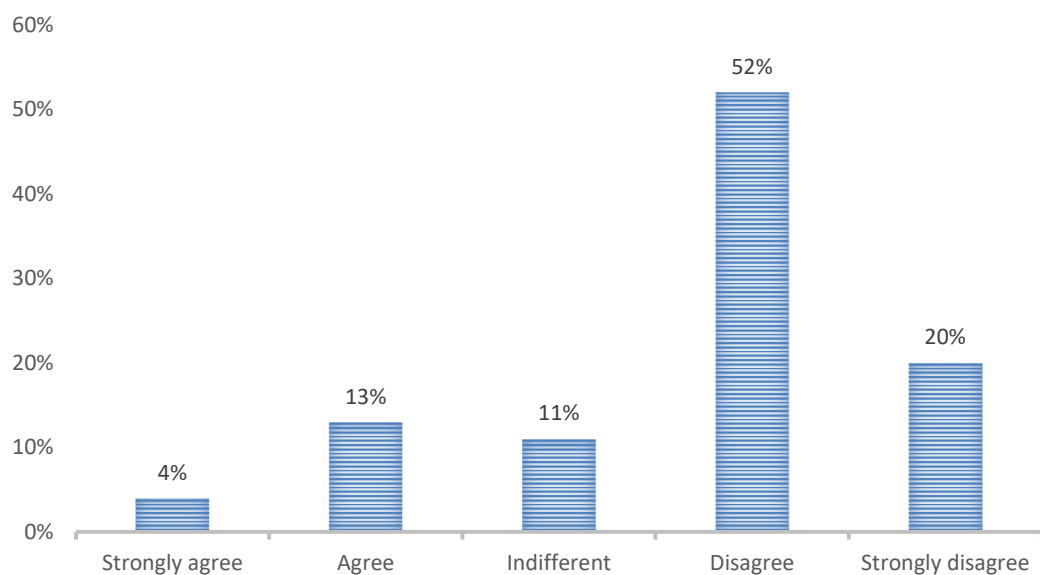


Figure 4.9 Enhancement of Orientation Towards a Common Development Vision Through Ethno-Political Symbols

Source: Field data, 2020

In reference to the question on destabilization of the sense of belonging for minor ethnic communities in the county through ethno-political symbols as a form of political identity, analysis outcomes in Figure 4.10 show that 20% (69) of the respondents strongly agreed that such alignments negatively affect the sense of belonging among the ethnic communities in the county, 52% (178) agreed with the

question statement, 11% (38) were indifferent, 13% (45) disagreed with the question statement while the rest 4% (14) strongly disagreed that ethno-political symbols as a form of political identity destabilize the sense of belonging for minor ethnic communities in Migori County. These findings are indicators of the negative effects that the county's political culture of ethno-political symbols have on intercommunal cohesion as symbolized by sense of belonging.

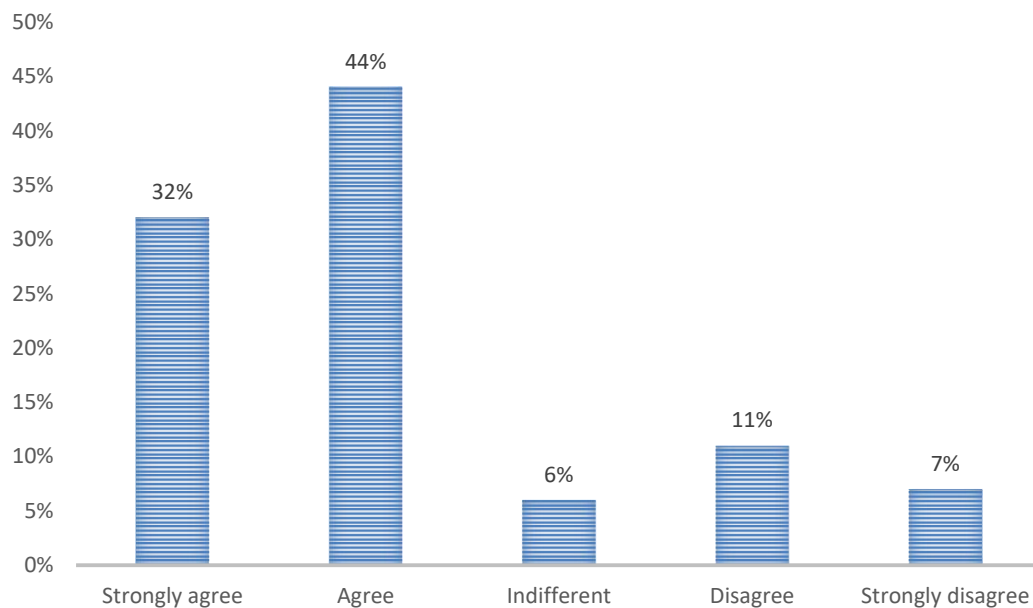


Figure 4.10 Destabilization of the Sense of Belonging for Minor Ethnic Communities
Source: Field data, 2020

From the interviews conducted, there was convergence in the views of the different interviewees regarding ethno-political identity as a serious problem in the political culture in Kenya. Ethnization of politics, the interviewees noted, was a serious problem in Migori County which warranted quick remedy. Divergence in opinions among some interviewees was however with regard to the effect of politically initiated ethnic alignments on social cohesion among different ethnic communities in the county. Most interviewees opined that sense of belonging for ethnic communities, especially the minority communities was slowly but significantly being eroded because of politics of ethnicity in the county. An interviewee commented as follows;

Many people may want to run away from the truth, especially the politicians at the grassroots level, that politics of ethnicity has no effect on social cohesion more so the sense of belonging. The truth however is that this political culture is widespread and causing some level of distrust among the different communities. This therefore threatens the feeling of togetherness. I can say that politicians at the grassroots level such as MCAs, because they are not very much exposed to the happenings throughout the country they think the problem is not there but it is and the situation is getting sad by the day. [Interviewee C]

Though the issue of orientation towards a common vision was not was also felt to be at risk by due to the culture of ethno-political identity. The reason that was given by most of the interviewees was that if politics of ethnicity is allowed to thrive, the residents of the county would not be interested in the development of the county, especially the disadvantaged ones, because they would feel that their input does not matter and that the county is 'owned' and run by the ethnic communities that receive preferential treatment. The following was the sentiment of one of the interviewees;

It is important that the residents of this county share the same development vision and I believe that is already happening, whether formally in informally. However, this shared vision, which also acts like a glue that binds the various ethnic together, is likely to lose its strength if politicians constantly continue to base their political activities on ethnicity and ethnic preferences rather than on ideological and policy issues. [Interviewee A]

There was however an almost common view among all interviewees that the use of ethno-political symbols was to identify politicians or political parties was not a common practice. Nonetheless, some interviewees observed that while formal party symbols may not have ethnic connotations, there informal symbols that are used to communicate messages at the grassroots level. These symbols, the other group of interviewees noted, were had effect on relations between people of ethnic communities in the county.

4.3.2 .1 Political Patronage and Intercommunal Cohesion

According to the findings presented in Figure 4.11, majority of the participants responded positively to the question with 23% (79) of the survey participants were of

the view that level of political patronage in the county is very high and 32% (110) opining that political patronage level in the county is. Of the negative responders, 21% (72) of them were of the view that the level is low and 7% (24) (found the level to be very low. The rest 17% (58) of the survey respondents were not certain whether the level of political patronage in the county is high or low. The probable implication here, going by the findings, is that most of the appointments and business activities are between the county and the general public are based on political networks and contacts an individual has in the county government.

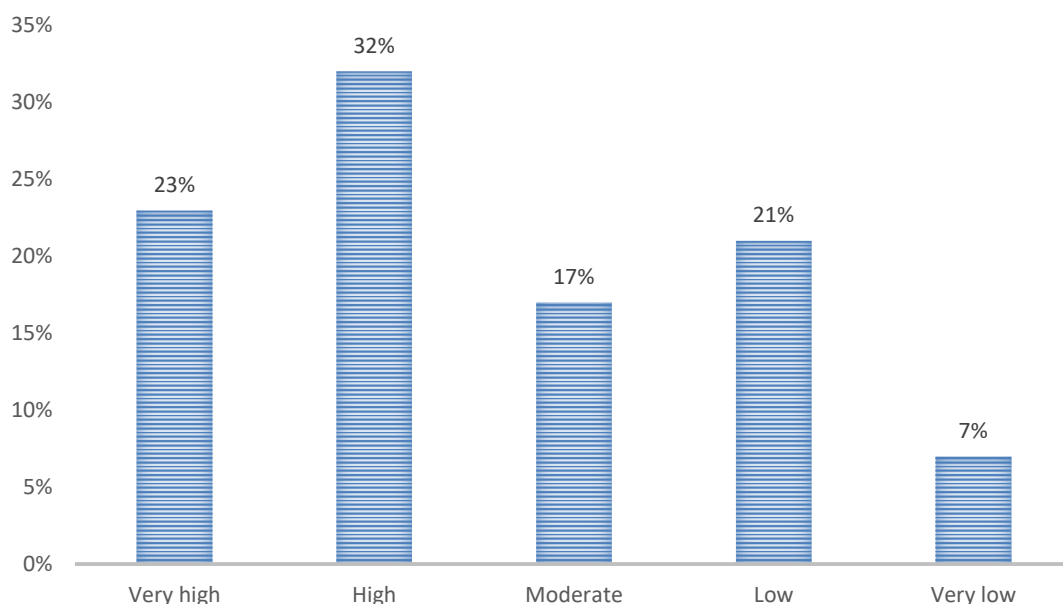


Figure 4.11 Level of Political Patronage in the County

Source: Field data, 2020

On the question on the major role of political connections in employment and award of tenders in Migori County, results captured in Figure 4.12 show that a significant majority, 73% (250), of the survey participants responded positively while 21% (72) responded negatively to the question. The rest 6% (21) of the respondents were not sure whether political networks played any role in decisions to award employment opportunities and county government tenders in Migori County. The implication here, going by these findings, is that the role of political contacts is significant in determining who gets which jobs or tenders in the county.

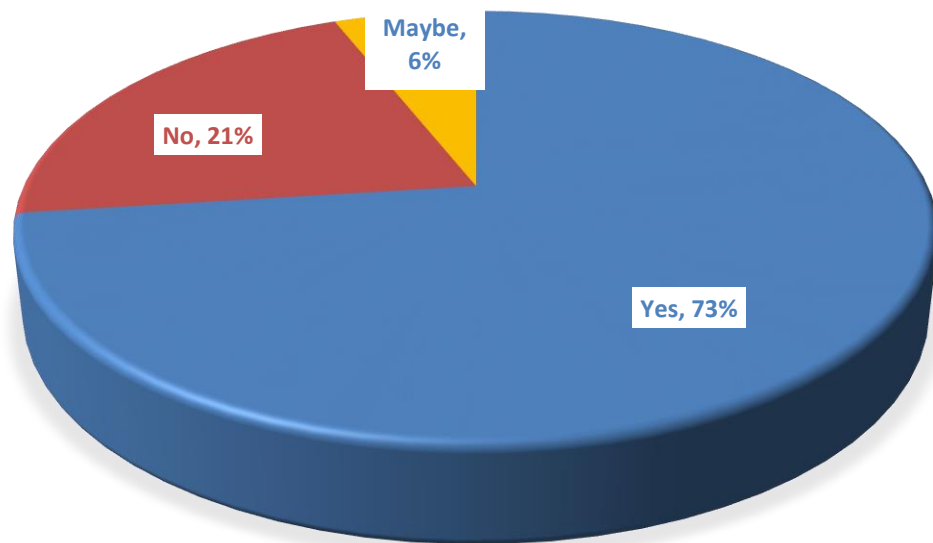


Figure 4.12 Role of Political Connections in Employment and Award of Tenders
Source: Field data, 2020

The study sought to examine the ease of getting job appointments in the county without political connections. Figure 4.13 illustrates that 49% (168) of the survey respondents were of the opinion that it is difficult to be employed in the county government of Migori without the right political links, 23% (79) were of the opinion that it is very difficult while 5% (17) of the respondents were indifferent. On the other hand, 16% (55) of the respondents were of the view that it is easy to get an employment opportunity with the Migori County government without political networks and the rest 7% (24) were of the opinion that even without the right political connections, it is very easy to be employed by the county government of Migori. Based on these findings, individuals seeking employment opportunities with the county government of Migori are less likely to be employed if they do not have the right connections because preferences and priority, seemingly is given to those who are well connected by political office holders in the county government.

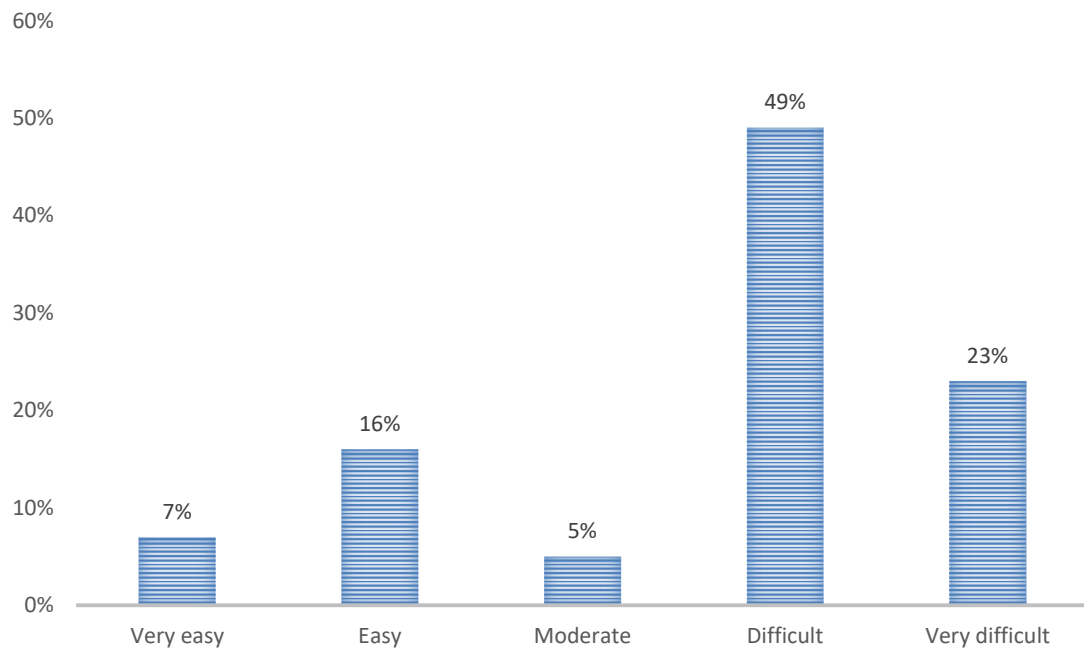


Figure 4.13 Ease of Getting Job Appointments in the County Without Political Connections

Source: Field data, 2020

From the results in Table 4.6, 3% (10) of the respondents strongly agreed that job appointments in the county government in this county are done equitably based on proportion of different ethnic communities living in the county, 11% (37) agreed with the question statement while 17% (58) of the participants were uncertain. On the other hand, 41% (141) of the survey participants disagreed that in the county government of Migori job appointments are done equitably based on proportion of different ethnic communities living in the county while the remaining 28% (96) strongly disagreed with the question statement. The probable implication of these results is that the ethnic communities whose persons are in the political office in different positions, could be member of the national assembly, governor or even MCA, are likely to get significant chunk of available employment opportunities at the expense of ethnic communities whose people are not the substantial political office holders.

Table 4.6 Equitable Job Appointments Based on Proportion of Ethnic Communities

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Indifferent	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Job appointments in the county government in this county are done equitably based on proportion of different ethnic communities living in the county.	3%	11%	17%	41%	28%

Source: Field data, 2020

On the effects of skewed job appointments on sense of belonging among the different ethnic communities in Migori County, the results in Table 4.7 illustrate that 28% (96) of the respondents strongly agreed that such appointments perpetuated by political cronyism undercuts the sense of belonging that ethnic communities in the country strive to achieve. Those who agreed with the question statement were 60% (206) of the respondents. The survey respondents who disagreed that skewed job appointments perpetuated by political cronyism undercut the sense of belonging that ethnic communities in the county strive to achieve were 6% (21) while the rest 3% (10) strongly disagreed with the question. The clear implication here is that political patronage is counter-productive in enhancing intercommunal cohesion through sense of belonging.

Table 4.7 Effects of Skewed Job Appointments on Sense of Belonging

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Indifferent	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Skewed job appointments perpetuated by political cronyism undercut the sense of belonging that ethnic communities in this county strive to achieve.	28%	60%	3%	6%	3%

Source: Field data, 2020

From the results depicted in Table 4.8, 21% (72) of the respondents strongly agreed that community cohesion among the different ethnic communities through orientation towards a common development vision is undermined by political

patronage. Slightly more than half of the respondents, 51% (175), agreed that in Migori County political patronage undermines orientation towards a common development vision among the different ethnic communities for the development of the county while 11% (38) of the respondents expressed uncertainty. On the other end, 10% (34) of the negative responders disagreed with the question statement and the rest 7% (24) strongly disagreed that orientation towards a common development vision among the different ethnic communities for the development of the county is undermined by political patronage. It can therefore be reliably said that political patronage disorients the ethnic communities' efforts to work towards shared common development vision as indicated by the findings of the study.

Table 4.8 Effects of Political Patronage on Orientation Towards a Common Development Vision

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Indifferent	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
In this county, orientation towards a common development vision among the different ethnic communities for the development of the county is undermined by political patronage.	21%	51%	11%	10%	7%

Source: Field data, 2020

With reference to Figure 4.14, 38% (130) of the respondents agreed that the basis of award of county government tenders is not merit but as a reward to loyalty to the governing regimen in the county. The question statement was strongly agreed with by 30% (103) of the respondents while 7% (24) of the respondents were indifferent. Those who disagreed with the questions statement were 16% (55) of the respondents while the rest 9% (31) strongly disagreed that Migori County government tenders are awarded as a reward to those loyal to the governing regimen and not based on merit. The implication of this finding is that political patronage to influential people in the political office in the county's government is the ticket to being awarded business

tenders. Those who differ with the county government's position are less likely to genuinely do business with the Migori County government.

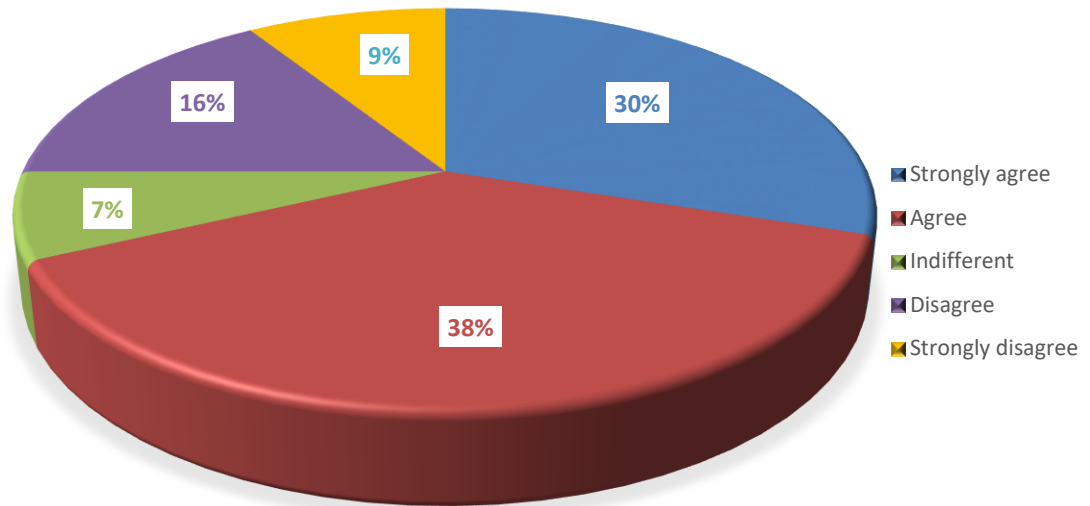


Figure 4.14 Basis of Award of County Government Tenders
Source: Field data, 2020

Analysis of the question on effects of unmerited award of county government tenders on intercommunal cohesion in Table 4.9 shows that 15% (51) of the respondents strongly agreed that unmerited, political patronage-based award of county government tenders diminish gains made in entrenching sense of belonging among ethnic communities in Migori County. Slightly more than one third of the respondents, 35%, and (120) agreed with the question statement while 19% (65) were indifferent. On the other hand, 21% (72) disagreed with the question statement and the rest 10% (34) strongly disagreed that unmerited, political patronage-based award of county government tenders diminish the gains made in entrenching sense of belonging among ethnic communities in this county. This implies that if political office holders continue to overlook merit and award county government tenders based on cronyism, then the intercommunal social fabric among the ethnic communities living in Migori County is likely to deteriorate further because the unfavoured ethnic communities' relationships with the ethnically favoured one is likely to be increasingly strained.

Table 4.9 Effects of Unmerited, Political Patronage-based Award of Tenders on Sense of Belonging

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Indifferent	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Unmerited, political patronage-based award of county government tenders diminish the gains made in entrenching sense of belonging among ethnic communities in this county.	15%	35%	19%	21%	10%

Source: Field data, 2020

Results in Table 4.10 show that 11% (38) of the respondents strongly agreed that orientation of the ethnic communities in Migori County towards a common vision of developing the county is detracted by unfair award of tenders to certain favoured ethnic communities while 38% (130) agreed with the question statement. On the other end, 18% (62) of the survey participants disagreed that unfair award of tenders to certain favoured ethnic communities detracts orientation of the ethnic communities in this county towards a common vision of developing the county while 10% (34) strongly disagreed with the question statement. The rest 10% (34) of the respondents were indifferent. These results connote that besides unmerited, political patronage-based distribution of tenders negatively affecting sense of belonging among the different ethnic groups, it also leads to detraction of the common development visions that the different ethnic communities living Migori County aim to achieve.

Table 4.10 Effects of Unmerited, Political Patronage-based Distribution of Tenders on Orientation Towards a Common Development Vision

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Indifferent	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Orientation of the ethnic communities in this county towards a common vision of developing the county is detracted by unfair award of tenders to certain favoured ethnic communities.	11%	38%	23%	18%	10%

Source: Field data, 2020

Although some of the interviewees, especially those holding certain specific offices, denied political patronage was a commonplace in the county, more than half of the interviewees held convictions that political patronage among politicians and their cronies was widespread in the county. There was also an indication that even influential politicians not holding any offices had enormous influence on who gets which tenders or job opportunities. Some of the interviewees were candid to comment that such deals are stricken during campaigns between vying politicians and business people and wealthy individuals in the county. The following is a pronouncement of one of the interviewees;

“It is no secret that most job opportunities and tenders in this county go to cronies of political office holders. It is almost like a business where the politicians promise their cronies jobs and tenders in exchange for funding during campaigns. Now, these tendencies, whether we like or not, affect intercommunal cohesion in the county. Members of disgruntled ethnic communities stop thinking about the development of the county and concentrate on their own development. This, in a way, directly or otherwise, affects the social fabric of the Migori County society.” [Interviewee E]

The effects of intercommunal cohesion was explained both in terms of the sense of belonging and shared development vision. With regard to the feeling of belonging, the minority ethnic communities were the most affected because, it was considered, it is not easy for them to access the county government job positions. Similarly, it is quite challenging for them to rise up the political ladder in the county.

4.3.3 Corrective Approaches to Divisive Elements of Political Culture Towards Enhancing Intercommunal Cohesion

The study sought to establish the corrective approach that has received more attention in the last ten years between strengthening of political parties and electoral reforms. The results presented in Figure 4.15 are in regard to the question on the corrective approach that has received more attention in the last ten years between strengthening of political parties and electoral reforms. From the analysis, 73% (250)

of the respondents were of the view that electoral reforms has received more attention than strengthening of political parties, 27%, (93) over the same period. This means that efforts being put forward to address the negative aspects of the country's political culture have been more focused on electoral reforms probably because of the national concentration and direct government involvement. Strengthening of political parties on the other hand more subject to the efforts of political parties and their members, both of which may be short-lived and are prone to rapid changes from time to time depending on the members' interest.

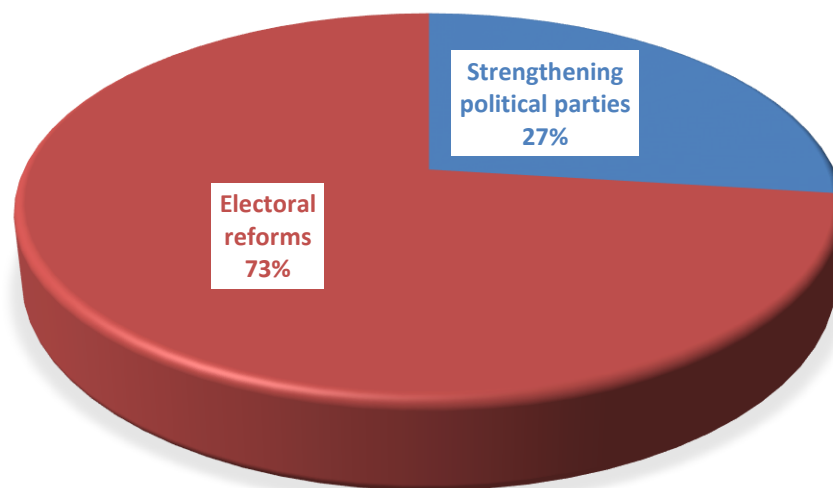


Figure 4.15 Attention Accorded to Corrective Approaches
Source: Field data, 2020

Figure 4.16 shows that 43% (147) of the survey participants were of the opinion that electoral reforms have enhanced intercommunal cohesion in Migori County to a moderate extent, 26% (89) were of the opinion that the effects have been to a great extent, 20% (69) were of the view that electoral reforms have been effective to a small extent and 4% (13) opined that these reforms have been effective to a very great extent. The rest 7% (24) were of the view that these reforms have not been effective at all. Looking at the proportion on moderate extent and great extent and summing the two up, good progress has been made on enhancing intercommunal cohesion in Migori

County through electoral reforms.

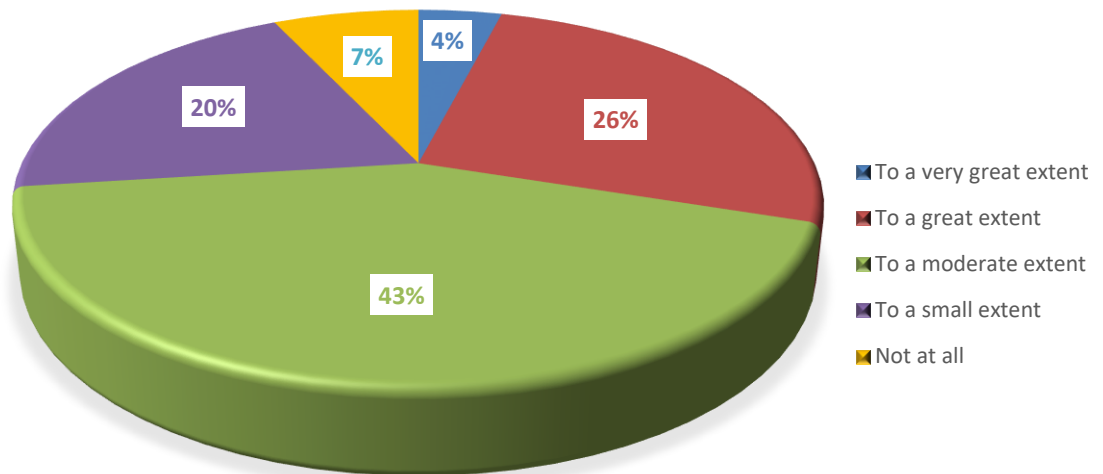


Figure 4.16 Extent to Which Electoral Reforms have Enhanced Intercommunal Cohesion

Source: Field data, 2020

With regard to the question on the extent to which strengthening political parties has enhanced intercommunal cohesion in the county, 44% (151) of the respondents were of the view that the approach has been effective to a small extent, 34% (117) opined that it has been effective to a moderate extent, 18% (62) found it to be effective to a great and 3% felt that the approach has been effective to a very great extent. The remaining 1% (3) of the survey participants opined that strengthening political parties as an approach to enhance intercommunal cohesion has not been effective at all. This percentages imply that this approach has been slow in achieving the intended objective of enhancing intercommunal cohesion in Migori County probably due to reluctance of political parties' leaders to change. The finding could also mean that the ethnicized basis on which political parties are formed in the country make it difficult for parties to effectively achieve this goal.

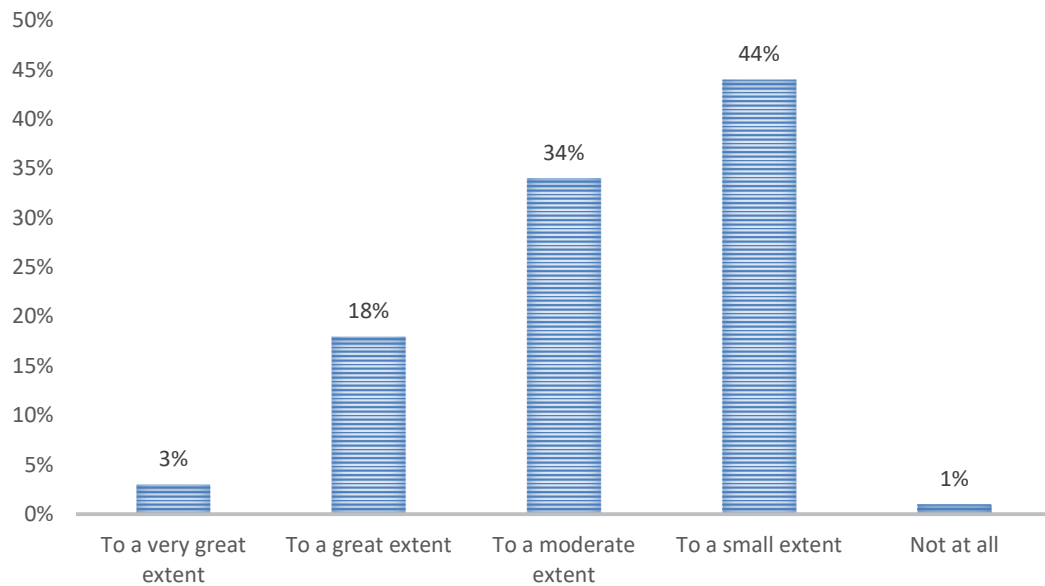


Figure 4.17 Extent to Which Strengthening Political Parties has Enhanced Intercommunal Cohesion

Source: Field data, 2020

Another shared view among all the interviewees was that it is high time the negative aspects of political culture in the county and country are conclusively and effectively addressed. The electoral reforms contained in the current constitution was lauded as the best starting points to address political cronyism and accountability in the Migori County and in Kenya. Interviewees cited the establishment a strong IEBC that can hold politicians and political parties responsible for their activities. Although it is not an aspect of electoral reforms, some interviewees pointed out establishment of the NCIC as effect way of addressing politics of ethnicity in the country. Below is a comment of an interviewee;

“We may have a long way to go but the 2010 constitution was a great place to start. Politics of ethnicity have for a long times dogged the country, Migori County included, and it is high time we move away from that culture and brand of politics to politics based on ideas. The clause on Electoral Finance Act is important in addressing the problem of political patronage and cronyism which is largely brought about by politicians rewarding their campaign financiers.” [Interviewee G]

On strengthening political parties, another interviewee commented as follows;

“The problem of political parties and alliances in this country is that they are

mostly troubled outfits and owned and controlled by a few influential individuals. As a result, membership subscription to such parties is always very low and majority of those who subscribe to them are in one way or another, especially ethnically, affiliated to the owners of the party. There is no public ownership. Because of ethnicized political parties and coalitions, the support base of such parties are also based in ethnicity thereby causing social divisions among ethnic communities even in Migori County.” [Interviewee C]

Generally, electoral reforms and strengthening of political parties were considered by almost all interviewees as among the right approaches to addressing the retrogressive political culture in Migori County and in Kenya.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSIONS, SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter includes discussions of major findings of the study constructed on the data analysed in the previous chapter and as per the three specific objectives in connection with the independent variable. The influence of Kenya's political culture based on the first two objectives of the study are discussed. Also included is a discussion of corrective approaches that can be used to address the divisive elements in Kenya's political culture. Drawing from the discussion, the summaries of the findings are highlighted. The conclusions as well are derived from the findings of this study. The chapter concludes by making recommendations to different actors on measures that can be taken to address the problems identified based again on the findings of the study. Finally, areas for further research with regard to the subject of this study are suggested.

5.2 Discussions

5.2.1 Ethno-Political Identity and Intercommunal Cohesion

Politics of ethnic identify remains a commonplace in the Kenya. This can be attributed to the largely ethicized political activities in the country. This is more so the case at the national level. However, the same scheme is deployed by politicians vying for political seats in at sub-national geographical units where the ethnic backgrounds of the electorates are diverse and heterogeneous as shown in the findings of this study and corroborated by Mutungi (2019). Since the nature of politics in Migori County is less issue-based and more ethnic-based as shown in by the findings of the study, the politicians in the county do not shy away from pulling the ethnic cards when vying for different positions in the county. The higher the level of seat being sought within the county, the greater the ethnicization of political identity as means to a political end.

Consistent with the findings of Njoroge and Kirori (2013), this nature of political activities also inform to a greater extent the alliances that are formed by different candidates at the county level even if they are vying on the same political party ticket. For instance, since those candidates vying for gubernatorial, senate and women representatives seats and are from different ethnic backgrounds, they are likely to form a campaign coalition of different ethnic tribes and use their 'unity in diversity' ideology to hunt for votes in a pack. For the smaller units such as those of constituency representative to the national assembly and member of county assembly, findings show that the most likely candidate to succeed is one whose ethnic tribe make up the majority of the electorates in the geographical unit within which the seat is being sought. Such candidates have an easy run as compared to those whose ethnic tribes are the minority within the unit. The outcome of this, as illustrated by the findings of the study, is that in most instances, candidates win political seats and voters vote for them not because of their competencies and ideologies to the electorates but because of their ethnic and political affiliations, a finding in tandem with that of Mutungi (2019).

The effects of this culture of politics on intercommunal cohesion, as illustrated in the findings of the study, is anything but desirous. This is because of the divisive effect of this brand of the politics. However, diverse it may be based in the different social cleavages, to grow and achieve its goals, there must be shared goals, visions and objectives that its members yearn for as demonstrated by Kastoryano and Schader (2014) regarding collective mobilization. The moment elements of division, such as ethnic politics, are introduced into the picture, then the common purposes begin to diminish. If these divisive politics are allowed to thrive with time, the more the more the common visions of development are will ebb. At the end of the community at large and even the small ethnic communities will fail to achieve the initially shared goals and

visions. This is because the instead of putting in political seats candidates who are development oriented with a common vision for all irrespective of their ethnic backgrounds, those who ascend to elective seats are the ‘ethnically correct’ politicians. The intercommunal cohesion and realization of common vision is further negated by the appointments such successful candidates make once they are in office. Most of the appointive positions are filled by relatives of or people of the same ethnic tribe as the candidate and because their allegiance is to the appointing authority and not the electorates, they are equally answerable to the politicians who appointed them. The net effect of this is that these appointees generally advance the interests of the people of their ethnic tribes and not the county as a whole. Such ethnically centred goals therefore compromise on cohesion in the country. These findings are consistent with that of Gibson and Gouws (2000).

Besides derailing realization of shared goals and visions in the county, and synonymous to the findings of van der Meer and Tolsma (2014), politics of ethnic identity underlie the negative relationship between ethnic heterogeneity and social cohesion. This significantly undermine the sense of belonging among the residents of Migori County. This is demonstrated by the ethnic-cluster settlements in most parts of the county. In as much as the county is ethnically heterogeneous, the different ethnic communities have settled in ethnic clusters spread across the county. This is even more prevalent among the ‘outsider’ ethnic communities or who are not originally natives of the county like the Somalis and the Luyhas. These ‘outsider’ tribes are less likely to successfully vie for political seats in regions outside their clusters. They are also considered ‘inconsequential’ in everyday activities until the election cycle goes comes full. The settlement in ethnic clusters, as opposed to mixing freely and living anywhere within the county is driven by identity politics and weakens the communal cohesion

bonds among the different ethnic tribes of Migori County. Consistent with the findings of Cox et al. (2014), these clusters tend to be common because ethnic group affiliations provide members with some sense of security. Political campaigns in such contexts are likely to be premised on divisive rhetoric of ‘ethnic inclusivity’ yet in real sense they are not thus heightening the perceived conflict between the different ethnic groups (Helbling et al., 2015). Subsequently, as experienced in the aftermath of the 2007/8 general elections, political instability instigated by politics of ethnic identity can lead to extreme erosion of social ties and cohesion among different ethnic tribes. It might therefore be wrongly construed, as Laurence, Schmid and Hewstone (2019) advances, that ethnic diversity poses a risk to social cohesion in communities yet, the drivers of wedges of ethnic division in counties like Migori and other ethnically diverse communal settings are poor political cultures characterized by ethnic political alignments and use of ethno-political symbols to whip electorates into the ‘right’ political lines while effectively segregating and discriminating against other ethnic communities.

5.2.2 Political Patronage and Intercommunal Cohesion

Migori County is fairly in a rural setting and as advanced by Leonard et al. (2010) and congruent to the findings of this study, patronage still drives the politics of this rural county. Rather than politics of social capital which contributes to the good of all in the society through shared vision, patron–client networks still dominate the political culture of Migori County. In the county, political patronage remains highly relevant to the processes through which the different ethnic communities receive benefits from those occupying political elective positions as well as those appointed by the elected politicians. As established in this study, with regard to ethnic alignment and belonging, the right connections in political circles significantly determine who gets awarded

county government tenders and who gets employed in the county. Subsequently it appears, individuals and organizations whose 'people' are in the driving seat get to enjoy employment and business opportunities in the county government. A few positions and business opportunities may be handed to the other ethnic tribes to show a false sense of inclusivity. As means to ensuring that they get political support of other numerically significant tribes, those elected to political positions will use job positions as enticements.

The generally high rating that political patronage in the county was accorded implies that most of the time ethnic communities that are outside the patron–client networks of the country are worse off. The minority ethnic communities like the Somalis are less likely to be employed by the county government and are also less likely to be awarded county government tenders. Conversely, the majority ethnic communities such as the Luos, Kuria and the Kisii will most likely be found occupying offices in the county government positions and doing most business activities with the county government because of the special position they hold in the county by the virtue of their numbers (which translates to the number of votes that each of the majority ethnic community has in the county). Ostensibly, the patronage tendencies are neither incidental nor do they arise in a vacuum, but are very much a part of the county's general political fabric.

Compared to ethno-political identities, the effects political patronage become increasingly divisive with time thereby weakening the bond of social cohesion that hold ethnically heterogeneous societies together as. Inequalities and iniquities in distribution of employment and business opportunities spurred by political cronyism, or indeed any other form of discrimination, easily leads to strained relationships between members of different ethnic groups as established by Babajanian (2012) and Khatri and Tsang

(2003) and consistent with the findings of this study. Analogous to the findings of this study, Gordon (2019) and Panizza et al. (2018) also found that patronage is permitted to take root and proliferate, controlled by political clientage flames division within communities and cause disharmony. One of the ways patronage leads to intercommunal divisions along social cleavages such as ethnic lines is through dismissal or termination of employment and business contracts or redeployment of employees on manifestly political grounds. This is mostly seen when new politicians assume office and they dismiss or redeploy employees who do not voluntarily or otherwise 'fit' in the ethnic patron-client networks and are therefore perceived to be threats to the interests of the political office bearer. Whenever such patronage dismissals occur, the victims as well as members of the maltreated ethnic community begin regarding and perceiving members of the offending politician's ethnic group as adversaries. In effect, the injustice is no longer attached to the individual committing it but is reduced and generalized to the entire ethnic community.

Moreover, concentration of resources into a few people's and few ethnic communities' hands, perpetuated by political clientelism, leads to concentration of development among the favoured ethnic groups at the expense of the minority ethnic communities as found by Bamidele (2015). In light of this, the vision of common good of the society where there is equitable distribution of resources to all members of the various ethnic societies is therefore lost. This likely explains the clamour for top political seats in the county by politicians from different ethnic societies and the demand for plum cabinet positions at the county level for cronies who support the occupants of the top political positions in the county.

The larger point being made here is that this sort of politics typified by skewed political appointments and unmerited, political patronage-based award of county

government tenders, as illustrated by the findings of this study, and consistent with the empirical studies reviewed herein, are bound to weaken social cohesion among ethnic communities. So long as patronage systems prevail in the county's political culture, political leaders cannot be effectively relied upon to represent the collective interests of their ethnically heterogeneous constituents and this will likely lead to nonadhesive ethnic communities.

5.2.3 Corrective Approaches to Divisive Elements of Political Culture Towards Enhancing Intercommunal Cohesion

Based on the above findings of this study which enrich the understanding of the negative effects of ethno-political identity and political patronage (facets of Kenya's political culture in the context of this study) on communal cohesion among members of diverse ethnic backgrounds, establishing approaches to remedying this retrogressive culture is even more important. In this section, various corrective approaches to divisive elements of Kenya's political culture are discussed. Based on the findings of this study, strengthening political parties is one of the effective ways to bring to an end the poor political cultural practices in Migori County. The probable question one would as therefore is how strengthening of political parties can serve to bring to an end the undesirable these facets of Kenya's political culture. One of the ways to answer this question is to look at the nature of political formations in the country. It is undeniable that most political parties in the county and in the country are formed along ethnic lines. Almost none of the existing political parties, have national outlook and appeal.

As postulated by McCoy et al (2018), strengthening political parties would effectively eliminate bad practices by ensuring that parties are now owned by a single individual or a group of individuals from the single dominant or few dominant ethnic tribes. Further, political parties will not be associated with certain specific ethnic group(s). If

this is achieved successfully, such political party's internal democracy and transparency would be realized thus helping to overcome the problem of ethnic alignment. Moreover, in line with Porter's (2007) findings, strong political parties founded on cross social cleavage inclusivity is likely to attract have a wide outreach thus ensuring that subscription to party membership cuts across different ethnic tribes as opposed to members being drawn from a single or few ethnic tribes.

Strong, broad-based, stable and well-organized political parties founded on clear progressive ideologies and with national outlook are essential with regard to equal and objective representation of electorates and citizens irrespective of their ethnic creed. Therefore, as opposed to political parties that polarized (Tucker et al, 2018), parties that are open and accountable would play a major role in addressing the problem of skewed discretionary or obligatory awarding of job and business opportunities to cronies and clientele. Additionally, political parties with strong internal democratic structures and processes are very cohesive and would be effective in holding office bearers to accountability thereby ensuring that skewed political appointments and unmerited, political patronage-based award of county government tenders, and other deleterious elements of political culture in the county and country are not allowed to take root and flourish. Equally, strengthening political parties and abolishing the ethno-political symbols associated with political parties is imperative in encouraging the participation of the electorates in governance matters. For instance, the citizenry is encouraged to participate in the formulation and implementation of policies that work for the good of all members of a society.

The interdependence of electoral reforms and political culture is not questionable hence its significance in encouraging intercommunal cohesion as illustrated in the outcomes of this study. Poor electoral reforms most certainly

encourages poor political cultural practices. Without constantly and consistently checking the activities and practices of politicians' and political parties' practices, the parties and individuals are likely to run errant and encourage undesirable norms such as political clientelism and formation of political parties based on ethno-political identities. Electoral reforms are common features in countries that are working towards strengthening their democratic spaces through electoral activities (Levitsky & Way, 2012; Chigora & Guzura, 2011). This partially explain why electoral reforms were at the core of the constitutional amendments in Kenya prior to the 2010 referendum. In Kenya, after the 2007 elections, the country erupted in violence.

According to some observers, the claims and convictions of rigged presidential elections provided the perfect opportunities for the long overlying ethnic animosity to erupt. Narratives of ethnic inclusion and exclusion became subjects of open discussion with member of some ethnic tribes explaining how their tribes have allegedly been left out government development since independence and how certain specific tribes were enjoying job appointments and business opportunities because 'their people' were or had been in powerful political positions for so long. Since political both political flanks of the two protagonists in the election were almost entirely based on ethnicity, it was easy for rival ethnic communities to rise against each other (Levitsky & Way, 2012; Chigora & Guzura, 2011). The electoral systems reforms that followed such as the passing of legislation including the New Elections Act, the Political Parties Act, the Campaign Finance Law, and the Electoral and Boundaries Act (2011) were all meant to address problems of ethno-political identity and political patronage among other deleterious political cultural practices in the country. Such reforms are of essence in entrenching ethnic, religion, political and regional inclusiveness.

The findings of the study are also consistent with the tenets of the two theories

applied in this study, theory of cultural identities and theory of group cohesiveness. From the perspective of the theory of cultural identities, the findings of the study subtly indicate that cultural identities are a major basis of negotiation for the ethnic communities in Migori County when it comes to politics. The two main ethnic communities, the Luo and the Kuria, use their numerical advantages to negotiate the sharing of political seats on offer, especially the main top political seats. This is also consistent with the findings of the study conducted by Mitullah (2017) on negotiated democracy in Migori County. The theory of group cohesiveness on the other hand is given credence by the findings of this study in the sense that without political interference and divisions caused by socio-political stratification, the ethnic communities are more inclined to work together towards realization of the same visions and goals for the country. However, introduction of division by political weakens the cohesion bond and subsequently the attention of the different ethnic tribes towards common goals is divided.

5.3 Summary of Main Findings

The principal findings of this study were that negative associations exist between ethno-political identity and political patronage as indicators of Kenya's political culture and intercommunal cohesion among the various ethnic communities residing in Migori County. Ethnic alignments initiated and encouraged by political party founders and leaders have deleterious effects on intercommunal cohesion. Such alignments make members of the minor ethnic communities to lose their sense of belonging to the county. Additionally, ethnic alignments and the outcomes of electoral results, which in most case favour the major ethnic tribes, make the Migori County society members (the different ethnic groups) be more self-centred at the expense of orientation towards a common development vision. Ethno-political symbols were also found to be significant contributors in disintegration of social cohesion fabric in Migori County.

Another primary research question was the influence of political patronage in intercommunal cohesion in Migori County. The findings of the study showed that skewed political appointments and employment of individuals largely on the basis of cronyism promotes social division and fragmentation of positive relationships between members of different ethnic communities. This is caused by the feeling that some ethnic tribes are favoured and empowered economically and socially while others, especially those that are not represented in the political centres of power are left to their own devices without proper job opportunities. Similarly, award of county government tenders to the ethnic cronies of the ruling political class made others ethnic tribes to feel like outsiders thus creating a greater sense of exclusion and loneliness in the social circles.

On the positive side, it was found that strengthening political parties and instituting progressive electoral reforms were positive approaches that can be employed by the different actors, both governmental and non-governmental to weed out divisive political culture practise that contribute to degeneration of the social cohesion fabric in Migori County. These two approaches if deployed effectively, can ensure that all the residents of the count, irrespective of their social differences are equally and fully engaged in the running of the country through formulation and implementation of policies. These approaches, as it was found, would also be essential in ensuring that employment and business opportunities in the county are fairly awarded to the deserving businesses and individuals based on merit and not political client-patron networks.

5.4 Conclusions

Kenya's political culture certainly has implications on intercommunal cohesion among different ethnic tribes. Understanding the facets of the country's political culture

that have deleterious effects on social cohesion among different ethnic tribes remains an important undertaking, and one which informed the initiation and execution of this research study. As established in the findings of this study, the two facets of the country's political culture that were covered in the study; ethno-political identity (herein denoted by ethnic alignments and ethno-political symbols) and political patronage (signified by skewed political appointments and unmerited, political patronage-based award of county government tenders) have negative effects on intercommunal cohesion in the Migori County. However, though it will take time, money and other resources, these objectionable, unacceptable and offensive political culture facets can be eliminated. Corrective approaches such as strengthening political parties and electoral reforms, among other approaches can be used to address the problems and in subsequence create strongly cohesive societies made up of different ethnic communities.

5.5 Recommendations

Based on its findings, the study recommends that the government of Kenya through its independent commissions like the IEBC step-up electoral reforms efforts that will help the country address problems of ethnically inclined political activities in the country. It is also recommended that the NCIC works together with IEBC to address the problem of ethno-political identity by punishing those who breach the set codes of conducts such as ban on hate speech. The NCIC is also encouraged to work closely with the citizenry and other politicians to identify individuals and institutions that encourage the undesirable political culture practices and punish them appropriately. The general public is also urged to shun politicians and political institutions that are founded on ethno-political identity and political patronage and give leadership opportunities to candidates and parties that promote inclusivity and social cohesion.

5.6 Areas of Further Research

For further research, it is recommended that studies on the same topic be carried out in other metropolitan counties in Kenya like Kisumu, Nairobi, Mombasa and Nakuru. Further studies can also be conducted on facets of Kenya's political culture that promote intercommunal cohesion in the country. It would also be worthy to conduct research studies the focus exclusively on how the negative elements of political culture Kenya can be effectively addressed so as to ensure that the citizens and residents of the country live together in harmony and in cohesive societies their social differences notwithstanding.

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APPENDICES**Appendix I: Introductory Letter and Questionnaire**

April 12th 2020

Karen Magara

19J03DMGP039

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE: REQUEST TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH PROJECT

My name is Karen Magara, a Master of Science in Governance Peace and Security Studies student at Africa Nazarene University. I am carrying out a study titled ***Influence of Political Culture on Intercommunal Cohesion: Case of Migori County, Kenya***. You have been identified and considered a knowledgeable person in the research area and hence you are kindly requested to participate in the study by filling in the questionnaire as truthfully as possible. I assure you the information given will be treated with confidentiality and strictly used for purposes of the Study. Thank you for your cooperation and support.

Sincerely,

Karen Magara

Questionnaire

This questionnaire is designed to assist in the collection of information regarding the *Influence of Political Culture on Intercommunal Cohesion: Case of Migori County, Kenya*. The information collected will only be used for the purposes of this research study. Kindly mark your response in the provided spaces with an (X) and write your response in the spaces provided.

1. Gender

Male [] Female []

2. Age bracket

18 – 27 years [] 28 – 37 years [] 38 – 47 years []
 48 – 57 years [] 58 – 67 years [] 68 years or more []

3. How long have you lived in this county?

5– 10 years [] 11– 15 years [] 16 – 20 years []
 21 – 25 years [] 26 – 30 years [] 31 years or more []

4. Would you consider yourself belonging to a major or minor ethnic community in this county?

Major [] Minor []

5. In your view, are settlements of households across the county based on ethnic clusters?

Yes [] No []

Section B: Ethno-Political Identity and Intercommunal Cohesion

6. Have you voted in this Migori County before?

Yes [] No []

7. On what basis do you best assess a political candidate? (Choose only one option)

A. Articles in the mainstream media (TV/radio/newspapers)

B. Articles in the social media (Facebook/Twitter)

C. Attend events where the candidate is addressing the people

D. Family's/friend's view of the candidate

E. The candidate's ethical affiliation

F. The candidate's political affiliation

G. Other (Please highlight) _____

8. Which of the following would best describe your decision to vote for a political candidate?

A. If the candidate is comes from the same ethnic tribe as mine/affiliated to a candidate that comes from my ethnic tribe.

B. If the candidate vies on the ticket of the political party that I am affiliated to.

C. If the candidate has the potential to deliver development to the electorates.

D. Other reason(s) (Please highlight) _____

9. Which of the following statements comes closest to your personal view?

A. Most elected officials in this county get into political office by the virtue of their ethnic affiliations.

B. Most elected officials in this county get into political office by the virtue of their political party affiliation.

C. Most elected officials in this county get into political office by the virtue of what they can potentially deliver to the electorates.

10. In your view are ethnically motivated political alignments very common in this county?

A. Yes

- B. No
- C. Maybe

11. In terms of ethnic alignments, what dimension do these alignments take?

- A. The majority ethnic communities come together to form strong political alliances.
- B. The minority ethnic communities come together to form strong political alliances.
- C. The majority ethnic communities attract the minority communities to form strong political alliances.

12. Political parties/alliances founded on ethnicity undermine the sense of belonging for all communities in this county.

- A. Strongly agree
- B. Agree
- C. Indifferent
- D. Disagree
- E. Strongly disagree

13. Ethnically instigated political alignments weaken the sense of belonging among ethnic communities in this county.

- A. Strongly agree
- B. Agree
- C. Indifferent
- D. Disagree
- E. Strongly disagree

14. The use of ethno-political symbols by politicians enhances orientation towards a common vision of developing the county among all ethnic tribes in this county.

- A. Strongly agree
- B. Agree
- C. Indifferent
- D. Disagree
- E. Strongly disagree

15. Ethno-political symbols as a form of political identity destabilize the sense of belonging for minor ethnic communities in this county.

- A. Strongly agree
- B. Agree
- C. Indifferent
- D. Disagree
- E. Strongly disagree

Section C: Political Patronage and Intercommunal Cohesion

16. How would you rate the level of political patronage in this county?

- A. Very high
- B. High
- C. Moderate
- D. Low
- E. Very low

17. Do you think connections in the political connections in this county play a major role when it comes to employments and award of county government tenders?

- A. Yes
- B. No
- C. Maybe

18. In this county, how easy is it for an individual who does not have political

connections to get jobs appointments by the county government?

- A. Very easy
- B. Easy
- C. Moderate
- D. Difficult
- E. Very difficult

19. Job appointments in the county government in this county are done equitably based on proportion of different ethnic communities living in the county.

- A. Strongly agree
- B. Agree
- C. Indifferent
- D. Disagree
- E. Strongly disagree

20. Skewed job appointments perpetuated by political cronyism undercut the sense of belonging that ethnic communities in this county strive to achieve.

- A. Strongly agree
- B. Agree
- C. Indifferent
- D. Disagree
- E. Strongly disagree

21. In this county, orientation towards a common development vision among the different ethnic communities for the development of the county is undermined by political patronage.

- A. Strongly agree
- B. Agree

- C. Indifferent
 - D. Disagree
 - E. Strongly disagree
22. County government tenders in this county are awarded as a reward to those loyal to the governing regimen and not based on merit.
- A. Strongly agree
 - B. Agree
 - C. Indifferent
 - D. Disagree
 - E. Strongly disagree
23. Unmerited, political patronage-based award of county government tenders diminish the gains made in entrenching sense of belonging among ethnic communities in this county.
- A. Strongly agree
 - B. Agree
 - C. Indifferent
 - D. Disagree
 - E. Strongly disagree
24. Orientation of the ethnic communities in this county towards a common vision of developing the county is detracted by unfair award of tenders to certain favoured ethnic communities.
- A. Strongly agree
 - B. Agree
 - C. Indifferent
 - D. Disagree

E. Strongly disagree

**Section D: Corrective Approaches to Divisive Elements of Political Culture
Towards Enhancing Intercommunal Cohesion**

25. Between the following two indicators of corrective approaches, which one in your views has received more attention in the last ten years?

A. Strengthening political parties

B. Electoral reforms

26. Please indicate the extent to which you feel electoral reforms have enhanced intercommunal cohesion in this county?

A. To a very great extent

B. To a great extent

C. To a moderate extent

D. To a small extent

E. Not at all

27. In your view, to what extent has strengthening political parties enhanced intercommunal cohesion in this county?

A. To a very great extent

B. To a great extent

C. To a moderate extent

D. To a small extent

E. Not at all

Appendix II: Interview Schedule

Dear Respondent,

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this research survey on **Kenya's Political Culture and Its Implications on Intercommunal Cohesion**. Your participation is voluntary and your identity will remain confidential. You are encouraged to respond objectively and to the best of your knowledge, therefore feel free to give your views about political engagements. The findings of this survey would be essential in positively improving political activities in the county and country. The results of this survey will be used as part of a dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the Degree of Master of Science in Governance Peace and Security at Africa Nazarene University.

Informed Consent

I agree to participate in this research survey and approve of the use of my data for the purposes specified above. Please write 'agree' in the space provided. _____

1. What think is the effect of politically initiated ethnic alignments in this county on the following?
 - a) Sense of belonging for all communities.
 - b) Orientation towards a common vision of developing the county.
2. In your view how do the use of ethno-political symbols that discriminate against other communities affect;
 - a) Sense of belonging for all communities?
 - b) Orientation towards a common vision of developing the county?
3. Please comment on political patronage with regard to award of county tenders and job appointments in this county.
4. How does political cronyism affect the different ethnic communities in this county with regard to;

- a) Sense of belonging for all communities?
 - b) Orientation towards a common vision of developing the county?
5. Would you say that electoral reforms as a corrective approach to correcting divisive elements of Kenya's political culture has been effective in enhancing intercommunal cohesion in this county?
6. Would you say that strengthening political parties as a corrective approach to correcting divisive elements of Kenya's political culture has been effective in enhancing intercommunal cohesion in this county?

Appendix III: ANU Research Authorization Letter

AFRICA NAZARENE
UNIVERSITY

26th May 2020

RE: TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Karen Magara (18S03DMGP039) is a bonafide student at Africa Nazarene University. She has finished her course work and has defended her thesis proposal entitled: - *“Political Culture and its Influence on Intercommunal Cohesion: Case of Migori County, Kenya”*.


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


A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads 'Rodney Reed'.

Rodney Reed, PhD.

DVC Academic & Student Affairs.


Appendix IV: NACOSTI Research Permit


REPUBLIC OF KENYA


**NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR
SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION**

RefNo: 259315 **Date of Issue: 09/June/2020**

RESEARCH LICENSE



This is to Certify that Ms. Karen Nyamoita Magara of Africa Nazarene University, has been licensed to conduct research in Migori on the topic: Political Culture and its Implications on Intercommunal Cohesion: A case of Migori County, Kenya for the period ending : 09/June/2021.

License No: NACOSTI/P/20/5169

259315
Applicant Identification Number


**Director General
NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR
SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY &
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Appendix V: Krejcie and Morgan Table for Sample Size

Population Size	Confidence = 95%				Confidence = 99%			
	Margin of Error				Margin of Error			
	5.0%	3.5%	2.5%	1.0%	5.0%	3.5%	2.5%	1.0%
10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
20	19	20	20	20	19	20	20	20
30	28	29	29	30	29	29	30	30
50	44	47	48	50	47	48	49	50
75	63	69	72	74	67	71	73	75
100	80	89	94	99	87	93	96	99
150	108	126	137	148	122	135	142	149
200	132	160	177	196	154	174	186	198
250	152	190	215	244	182	211	229	246
300	169	217	251	291	207	246	270	295
400	196	265	318	384	250	309	348	391
500	217	306	377	475	285	365	421	485
600	234	340	432	565	315	416	490	579
700	248	370	481	653	341	462	554	672
800	260	396	526	739	363	503	615	763
1000	278	440	606	906	399	575	727	943
1200	291	474	674	1067	427	636	827	1119
1500	306	515	759	1297	460	712	959	1376
2000	322	563	869	1655	498	808	1141	1785
2500	333	597	952	1984	524	879	1288	2173
3500	346	641	1068	2565	558	977	1510	2890
5000	357	678	1176	3288	586	1066	1734	3842
7500	365	710	1275	4211	610	1147	1960	5165
10000	370	727	1332	4899	622	1193	2098	6239
25000	378	760	1448	6939	646	1285	2399	9972
50000	381	772	1491	8056	655	1318	2520	12455
75000	382	776	1506	8514	658	1330	2563	13583
100000	383	778	1513	8762	659	1336	2585	14227
250000	384	782	1527	9248	662	1347	2626	15555
500000	384	783	1532	9423	663	1350	2640	16055
1000000	384	783	1534	9512	663	1352	2647	16317
2500000	384	784	1536	9567	663	1353	2651	16478
10000000	384	784	1536	9594	663	1354	2653	16560
100000000	384	784	1537	9603	663	1354	2654	16584
300000000	384	784	1537	9603	663	1354	2654	16586

Appendix VI: Map of Study Area

