

**INFLUENCE OF ETHNIC POLARIZATION ON DEVOLVED
GOVERNANCE IN EMBU COUNTY, KENYA 1963-2023**

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DECLARATION

This Thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

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DEDICATION

To my parents: Njiru Warurii and Justa for educating me, wife: Karen Warurii, daughter: Faith Wawira and T.M, grandsons: Jesse Gathumbi and Jeziel Warurii. Take up the academic challenge.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACC	Assistant County Commissioner
ACOK	Appeals Court of Kenya
ALGAK	Association of Local Government Authorities of Kenya
ASAL	Arid and Semi-Arid Lands
ASP	Anti-Semitism Policy
BBI	Building Bridges Initiative
BEA	Basic Education Act
BEAP	British East Africa Protectorate
BFA	Big Four Agenda
BOG	Board of Governors
BP	Bus Party
BSACO	British South Africa Company
BWI	Bretton Woods Institutions
CA	County Assembly
CAA	Chief's Authority Act
CAC	Cronbach Alpha Coefficient
CAE	County Assembly of Embu
CASA	County Assemblies Sports Association
CC	County Commissioner

CCA	Clerk County Assembly of Embu
CCVI	Content and Construct Validity Index
CDE	County Director of Education
CDF	Constituency Development Fund
CECM	County Executive Committee Member
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CG	County Governor
CGA	County Government Act
CGAA	County Government Amendment Act
CGE	County Government of Embu
CGOE	County Governor of Embu
CIC	Commission for the Implementation of the Constitution
CIF	County Inter-governmental Forum
CLGF	Commonwealth Local Government Forum
CMS	Church Missionary Society
COB	Controller of Budget
COE	Committee of Experts
COG	Council of Governors
COGTA	Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs
COK	Constitution of Kenya

CPK	Church of the Province of Kenya
CPSB	County Public Service Board
CRA	Commission of Revenue Allocation
CS	County Secretary
CSC	Cambridge School Certificate
DC	District Commissioner
DCC	Deputy County Commissioner
DCPS	Delivery of County Public Services
DCs	District Councils
DDC	District Development Committee
DFRD	District Focus for Rural Development
DG	Deputy Governor
DOE	Diocese of Embu
DP	Democratic Party
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EAC	East Africa Community
EACC	Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission
EALGF	East-Africa Local Government Forum
ECA	Embu County Assembly
ECCLG	European Commission Charter of Local Government

ECK	Electoral Commission of Kenya
ECS	Embu County Senator
EF	Equalization Fund
EMB-MBEWASCO	Embu-Mbeere Water and Sanitation Company
EMR	Education Management Reforms
EPZ	Export Processing Zone
EWASCO	Embu Water and Sanitation Company
FC	Federal Constitution
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
FFC	Financial and Fiscal Commission
FGE	Federal Government of Ethiopia
FNA	Federal National Assembly
GLA	Greater London Authority
GOK	Government of Kenya
GP	<i>Gram Panchayat</i>
HDU	High Dependency Unit
HOD	Heads of Departments
HT	Hospital Trust
ICT	Information and Communications Technology
ICU	Intensive Care Unit

IGRA	Inter-governmental Relations Act
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IP	Independent Party
IPIS	International Peace Information Services
IPPG	Inter-Parties Political Group
IRF	Inter-Religious Forum
IULA	International Union of Local Authorities
JP	Jubilee Party
KACC	Kenya Anti-Corruption Commission
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KCC	Kenya Co-operative Creameries
KEN GEN	Kenya Electricity Generating Company
KEPHIS	Kenya Plants Health Inspectorate Service
KICOSCA	Kenya Inter-County Sports and Cultural Association
KLR	Kenya Law Reform
KNA	Kenya National Archives
KNLS	Kenya National Library Services
KPHC	Kenya Population and Housing Census
KSL	Kenya School of Law
KTDA	Kenya Tea Development Authority

KTT	Kenya Thabiti Taskforce
KUPML	Kenyatta University Post Modern Library
KV	Kenya Vision
LAA	Local Administrations Act
LEGCO	Legislative Council
LGA	Local Government Act
LGO	Local Government Ordinance
LNC	Local Native Council
LON	League of Nations
LOP	Livestock Off-take Programme
M23	March 2023
MCA	Member of County Assembly
MCC	Maendeleo ChapChap
MCE	Municipal Council of Embu
MDA	Ministries and Department Agencies
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MGR	Mwea Game Reserve
MONA	Member of National Assembly
MONUSCO	United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in DRC
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding

MP	Member of Parliament
MSS	Mwea Settlement Scheme
NAAO	Native Authority Amendment Ordinance
NACADA	National Authority for Campaigns against Alcohol and Drug Abuse
NACOSTI	National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation
NAO	Native Authority Ordinance
NARIGP	National Agricultural Rural Inclusive Growth Project
NENO	Nairobi, Embu, Nissan Operators
NEPG	National Electricity Power Grid
NG CDF	National Government Constituency Development Fund
NPSA	National Police Service Act
NRC	National Resistance Council
NRM	National Resistance Movement
NT	National Treasury
OAF	One Acre Fund
OAG	Office of the Auditor General
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement
OI	Oral Interview
OLA	Oromo Liberation Army
PC	Provincial Commissioner

PEV	Post Election Violence
PHO	Public Health Officer
PNU	Party of National Unity
POA	Public Order Act
POEA	Public Officer Ethics Act
PPADA	Public Procurement and Assets Disposal Act
PPP	Public Private Partnership
PRI	<i>Panchayat Raj</i> Institutions
PS	<i>Panchayat Simiti</i>
PSC	Public Service Commission
RC	Resistance Boards
RCD	Royal Commission on Decentralization
RO	Returning Officer
SAC	Standing Advisory Committee
SALGA	South-Africa Local Government Association
SBC	Sky Base Contractors
SCA	Sub-County Administrator
SCOK	Supreme Court of Kenya
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SFD	Seven Folks Dams

SPCA	Speaker County Assembly
SPSS	Statistical Product and Service Solutions
TA	Transition Authority
TGE	Transitional Government of Ethiopia
TJRA	Truth Justice and Reconciliation Act
TPLF	Tigray Peoples Liberation Front
TSCA	Teachers Service Commission Act
UAA	Urban Authorities Act
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UCLGA	United Cities and Local Government of Africa
UDA	United Democratic Alliance
UK	United Kingdom
UNHABITAT	United Nations Centre for Human Settlement
UNPKF	United Nations Peace Keeping Force
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
USA	United States of America
VA	Village Administrator
VC	Village Council
WA	Ward Administrator
WB	World Bank

WDF	Ward Development Fund
WP	Wiper Party
W Rep	Women Representative
ZP	<i>Zilla Parishad</i>

OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

Anti-Semitism Policy	An obsessive and premeditative hatred of the Jews people that nurtures the tendency to hurt by profiling
Clientelism	What voters demand from politicians to target acquisition of goods and services in exchange for political support to ultimately benefit an individual or group materially and/or resource endowment
Constitutional Mandate	Governance norms and practices which exemplify the legality, adherence and fidelity threshold to the Constitution of Kenya (COK) and the rule of law
Decentralization	A governance model where regions were empowered to administer and discharge specific functions with patronized autonomy by a strong national government control
Devolution	A Constitutional enshrined model of governance in which executive and legislative powers were assigned to autonomous regional governments in specific functions

outlined by the COK in Chapter Eleven; and which was used as the basis of County Government Act, (CGA, 2012)

Distributive Democracy	Fair to all type of democratic governance that factors the concept of equity, equality and the rule of law
Divide and Rule Policy	A form of governance model where those who wield power make an empowering alliance with the weaker party in a conflict against the stronger one with an intention to pacify both
Ethnic Polarization	A clearly antagonistic stand that is informed by a sense of Common ethnicity along the oppressor and victim divide
Field Cornets	Local government rural military enforcement officers in the Boer provinces of Transvaal and Orange Free States from 1840-1994 in South-Africa
Home guards	African collaborators with the British colonizers in Kenya during the State of Emergency; 1952-1960

Neo-Patrimonialism	Concept and practice of dishing rewards of state resources in order to buy citizens' loyalty by political elites
Potential Extremist Groups	Highly radicalized anti-establishment groups who are a threat to peace, tranquility and socio-economic progress
Proportional Representation	A model of governance that is factored on demographic statistics in order to determine the leadership slots to be apportioned to a particular ethnic community in a multi-ethnic set up
Quasi-Judicial Institution	Having a legal and legitimate entitlement of judicial authority and powers
Rent-Seeking	Use public resources with partiality in order to seek undeserved personal benefits
Zero-Sum Game	A contestation that has no decisive winner or loser

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

<i>Baraza</i>	Venue for public meetings
<i>Boda-Boda</i>	Motorcycle transport
<i>De facto</i>	Not enshrined in the Constitution but officially not contemplated
<i>De jure</i>	Enshrined in the Constitution as law; the norm and practice
<i>Gram panchayat</i>	Main village local government institution
<i>Gram Sabha</i>	Village Assembly
<i>Igwugwu</i>	Ancestral spirits who come back to life to pass weighty decisions to the people
<i>Interahamwe</i>	Paramilitary group of ethnic Hutu fighting for gold trade monopoly in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)
<i>Kathavuria</i>	Small sufuria
<i>Kivata Dance</i>	Aembu war/raid victory dance by warriors usually on high ground.
<i>Land Drost</i>	A district magistrate in the Boer provinces of South-Africa
<i>M23</i>	Paramilitary group of ethnic Tutsi fighting for gold trade monopoly in DRC
<i>Matatu</i>	Type of public service vehicles in Kenya
<i>Mau-Mau</i>	Independence freedom fighters from Mt. Kenya region
<i>Mururi</i>	One of the two affiliate clans of the Ambeere
<i>Ndamata</i>	One of the two affiliate clans of the Ambeere
<i>Okrugs</i>	Administrative regions
<i>Panchayat</i>	An institution for village governance

<i>Panchayat samiti</i>	Intermediate village local government institution
<i>Sabhas</i>	Self-governing village bodies
<i>Siasa mbaya maisha mbaya</i>	Wrong political choices translated to faint standards of living
<i>WatDer Bailiff</i>	A military local government officer in the Boer provinces of South-Africa
<i>Woreda</i>	Decentralization of the state to the level of district.
<i>Zilla Parishad</i>	District local government institution

ABSTRACT

The study focused on how decentralized and devolved governance was influenced by ethnic polarization in Embu County. The pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial period applied decentralization until 2013. Devolution governance was applied from 2013. The objectives of the study were to: discuss the historical context of decentralization in Kenya and Embu County from pre-colonial period to 1963, assess the enhancement of ethnic polarization in the application of decentralization and devolution in Kenya and Embu County from 1963 to 2013 and analyze the interventions offered by devolved governance in order to mitigate ethnic polarization between the Aembu and the Ambeere in Embu County, Kenya between 2013 and 2023. The study was significant because devolution was an avenue for socio-economic development and constitutional democracy. The Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016) and the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993), were used to interpret the findings of the study. Literature review adopted the funnel structure as guided by the research objectives. This chapter focused on the historical context of decentralization from pre-colonial period to 1963, application of decentralization and devolution from 1963 to 2013 and interventions of devolved governance to mitigate ethnic polarization from 2013 to 2023. The factors which emboldened ethnic polarization were placed under the economic, social and political categorization attached to the objective periodization. The two theoretical frameworks paid attention to relevance, divergence, research gaps and personal views. The conceptual framework provided a contrast in the structural and operational glimpse between decentralization and devolution. Descriptive research design was used in both qualitative and quantitative research approaches. Data was gathered using both primary and secondary sources. The sample size was 130 respondents drawn from a target population of 608,599 (KPHC; 2019). Primary data was gathered through questionnaires, interviews, Kenya National Archives (KNA) documentations and Government reports. The sample size for random sampling totaled 70 respondents and that for purposive sampling to 60. Secondary data was sourced from books, theses, journals and articles in newspapers from public and university libraries. Online sources were used to factor in the most recent and relevant studies in governance and ethnic polarization. The study majorly relied on qualitative method of data analysis. Data presentation was portrayed using descriptive statistics such as frequency tables, verbatim captions, plates, pie-charts, bar-graphs and line-graphs where applicable for effective understanding of data analysis. The socio-economic and political architecture which was a product of historical and governance models emboldened inter-ethnic polarization for both the Aembu and the Ambeere. I contend that equitable distribution of socio-economic infrastructure and the adoption of negotiated democracy in the executive docket of the County Governor of Embu on rotational constitutional term limit arrangement was one of the robust options of ethnic communities' parity; popularly engendered to bring about ethnic co-existence and sustainable peace in Embu County. The contribution of this research was to bring about inter-ethnic cohesion and improve the quality of legal, legitimate and accountable governance for efficient service delivery to residents of Embu County and other citizens of Kenya.

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

Chapter One covers the Background to the Study, Statement of the Problem, Research Objectives, Research Questions and Research Hypotheses. The Significance of the Study including the Justification of the Study formed part of this chapter. The Scope/Delimitations and Limitations of the Study formed the last item of Chapter One. The independent and dependent variables in the title of this study helped to formulate the key ingredients of the sub-headings used in Chapter One.

1.2 Background to the Study

The independent variable of ethnic polarization and the dependent variables of decentralization and devolution governance models guided the background to the study. This was done in selected organizations and countries from the international, continental, regional, other administrative areas within Kenya; to finally tackle Embu District/County from the Pre-Colonial Period to 2023. In doing so, the objectives of research, the theoretical framework and conceptual framework guided the content of this section too. According to Montalvo and Raynal Querol (2005) the phenomenon of ethnic polarization occurs when two different groups within a diversified society split apart on account of shared ethnic background, either in terms of viewpoints, opinion, or behaviors. Typically, ethnic polarization is the last phase of inter-ethnic conflict.

Ethnic polarization has a long history. At the Versailles Settlement of 1919 Germany was branded the World War 1 guilt clause and slapped with a number of hostile and premeditated vengeful conditions. Germany was to pay reparations of £6.5 billion to the allied powers for the cost incurred in World War I. In 1919, the organization of the League of Nations (LON) held legality to operate but no legitimacy. The overthrow of the democratic empire known as Weimar Republic in 1933 due to cumulative socio-economic under performance by Nazi dictatorship was a hegemonic shift. Nazi Germany reneged on paying the reparations on account of systematically being profiled. Nazi Germany therefore entrenched ethnic polarization to selectively invade Austria, the Rhineland, Czechoslovakia where the Germans were majoritarian in these newly created states; and ultimately Poland to spark World War II. The strategy was that the people of Germany descent in those countries were to comprise dependable allies (Martell, 1973).

The German political government's adoption of an anti-Semitism policy, which resulted in the Holocaust against Jews in Germany between 1939 and 1945, was also motivated by the desire to exclude certain ethnic groups. The appeal to sympathize with the Jews as an oppressed people made the United Nations Organization (UNO), United States of America (USA) and Britain to support the creation of the state of Israel in Arab Palestinian land in 1948. The Arab-Palestinian scenario remained the longest unresolved regional conflict in UNO records (Cornwell, 1969; Martell, 1973; Morgenthau, 2007).

The ethnic polarization that emanated from governance policies founded on economic sabotage, vengeance, discrimination and isolation clearly propagated the distinct identity tag of victim and perpetrator. The variables of study were inferred.

Similar events occurred in Asia where social governance issue evolved into a political problem in India over the Muslim-majority Kashmir in the Tibetan region, which was under the control of a Hindu dynasty. This led to open war between the Muslim state of Pakistan which was carved from the Hindu state of India in 1947. Out of religious polarization, India administratively controls Kashmir including 70% of land size. On the other hand, 30% of land size in Kashmir is controlled by Muslim Pakistan. The Christian Indians forcefully carved the state of Bangladesh in 1949 and since the 1950s, the Sikh of the Province of Punjab had influenced the federal governance of India with vehement and violent agitations of secession into the Sikh nation of Punjab (Cornwell, 1969; Morgenthau, 2007). Because governance was a product of state policy, the polarization alluded to in this respect occurred because of affinities to social identity and patriotism. This clearly resonated with the title of this research.

In Africa, European colonialists employed the administrative policy of divide and rule to appease or brutalize the African ethnic communities who collaborated or resisted with their colonial administrative policies respectively. The divide and rule policy were deliberately designed to create ethnic divisions. This colonial policy adoption was replicated in South Sudan, Ethiopia, Nigeria and Sierra-Leone (Noli, 1978; Mamdani, 2009). When ethnic polarization transited to inter-ethnic wars, huge cost and human capital implications occurred as was the situation in the Democratic Republic of Congo

(DRC). The highest number of United Nations Peace Keeping Force (UNPKF) since 1945 called the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the DRC (MONUSCO) was stationed in that country through the approval of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC Resolution 1258, 2008). The March 2023 (M23) mainly comprised of ethnic Tutsi and *Interahamwe* comprised of ethnic Hutu paramilitary groups fighting in the DRC region of Goma for monopoly of gold racketeering. These paramilitary groups possessed political patronage and affiliations in Rwanda, Burundi and Uganda where their ethnicities and sympathizers were substantially represented. The bottom-line politics of secession of Katanga region among the majority Baluba ethnic community in DRC was motivated by control of copper exploitation and export (The New York Times, February 6, 2025). From this account, both the variables of the topic of research including the theoretical framework were inclined.

The East-African region had witnessed ethnic polarization manifested in socio-economic, religious and political spheres. The minority ethnic Tutsi employed deeply ingrained ethnic polarization to counter political and economic marginalization with the aim of profiling and excluding the ethnic majority Hutu. To safeguard their privileged position, the ethnic Hutu organized a Tutsi exterminating military junta that led to the infamous Rwanda genocide, sparked by the assassination of the ethnic Hutu President Juvenal Habyarimana in 1994 by ethnic Tutsi military operatives (Mamdani, 2001).

On the other hand, the Twa ethnic minority were targets of both the Hutu and the Tutsi on account of their feeble economic status. This scenario subjected such a minority ethnic community to align with the economically and politically powerful ethnic community as a logical survival tactic. Rwanda adopted a devolved 2nd tier of government but without constitutional autonomy to the decentralized units like Kenya in the year 2000. The devolved units of government were based on ethnicity that was a carryover from the colonial government. Similar to Kenya's devolved governance, the concept of public participation for ownership of socio-economic development and service delivery was embraced in Rwanda. Gender mainstreaming in policy decisions and governance was also upheld. (Mamdani, 2001; Fanantenana, 2024). Like in Kenya's devolved two-tier level of government, the decentralized units of Rwanda depend on the national/central government for funding.

Unlike in Rwanda, the devolved units in Kenya had constitutional legality and safeguards and were autonomous (COK,2010; CGA, 2012). In the Rwanda case, the local government units were under the supervision of the Minister for Local Government, while in Kenya, this was done by the Sub-County Administrator (SCA), the relevant County Executive Committee Member (CECM) and the County Public Service Board (CPSB) on behalf of the County Governor (CG) (Fanantenana, 2024; CGA, 2012).

In Kenya, deeply entrenched ethnic polarization had been witnessed in parts of the Rift-Valley, North–Eastern, Coast and Eastern Regions where it had resulted in open inter-ethnic conflict. The motivation for political, economic and social domination gave room to sabotage, disproportional representation, marginalization and litigations that ultimately fueled armed inter-ethnic conflicts (Akiwumi, 1999; Kiliku, 1992; Waki; 2010). Post-Independent Kenya has gone through different models of governance that have tended to gradually entrench ethnic polarization. The first model of governance of local government that was ethnic based became elaborate in 1963; through the Local Government Act (LGA, 1963). Through the Minister for Local Government, the central government exercised strong influence over the decentralization model of governance. Devolution as a governance paradigm lawfully transferred constitutional power to the county citizens to shape their own local socio-economic and political governance using lawful and legitimate local government organizations like the CECM and the County Assembly (CA) (COK, 2010; CGA, 2012; GoK, 2020).

Embu County located in the Eastern Region of Kenya and constitutionally identified as County no.14 formed the basis of my study. River Thuci defined the boundary between Embu and Tharaka-Nithi County to the north, Rupingazi with Kirinyaga County to the west, Tana with Machakos County to the south and Kitui County to the east. Embu town located in present day Embu West Sub-County was the district headquarters during the colonial period and post-colonial period up to 26/08/2010 (LGA, 1963) and county headquarters from 27/08/2010 when the New Constitution was promulgated (COK, 2010). The county comprises of 6 sub-counties namely: Embu west, Embu east, Embu north, Mbeere north, Mbeere south and Mwea.

The county residents were both multi-racial and multi-ethnic. The Swahili, Asians, the Somali and the Europeans in that demographic order mainly lived in Embu West Sub-County. As per the Kenya Population and Housing Census (KPHC, 2019), the larger multi-ethnic communities comprised of the Aembu, the Ambeere, the Akamba and the Agikuyu in that demographic order respectively (KPHC, 2019). Minority ethnic communities such as the Luo, Ameru, Atharaka, Achuka, Abaluhya, Abagusii and the Taita were mainly settled in the sub-counties of: Embu west, Embu east, Embu north and Mbeere south and their presence was mainly by virtue of inter-marriages. Table 1.1 refers.

Table1.1: Administrative and Estimated Demographic Details of Embu County

Distribution of Population by Sub-County in 2019	
Sub-County	Population
Embu East	129,564
Embu West	127,122
Embu North	79,556
Mbeere South	163,476
Mbeere North	108,881

Source: KPHC (2019)

During the colonial era, the Ambeere elders of Embu County and the Ndia of Kirinyaga County made amicable agreements for the Akamba to migrate into the Embu County portion of the Mwea Settlement Scheme (MSS). Most of the remaining Agikuyu people, the Ameru, Achuka, Atharaka, Abagusii, Abaluhya, Taita, and Luo bought land and relocated to Embu County in recent years (Mugo, 2021).

The Aembu comprise the majority of the ethnic community, followed by the Ambeere and the Akamba (KPHC, 2019). The Aembu and Ambeere ethnic communities were disproportionately marked by ethnic polarization and the contestation. In the ethnic polarization and contestation that followed the Aembu were viewed as the perpetrators while Ambeere were considered the victims. The Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016) and the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993) were applied in this ambience of victor and victim identity. There was strong ethnic division in the Embu County government's institutions and infrastructure between the Aembu and Ambeere groups. The goal of the two communities was to have exclusive control over the management and trajectory of the political, social, and economic institutions in Embu County.

During the colonial period, ethnic polarization expressed itself through the powerful colonial chief set up that saw clear ethnic divide. After independence, the kingpin political phenomenon was used in a backdrop of a single party state (Murunga and Nasong'o, 2007). The kingpins in the Aembu and the Ambeere marshalled their communities stand and lines of psyche and action around ethnic polarization.

After the end of Kenya African National Union (KANU) regime, ethnic institutionalization of governance that favoured a region against others brought about regional and ethnic polarization. Ethnic polarization between the Aembu and the Ambeere dates beyond 1895 when the British East Africa Protectorate (BEAP) Kenya, was established. The euphoria exuded by the Ambeere in vouching for devolution in the Constitution of Kenya (COK, 2010) had invariably benefited the Aembu community more than them. Ethnic polarization among these two communities had occasionally transited to open inter-ethnic violence in the case of Ngiiri land and MSS that had attracted security intervention in recent times. However, inter-ethnic skirmishes were common. This had posed the threat to derail effective and legitimate governance as well as being a cause for stifled service delivery to all the county residents. Arguably, there was unity in diversity and diversity dividends provided a progressive option to entrenched ethnic polarization (Kirk, et.al. 2018). Proportional representation could be an eye opener in diffusing ethnic polarization between the Aembu and the Ambeere in Embu County by addressing the nagging issue of equity and equality

It should not be lost that a minority and prejudiced race and ethnic community respectively ascended to the position of the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of the USA between 2008 and 2017 through President Barrack Hussein Obama who was an Afro-American, Britain from 2022 to 2024 through Prime Minister Rushi Sunak who was Asian and Rwanda since the year 2000 through President Paul Kagame who comes from the minority Tutsi community.

With the advent of devolution on 9/3/2013, certain government ministerial functions were constitutionally assigned to the counties ushering in the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016) where executive powers were justified through the office of the County Governor of Embu (CGOE) and the County Assembly of Embu (CAE).

However, the pervasive sentiments of ethnicity seemed to cloud central/national government development blue prints such as the Sessional Paper no 10 of 1965 and Kenya Vision 2030 (2007) in nurturing dynamic economic gains for Embu County residents (COK, 2010; Murunga & Nasong'o, 2007).

At the same time, the Big Four Agenda (BFA) projects (GOK, 2018); all in the purview of the County Government of Embu (CGE) appeared to have made insignificant impression in affordable housing, accessible and affordable health, manufacturing for job creation and adequate food security. The infrastructure recorded so far in this aspect was largely domiciled in the 3 sub-counties of the Aembu. When accountability and transparency were not prudently engaged in the execution of these noble projects to the extent of inviting the feeling of exclusion on one hand and that of protectionism and consolidation on the other, the scenario was a fertile ground for inter-ethnic polarization. The Ambeere community in Embu County manifest the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993) because of structural endowment and skewed distribution of the vast economic resources of the county through the prevalent leadership governance realities.

Ethnic polarization in Embu County needed urgent interventions in order to avert destruction of property, extreme discrimination, exclusion, fear, mistrust and at its worst, insecurity and profiled deaths. However, ethnic indifference and silence could tone it down (Bhavnani and Miodownik, 2008). Consequently, a more appealing and lasting solution to the entrenchment of ethnic polarization needed to be sought to usher in strength in ethnic diversity.

A widely legitimate and accountable leadership governance conscious of equity and equitable distribution of socio-economic infrastructure development across all the 6 sub-counties of Embu County was likely to tone down the tide of inter-ethnic animosity and usher in impartial service delivery for all the residents of Embu County. This study therefore examined the extent to which ethnic polarization influenced the parity of facilities and institutions of governance in Embu County.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Ethnic polarization in the social, economic and political governance of Embu County among the Aembu and the Ambeere communities existed even during the pre-colonial. This was through conflicts such as: inter-ethnic cattle rusting, geographical limits to hunting and grazing grounds, geographical placement of community land beacons, verbal attack on each other's community leaders and insufficient compensations during open inter-ethnic conflicts. During the colonial period, both the Aembu and the Ambeere saw the reinforcement of racial privileges and discrimination through: caveats of employment, tax regimes, concentration of infrastructural development, distribution

of social amenities, games and sports facilities, residential segregation, racially and denominational based schools and hospitals and political intolerance (Saberwal, 1970).

Incidentally, all these facilities were built in the present Embu West Sub-County, Embu East Sub-County and Embu North Sub-County. The post-independence political regimes adopted the colonial socio-economic disparities between the Aembu and the Ambeere because the local government unit of decentralization was based on the district.

Both the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities were crammed in Embu District during the colonial and post-colonial period up to 1996 when the Mbeere District was given to them by President Moi. Although Mbeere District was divided in 2009 to give forth to Mbeere North Sub-County whose headquarters was Siakago and Mbeere South Sub-County whose headquarters was Kiritiri, none of the two headquarters rose beyond a town council and urban council respectfully. It was curious to note that Runyenjes Town Council in Embu East Sub-County was elevated to a Municipal Council in 1999. This made the Aembu ethnic community to have two municipal councils by 1999. The constitutional and legal transition from the highly centralized, top-down and inequitable system of government to a devolved government that bore the objective of institutionalizing bottom-up decision making, equitable socio-economic infrastructure development; all supported by credible public participation was highly acclaimed; though it had not abated the problem (Kangu, 2015).

Although both decentralization and devolution were relevant to the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016), the robust development of 9/3/2013 had not abated ethnic polarization that had subsisted since the pre-colonial period among the Aembu and the Ambeere.

The period of ethnic polarization between the Aembu and the Ambeere dates beyond 1895 when the British East Africa Protectorate (BEAP) Kenya, was established. The Ambeere had for long articulated sentiments of being grossly sidelined by the Aembu community in that all the mayors and now the Governors had come from the Aembu community.

The trend had defied the previous and current institutional governance framework of Embu County; even outside the two-ethnic divide. Ethnic polarization among these two communities had occasionally transited to open inter-ethnic violence and skirmishes. This had posed the threat to derail effective and legitimate governance as well as being a cause for stifled service delivery to all the county residents. Proportional representation could be an eye opener in diffusing ethnic polarization between the Aembu and the Ambeere in Embu County by addressing the nagging issue of equity and equality. At the same time a minority ethnic community stood a chance of liberating herself from irrational subjugation by the majority ethnic community by fielding a leader who was guided by objectivity, proactive rationalism, accountability and transparency in handling public leadership.

Analyzed from the operational divide of historical inclusion and exclusion in economic, social and political domains of governance; the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic community's case was at the level of "us" versus "them" analogy.

The problem of ethnic polarization needed to be solved through the current legal and structural hurdles of secession from Embu County to the suggested Mbeere County, intra-ethnic conflict would provide a gap for a new study. From the foregoing, ethnic polarization among the Aembu and the Ambeere which was premised on the variance in favour of the Aembu ethnic community in economic, social and political institutions of governance of Embu County had to be investigated. The answer lay in establishing how decentralization and devolved governance was influenced by ethnic polarization between the Aembu and the Ambeere in Embu County, Kenya from the pre-colonial period to 2023.

1.4 General Objective and Specific Objectives of the Study

1.4.1 The General Objective of the study was:

To analyze how decentralization and devolved governance was influenced by ethnic polarization between the Aembu and the Ambeere in Embu County, Kenya from pre-colonial period to 2023.

1.4.2 The Specific Objectives of the Study were

- i.** To discuss the historical context of decentralization model of governance in Kenya and Embu County from pre-colonial Period to 1963.

- ii. To assess the enhancement of ethnic polarization in the application of decentralization and devolution models of governance in Kenya and Embu County between 1963 and 2013.
- iii. To analyze the interventions offered by devolved governance in order to mitigate ethnic polarization in Embu County, Kenya between 2013 and 2023.

1.5 Research Questions

- i. How did the historical context of decentralization in Kenya play out in Embu County from Pre-Colonial Period to 1963?
- ii. How did the application of decentralization and devolution in Kenya enhance ethnic polarization in Embu County between 1963 and 2013?
- iii. What interventions did devolved governance offer in order to mitigate ethnic polarization in Embu County, Kenya between 2013 and 2023?

1.6 Research Hypotheses

- i. Decentralization had an historical context in Kenya and Embu County from the pre-colonial period to 1963.
- ii. Decentralization and devolution in Kenya enhanced ethnic polarization in Embu County between 1963 and 2013,
- iii. Devolution governance could mitigate ethnic polarization in Embu County from 2013 to 2023.

1.7 Significance and Justification of Study

This study was significant because of the following factors:

The CEO of Embu County who remained the Governor was facilitated by a resident CAE for quick implementation of the county socio-economic and political development. However, the CAE was a Quasi-judicial institution when it came to the impeachment of the CEO and other members of the executive;

including senior office holders of the CAE. Consequently, were these devolved modes of local governance to succeed, the Judiciary could also be devolved to have all the three arms of government domiciled in the counties. The success of the counties meant increased income per capita, better means of livelihood and cohesive and solid patriotism for the people of Kenya. The success of Kenya's devolved government oriented around the respect and fidelity of the Constitution, the presidential system of government, a unitary state and the rule of law earned the entire country international political credibility (GOK, 2010).

This study was justified by the following factors:

Equitable economic development was a policy value embraced by the CGE as an engine of wealth creation. This was consistent with international development blue print such as SDG running from 2016-2030. The SDG addressed the eradication of poverty, hunger and disease, decent housing, affordable and clean energy, sustainable cities and communities, clean water and sanitation, industry, innovation and infrastructure, gender equality, peace, justice and strong institutions.

The United Nations Center for Human Settlement (UNHABITAT) was committed to strengthening of the local government authorities through the International Union of Local Authorities (IULA).

The European Commission Charter of Local Government (ECCLG), the Commonwealth Local Government Forum (CLGF) and the United Cities and Local Government of Africa (UCLGA) were all committed to the consolidation of sustainable local development initiatives and united voice of local governments in Africa.

The East-Africa Community (EAC) protocol established the East-Africa Local Government Forum (EALGF) in order to engender collaborative development and wellbeing of the regional populace. The Association of Local Government Authorities of Kenya (ALGAK) established in 1959 had mirrored its socio-economic and political benefits in tune with legal documents such as the LGA cap 265, (1963), CGA, (2012) added to the development blueprint of Kenya Vision 2030, (2007). The constitutional thresholds and jurisdictions in playing oversight roles on CGE by the CAE and Senate House were more specific and legally empowering.

Wider constitutional and democratic space through the affirmative action had led to increased participation of the female gender in the CAE, through distributive democracy in order to bring out balanced views of assisting the CGE to succeed in her mandate of service delivery.

The media and other aspects of communication technology including human rights participation were more vibrant and accessible under the CGE. This had enabled the technocrats and the public in general to interrogate the CGOE based on accountability

and transparency in the running of the county government. The National Government had not only devolved specific functions closer to the citizenry but also given financial facilitation to the counties through the Commission of Revenue Allocation (CRA) and the Equalization Fund (EF).

This implied that the Government of Kenya was a prime mover in partnering and actualizing the SDG, (2016) to the level of local communities. Additionally, prudent and efficient utilization of public resources and wealth creation report of the Auditor-General for the CGE provided a basis for bench marking with other county governments.

Although sub-counties like Laikipia west and Laikipia north present inter- ethnic polarization that culminated into inter-ethnic conflicts, most of the communities concerned were not primordially indigenous to those localities. The Embu County scenario was unique because both the Aembu and the Ambeere were indigenous residents and were linguistically related. Their ethnic polarization was more than one and a half centuries old with very little research done under the topic of this research.

1.8 Scope and Delimitations of the Study

Scope: The study investigated how entrenched ethnic polarization had influenced governance but not only limited to the context of the devolution era in Embu County. The historical context necessitated a logical survey of the concept of decentralization during the pre-colonial and colonial era up to 1963 when Kenya attained her independence from Britain colonial master, showing how decentralization operated mostly during the colonial period.

In the post-independence era, the year from 1963 to 2010 used the year 1963 to focus on the local government governance at Kenya's independence on 12/12/1963 through the use of the LGA, Cap 265 of 1963.

The year 2010 was used to mark the change of local government governance when the new COK, 2010 was promulgated on 27/08/2010.

The year 2010 to 2013 was used to show the framework to the establishment of the Transition Authority (TA) from decentralization to devolution and the Commission of the Implementation of the Constitution (CIC). The year 2013 was used to mark the operational date of the 47 devolved governments in Kenya on 9/3/2013.

The year 2023 was used to indicate the 3rd cycle of devolution in Kenya to justify adequate period for performance evaluation of devolution in Embu County. However, for objective 1, the matter of historical context of decentralization was taken backwards to the pre-colonial period. In all these periods, the study was guided by a survey of how governance trending was influenced by economic, social and political polarization among the Aembu and the Ambeere in Embu County.

1.9 Limitations of the Study

In regard to limitation of the study, some of the anticipated shortcomings in this research included: Time and financial constraints, delays in securing appointments with some senior officers for purposive sampling, electricity and internet failure at the most crucial time and irrelevant answers given by respondents who did not clearly understand some questions in the questionnaire. The road network was inaccessible due to wet weather, extreme heat and dust during field work in some parts of Embu County.

The study relied on random sampling but failed to exhaustively delve into the various categories of that sampling. The study was dynamic in nature and may not have covered all the relevant variables content of the topic of study.

Like many students, I suffered moments of great anxiety to graduate. Minor details of the thesis correction could often go unnoticed.

1.10 Summary

The logical framework, academic expectations and clarity of this research was portrayed in Chapter One. The Title, Background to the Study, Statement of the Problem, Objectives of the Research, Research Questions and the crucial Research Hypotheses that was ultimately tested in the field were all done insightfully.

The Significance and Justification of the Study as well as the Scope and Delimitations including the Limitations of Study were attentively done. The last part of chapter One comprised a prudently done summary of the sub topics covered. The next part of this thesis was Chapter Two.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 Overview

Chapter Two espoused the review of related works of Literature to enrich this research. This area was thematically guided by the objectives of the research. The review adopted the specific pattern of international, continental, regional, Kenya and Embu County. The focus of review was to bring out relevance, divergence, gaps and the researcher's opinion. The theoretical framework and conceptual framework were followed by the summary of this chapter.

2.2 Historical Context of Decentralization in Kenya (Pre-Colonial Period-2013)

This was exemplified in Britain, India, South-Africa, Uganda, Kenya and Embu County. Gale (2008) observed that local governance in the United Kingdom (UK) dates back to 1701. Accordingly, local government existed in each of the UK's four nations separately before the UK itself. This autonomy was superficial on the ground since the local government was decentralized and thus under heavy fiscal and political control by the central government in Westminster. The concept of central government power over local government under a unitary system of government developed in the 20thC. This legal framework posed grounds of polarization due to prescriptions of rigid fiscal and budgetary controls by the central government benefactors on governance of the locals.

The UK Parliament retained its authority over local government in England, while the Scottish Parliament exercised control over local government in Scotland, the Northern Ireland Assembly took control over Northern Ireland, and the Welsh Assembly over Wales. In most of the United Kingdom, the county councils comprised the uppermost level of local administration, known as Local Authorities. Strategic planning, social services (with the exception of London), transportation, fire and police services, and education were among their primary responsibilities. Postal service distribution, land registration, and land adjudication were among the other duties.

The second tier of the local government that dealt with strictly local functions was delegated to parish councils (community councils in Scotland) which were the smaller sub-divisions of *Borough*/District Councils. They carried out voluntary services though councils at times recommended payments of certain levels of allowances. Their functions included the upkeep of public housing, waste collection and local planning, sports, culture and maintenance of local parks. London, with its Greater London Authority (GLA), chaired by the mayor was the only large urban area with two tiers of administration, split between the GLA and *Borough* Councils. The other six major urban areas of England: Newcastle, Leeds, Manchester, Liverpool, Sheffield and Birmingham comprised the metropolitan counties and operated under one single layer of local government, the *Borough*. Non-metropolitan counties were administered by either non-metropolitan unitary authorities or two-tier counties.

In Britain, the majority of towns and cities belonged to districts, which were run by District Councils presided over by mayors chosen from among the council members and executives chosen to serve one-year terms. A Lord Mayor, often called a Lord Provost in Scotland, oversaw thirty British cities and was responsible for public relations and ceremonial duties. In the UK, unitary authorities were established between the 1990s and 2009 through the legislative process.

The autonomous public services included hospitals run by Hospital Trust (HT), water supplies manned by private companies and state schools ran by the central government under the Board of Governors (BOG). Like in Kenya the concept of effective service delivery to the local sovereign was prioritized coupled with firm central government control in a unitary system of government. The spheres and scope of functions were also clearly defined. However, the history of local government in Kenya and Embu County does not span into decades like was the case of Britain. The church in Kenya had never been apportioned any legislative role in the governance of local authorities as was the case in Britain. This was an area of governance prone to polarization since the Catholic and Anglican Church in Britain operated on very antagonistic approaches. The end result was the formation of a militia group; the Irish Republican Army (IRA) that expressed the Catholic Church faithful's polarization.

I contend that any public service that operated on discretion and no pay posed indelible systemic weaknesses and avenue for polarization. A serious irregularity existed in Britain hegemonic power infrastructure since the chief executive in local government governance was not uniformly distributed as was the case with county Governors; the level of development in a particular county notwithstanding.

Like in Kenya, it was curious that the political life of the local authorities was greatly patronized by the popular and powerful political party thus entrenching complacency of party politics into the local government governance framework. The concept of public participation in the local councils was thus compromised. Although this was a constitutional right that remained greatly popularized in Kenya, such a gap had attracted attention in this research.

Vijendra (2003) observed that the history of local government in India evolved from self-governing village bodies called *Sabha*. Later the *panchayats* became the functional institutions of grassroots governance for the village. These elected councils held executive and judicial powers. The *panchayat* distributed land and collected taxes allocated by the government on behalf of a particular village. A larger council supervised the village councils. During the medieval period, castes and feudalistic systems of governance eroded the self-government in villages by replacing it with a class of feudal chiefs and revenue collectors. The autonomy of the *panchayat* gradually declined during the British colonial era which was in favour of controlled local bodies.

Municipal bodies were set up though rural decentralization remained a neglected area of colonial administrative reforms. However, the Royal Commission on Decentralization (RCOD, 1907) recognized the vitality of *panchayats* at the village level. By 1919 local government was a department under a cabinet minister in central government. The independence Constitution of India placed the *Panchayat Raj* Institutions (PRI) in the non-justiciable part of the Constitution.

By the L.M Singhvi Committee (1986) the *Gram Sabha* (village Assembly) was considered as the base of a decentralized system while the PRI were viewed as institutions of self-governance empowering the sovereign to participate in the process of planning and development. The 73rd amendment of India Constitution (1992) put the PRI in the Constitution and established a three-tier structure of *panchayats*: *Gram panchayat* (GP), intermediate or *Panchayat Samiti* (PS) and district or *ZillaParishad* (ZP). All the seats in the levels of the *panchayats* were to be filled through competitive elections in the respective territorial constituencies, with a third of the seats reserved for women. Weaker castes and tribes were to be proportionately elected as per their population in the *panchayats*.

The function, powers and responsibilities of the municipal governments were both obligatory and discretionary. This review was relevant to the study because the concept of legislative decentralization of power and authority for specified functions with requisite autonomy was real in Kenya and Embu County. The Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016) and Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993) could similarly be used to explain decentralization in governance and the euphoria of anticipated transition that usually characterized such new governance frameworks and models.

However, India's local government system legislatively covered the village and played both discretionally and obligatory functions. Such a governance framework evoked the entrenchment of polarization in an environment that was replete with social caste segmentation. All residents of Embu County were citizens at par.

However, the $\frac{2}{3}$ gender rule which had worked well for India's village legislature was equally a compliant paper policy in the CAE for the three electoral cycles of 2013, 2017 and 2022. The past and the sitting CGE were congratulated for being above board on a matter of the $\frac{2}{3}$ gender constitutional compliance that had dogged the national legislative bodies for long. Chief Justice Hon. David Maraga, implored the Judiciary to be governed by the rule of law and declared the Kenya Parliament null and void for not adhering to the $\frac{2}{3}$ gender rule before his retirement on 11/01/2021. However, the concept of proportional representation for minority communities that India's local government governance had embraced was a gap that this research had to embrace.

Bekink (2006) observed that the history of local government in South Africa started with the Dutch settlement at the Cape in 1652. With the end of the Great Trek and founding of the Dutch provinces of Transvaal and Orange Free States, the Dutch embarked on an administration whose mindset was rural and agrarian. The Constitution of 1858 divided the country into a series of districts each under a *land Drost* whose authority originated from the central government. A local *land Drost* supervised the towns or villages. Under the *land Drost* was a military commandant served by field *cornets* such as a market master, a pound master and a *WatDer bailiff* whose duties were basically rural. By 1888, functions such as waste removal, health, mining committees and security were assigned at local levels, with strict central government control from Pretoria, particularly on the issue of tax collection. Town councils which were a precursor of municipal councils were established in 1901 and 1903 respectively.

From 1994, South Africa was constitutionally made up of a three-tier government namely: the National, 09 Provincial and 278 Local Government Municipalities. The latter administered cities and smaller regions called Municipalities. There were three categories of Constitutional Municipalities namely; Metropolitan Municipalities for major city regions, District Municipalities for wider areas outside the cities and Local Municipalities.

Each municipality was divided into Wards and ran by an elected Council where decisions were made through approved policies and by-laws. The 08 Metropolitan Municipalities had operated under exclusive municipal executives and legislative authority and so did the 44 District Municipalities as long as their area included more than one municipality. The mayor was assisted by a Mayoral Committee made up of elected Councilors.

The 226 Local Municipalities shared municipal executives and legislative authority with the District Municipality within whose area it fell. The metropolis had a choice of an executive Mayor or a collective committee system of government, thus an Executive Council. Emotive ethnicity had infiltrated the effective governance in South Africa shrouded in power and socio-economic control of members of one community over others. This lapsed to ethnic polarization that resonated with Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations by Huntington and Learner (1993). It was my view that the National Government's powerful control caused ethnic polarization in the governance framework of the Local Government Municipalities in South Africa.

The transfer of power and authority to the 09 Regional Provincial Governments, each of which had an elected Premier, Executive Council and a Legislature, 08 Metropolitan Municipalities and 44 District Municipalities each of which had an elected Mayor or elected Executive Council and an elected Legislature enhanced institutional supervision on the 278 Local Government Municipalities. This constitutional and legal arrangement was relevant to the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016).

Like in Kenya, devolution retained some structural organs from the decentralized organs of the post-independence local government such as: the city councils, municipal councils and town councils which were placed under the Sub-County Administrator (SCA). Similar to Kenya, this local government units were responsible for service delivery of basic services closest to the people. Efficient and effective governance policies on the transfer of power and jurisdiction were also outlined. These indicators qualified the two theoretical frameworks used in this research. Just like in Kenya's 2-tier government, the 3-tier government of South Africa though autonomous operated in tandem with the two unitary systems of government. However, the local authorities in Kenya ceased to have legislative authority since 9th March, 2013.

However, a glaring gap stuck out in that for the Premier and Mayor or Executive Council, the electorate in the South Africa case had a choice in the election to office of any of the two. Good governance and its dividends were restored. In the case of Kenya's devolved government, the Governor enhanced the concept of consolidation of power by buying loyalty through appointments of the top county executives and nominations in an oversight organ like the County Assembly (CA). Systemic entrenchment of bad governance through abuse of office and its dividends were galvanized.

Burk (1964) and Mutebi (1999) denoted that in the early protectorate period the District Commissioner (DC) was the most important officer in the district in Uganda. The 1919 Native Authority Ordinance (NAO) gave the DC authority to appoint chiefs at village, parish, county and sub-county levels. District councils consisting of these chiefs were created in the 1930s at each level. The Local Government Ordinance (LGO, 1949) established the district as a local government area as well as a central government administration. Elections to district councils were introduced in 1950s and the councils were given responsibility for district administration, though the power to control the decisions of the district councils was retained by the central government. At independence in 1962, Uganda consisted of 10 districts, 04 kingdoms and 01 special district of Karamoja. The 1962 Constitution required that $\frac{9}{10}$ of district council members be directly elected. In 1967 the Constitution of Uganda abolished the kingdoms and the country was divided into 18 districts. The right to establish district councils and their offices; decide the mode of elections and empower a national minister to suspend a district council or to undertake any of its duties was given to parliament. The 1967 Local Administrations Act (LAA) and the 1964 Urban Authorities Act (UAA) gave the central government direct control over local administration in each district. The district council's jurisdiction included primary education, roads construction, land allocation, community development, law and order and local tax collection. By 1987 the National Resistance Movement (NRM) government and the National Resistance Council (NRC) had established both district administrations and a hierarchy of Resistance Councils (RC).

The village RC-1 was made up of a 09-member resistance committee to administer the affairs of the village. The village RC combined to form the 09 members of the Parish RC-II who assembled with the other parish committee members in the sub-county and elected 09 members to form the Sub- County RC-III. The County RC-IV was established in the statute and functioned as governing bodies particularly for election purposes. The District RC-V contained 02 representatives elected from each RC-III and 01 representative for women elected from RC-IV and from each municipal RC.

At all RC levels, heads of government departments serving that council, including chiefs, were made ex-officio members of their respective RC but without voting rights. In 1989, the NRC decided that each RC-III would choose 01 representative to the NRC and each RC-V were to choose a woman as its representative on the NRC. Direct RC elections and popular recall existed at the village level only. The term for each RC was 02 years and could be suspended by the minister for local government for disrupting public security, participating in sectarian politics, engaging in smuggling, obstructing national plans or corruption.

By 1989, Uganda comprised of 34 districts and 150 counties. There were also 65 urban authorities, including Kampala City Council, 14 municipalities, 27 town councils and 23 town boards. Since 1997, the local government in the district and the sub-county, the city council and the city division council for the city, the municipal council and the municipal division council for municipality, the town council, and the county, parish and village for administrative units in the rural areas have operated. The administrative units in the urban areas were the parish (ward) and the village.

My observation was that the decentralization of powers, functions and services to all levels of local government in a hierarchical level applied in Uganda while the concept of autonomous functions applied in the governance constitutional framework of the 47 counties in Kenya. The Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016) was thus applied. However, the gap was that the NRC that runs the NRM bore the power to overrule the Minister for local government's decisions. This high political infiltration was non-existent in Kenya's devolved governance.

It was also worth noting that the ruling political party had total control of local government in Uganda with supreme power of RC in place. The two years term of office for all the RC was a NRM government manipulation ploy. The Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993) was thus inclined. Although the existence of kingdoms offered an alternative center of power, they were configured on ethnicity. The kingdoms also heightened ethnic polarization as a response to marginalization in key governance positions of the powerful RC in Uganda. The politics of the ruling political party was entrenched in the running of local government in Uganda. Party polarization through an ethnic communities voting pattern was used to factor the eligibility to key governance positions of Embu County. Mainstreaming the parish councils into the formal organic structure of running decentralization in local government was non-existent in Kenya's devolved system. However, the church had played a pivotal role in influencing governance issues at both Embu County and national levels. In Embu County, ethnic polarization had been used for establishment of new diocese and diocesan schools including excommunications. Inter-ethnic cohesion and order was at the heart of CGE governance.

Bell (1964), Manone (1974) and Mukundi (2012) asserted that local government in Kenya was formulated by the British colonialists and tailored towards serving the central government in both colonial and post-colonial era. Though Bell (1964) and Manone (1974) discussed local government during the colonial era, the latter dealt with the matter at the central government scope while the former detailed that the war councils formed by Governor Sir Henry Belfield in 1915 set up local committees which became the precursors of the county councils in Kenya.

The local committees decided who could be spared to join the army, and listed the African resources in the country in terms of cattle and crops. However, Mukundi (2012) and Bell (1964) agreed that by 1924 two types of Local Authorities existed namely; Local Native Councils (LNC) enabled by the Native Authority Ordinance (NAO) and District Councils (DCs), for settler areas and towns which had a large European and Indian populations. By 1930^s the LNC dealt with roads, schools, dispensaries, trading centers, grazing control, forests and improvements to crop and stock. Each authority had a limited power of taxation and from such locally raised funds was able to branch out on its own. The services they offered were financed through grants from the central government.

The English model DCs had their duties initially limited to roads and public health. In 1929, 05 such councils were established covering the Kenya Highlands as well as Municipal Boards for Nairobi, Mombasa, Nakuru and Eldoret. The members of these Boards were Europeans and Asians. African interests were separately represented in Nairobi but in all the other boards, the DC who was the Chairman to these Boards represented the African interests.

All the funding of the DCs was from government grants and were much more agents of the central government than independent authorities. Although local government was legally empowered by colonial ordinances, the Local Authorities received legislative force through the Local Government Act (LGA), cap 265 (1963). The city council, the municipal council, the county council, the town/ urban council and the rural council were under the Minister for Local Government. The Minister approved revenue sources, budgets, by-laws, and dissolved a council if it was not functioning properly.

The councilors elected a mayor for both the City Council and the municipal councils while a chairman applied to all the others. The councilors represented a ward and were elected for 05 years during a General Election. The Public Service Commission (PSC) appointed technical staff such as the Town Clerk in case of the City Council and municipal councils and Clerk to Council in the case of county councils and others.

All the councils operated through departmental committees. Between 1964 and 1990, Kenya witnessed an exponential degeneration into authoritarianism. A series of constitutional amendments concentrated unchecked executive power at the center, creating a powerful neo-patrimonial presidency. President Moi put it better by declaring that '*Siasa mbaya maisha mbaya*', meaning wrong political choices translated to bad life. In a backdrop of a *de facto* and *de jure* one party state, the powerful Minister for Local Government favoured his region and ethnic community. Authoritarianism and neo-patrimonialism deepened disparities in the level of regional development while the central government capacity to provide public goods deteriorated.

This phenomenon brought about polarization in the local government governance dispensations through marginalization of some ethnic communities and regions which were under represented in the central government. That was why the constitutional debates of 2010 focused on how to share power among the various ethnic and regional groups under a substantially power emasculated presidency. The relevance of both the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016) and the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993) appeared to be attested in this respect.

Haugerud (2000) observed that the first types of local authorities started in Embu in 1924 and were: the LNC for rural African areas and the DCs for settler European and Asian areas. In 1943, the Standing Advisory Committee (SAC) was set up to improve the relationship between the government and local African authorities. The Embu County Council was established in 1967. Ten years later the Municipal Council of Embu was established while the County Council of Mbeere was established in 1996. Three years later, the Municipal Council of Runyenjes was established.

While the Council of Elders controlled the social, economic and political life of Embu residents in the pre-colonial period, the DC posted to Embu District were at the helm of the local authorities in their capacities as chairmen who represented the interests of a strong unitary government during the colonial and post-colonial Embu District until 2012. The Mayors, Council Chairmen including the Town Clerks and the Clerk to Councils for municipalities and county councils respectively could all be overruled by the DC of Embu and Mbeere Districts.

Haugerud had not tackled devolved governance as part of local government in Embu County. However, the crafters of the new Constitution partitioned Kenya into 47 counties by taking into account geographical size of the regions, population, ethnic and cultural diversity, public goods provision and cost implications of the new administrative system (Kangu, 2015).

The cities under the COK (2010) included Nairobi, Kisumu, Mombasa, with only municipalities and county council's category of Local Authorities spared; but all are under the county governments. However, Nakuru became the 4th city of Kenya in 2021. The county governments in Kenya, Embu County included began operation on 9th March, 2013.

Efficiency and service delivery to the devolved governments had presumably been enhanced through an elected Governor and legitimized CA. This political reality manifested the relevance to both the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016) and the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993). The 47 devolved units were also based on ethnic homogeneity, which had posed mixed implications for the future survival of counties in Kenya with a multi-ethnic base of relative population level to the majority ethnic community.

The skewed ethnic distribution mostly guided by demographic majorities added to political party alignments and sheer political survival had since led to entrenched ethnic polarization under the identities of the victor communities and the victim communities. This was the scenario that prevailed in Embu County.

2.3 Application of Devolution in Kenya (2013-2023)

The models of local government were reviewed in: USA, India, South-Africa, Ethiopia, Kenya and ultimately Embu County. Dogra (2013) stressed that the decentralization in USA allowed a broader range of discretionary authority to local government. Extensive reporting and oversight polished the concept of accountability and transparency, particularly in cases of blatant corruption.

However, certain states granted home rule to municipalities through statutory or state constitutional provisions that allowed local authorities to enhance the powers of local self- government but not total autonomy. This was because the general legislatures and court interpretation applied to local government. Local government expounded democratic ideals in that all local legislative bodies and most chief executives were directly elected.

Democracy was exercised through the all-inclusive town meetings, levels where mayors in big cities combated the inertia of professionalism and pluralistic interests, patronage by powerful political party machines in some cities, business elites while in other cities, authority was held by independent Boards and Commissions which were invisible to the voters and were partially beyond the control of the Council or the Mayor.

Local government had similarly lessened the load on state governments when it came to the construction of local service infrastructures, education programs, and local jurisprudence. In addition, local government served as a test bed and pilot programme prior to the federal government taking on large-scale initiatives.

The transfer of power and authority to the local administrative community levels was relevant to the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016), while the intermittent swing between success and failure was relevant to the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993) used for this research. My observation was that it had been possible to initiate and monitor health care insurance and provisions in both state and local government; including using the provision as a political campaign strategy for president Obama in 2008 and 2013.

However, the case for perfect democracy in governance was still a myth even in USA. Like Kenya, the concept of governance of the local government was supervised, though the state in USA had a constitutional right to secede from the federation. Unlike USA, Local jurisprudence was not entrenched into the Judiciary arm of government in Embu County.

Arvid et al (2014) posited that an efficient local government was the most practical way to administer a large multi-ethnic country because it helped to deflect conflicts. Problems of rural people at grassroots level were better solved. The *panchayat* was also a fountain of local leadership. The various socio-economic welfare needs of the local sovereign were addressed through the institutions of local government. This system of governance ensured equal opportunity for all groups. Thus, any religion or language speaking person reached the top of government.

Diverse population were not usually held together by a unitary authority without the use of force. Regional and sub-culture groups required autonomy for their development. It was only through the growth and development of different regions and sub-cultures groups that India as a whole had developed.

The author argued that decentralization operationalized the pluralism concept which was essential in organizing heterogeneous societies into a viable pattern of political sharing of power. Local government thus built and sustained the unity of polity and simultaneously preserved and promoted the plurality of society.

Although like Kenya, India operated on a presidential system, a multi-party-political allegiance and both the central and regional government derived their authority from the Constitution; the same factors also formed the basis of ethnic and religious based polarization to hurt governance in general. Local governments in both India and Kenya engendered specific functions attached to it. However, local government formed the 3rd tier in India while devolution in Kenya formed the 2nd tier of government.

Hueglin (2006) postulated that for harmonious relations, constitutional division of power was allocated concurrently between the national, provincial and local government. The 3-tier system of government in South-Africa embraced division of fiscal resources where the bulk of the taxing powers rested with the national government. The provincial and local governments were entitled to an equitable share of the revenue raised nationally. The 3 categories of municipalities in South-Africa namely: metropolitan (8), district (44) and local (226) all focused on growing local economies, providing infrastructure and service, including disaster management.

However, a co-operative government was the overarching principle vide section 48, 49, 50 and 51 of the Republic of South-Africa Constitution. There were 33 concurrent functions allocated to the national government while there were only 12 allocated to the provincial government.

Although specific functions were allocated to the local government, the provincial and the national government still exercised power on them. There was explicit mingling of functions which corresponded to the ideals of integrated system of governance. There was a high level of democracy in the governance framework of local government where there was a choice of the type of executive system between a mayoral executive and collective executive council system where power was vested in the executive councils. The Metropolitan Municipality councils held final powers and at times decentralized some powers and functions. District municipalities were manned by district councils while local municipalities were manned by local municipality councils. The district councils were responsible for capacity building and districts' wide planning.

All the local government organs focused on service delivery in areas such as provision of water, sanitation, roads and community lighting; governance, financial management, infrastructure development and fighting corruption. Structured and corporate governance was thus attained added to faster generation of employment opportunities and poverty eradication to the citizens. Both the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016) and Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations by Huntington and Learner (1993), where communities were more empowered to run their affairs was exemplified in this review. Although concurrence existed in the functions of local councils in South-Africa and county governments in Kenya, effective governance in this area could be hampered by bureaucratic vetting and ethnic polarization. The counties in Kenya had a constitutional budgetary allocation guaranteed at 15% of the national budget while equitable share of national revenue between the provincial and local municipalities councils was exercised in South-Africa.

Though devolution employed a component of decentralization, unlike the South Africa situation, the CEO was a SCA who was not a winner in a general election but an employee of the County Government. The SCA had to undergo a competitive interview by the relevant County Public Service Board (CPSB); and not the mayor or the executive councils.

Maasho (2011) portended that the transitional charter of the Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE) affirmed the right of ethnic groups to self-determination, up to and including secession and provided for the establishment of regional and local government on the basis of the nation. The ethnic communities were the constituent units and foundations of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) which came into existence in 1995. Each of the 09 states had its own Constitution, flag, executive government, legislature, judiciary, and police; and made a choice of its own working language. The state further decentralized to the zonal and district (*woreda*) levels. The local government in Ethiopia enhanced inclusive democracy where ethnic communities gave solutions to their local problems.

Through the local government, inter-state co-operation was realized. The various needs of the local communities such as roads, availability of water, agrarian renaissance projects and construction of education facilities were better planned and implemented. Like Kenya, Ethiopia was a multi-ethnic state where unity in diversity had worked so well since 1995.

However, ethnic polarization among the Oromo community propelled by the Oromo Liberation Army (OLA) and of late the Tigrayans militia of Tigray Peoples Liberation Front (TPLF) based on systemic governance marginalization made a military alliance to topple Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed in 2020. The Tigray-Addis War had looped in the Ahmara ethnic community, Eritrea, United Arab Emirates (UAE), Turkey and Iran who had provided Ethiopia with military personnel, equipment and logistic.

This incident had destroyed the cordial diplomatic relations between USA and Ethiopia and made a ridicule of Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed award of a Nobel Peace Prize in 2019 (Oluoch, 2022). The marginalization embodiments by the Ambeere ethnic community had led to ethnic polarization among the Ambeere and the Aembu communities in Embu County. However, this polarization has not attracted foreign alliances between the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities.

Abonyo (2009) opined that devolution had reduced the socio-economic inequalities of the citizens in different regions in Kenya. Devolution took care of disproportionate representations in the national chamber through having bicameral legislatures and the CA where a substantial degree of autonomy was also given to distinct sub-communities. The county residents had constitutionally defined functions on which they made final decisions. This toned down the traces of ethnic polarization and associated ethnic cleansing. Autocracy was substantially reduced and citizens got substantial autonomy and ownership over resources in their county.

It was also possible for residents of different counties to experiment with their preferred forms of economic, social and political organizations with the intention of unlocking the tide of organizational creativity throughout the country and in the same vein brought such benefits to the Kenyan people. Having witnessed autocracy under firm unitary systems, efficient governance under devolution gained legitimacy from the residents. However, equitable economic development may not have easily been achieved due to a skills gap and the fact that all the counties and their ethnic regional residents were not at the same level of development. This review was relevant to Embu County since the Ambeere communities felt marginalized.

The devolved governance outlined a structure of citizen's participation with a requirement that not more than 2/3 of one gender shall occupy public offices. Though the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016) was plausible in this review, Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993) sufficed because common narratives in Embu County doubted the practical benefits of devolution to all the county sovereign. Devolution was instrumental in tackling ethnically motivated violence by lowering the stakes in the competition for presidency which had been a perennial cause of ethnic violence in Kenya. Competition to control power was eventually a zero-sum game since there was a net reduction of inequality and eventual peace between communities.

Reducing ethnic polarization promoted inter-state/regional peace with our neighbours such as Somalia and South Sudan. Regional linkages of governance were likely to be attained in the Horn of Africa where experimentation on various types of decentralization was in practice (Kangu, 2015).

Kabeca (1974) denoted that unity in the diversity of Embu people and the concept of related dialects and source of historical origin brought unique synergies in addressing development issues in Embu people. It was noted that the people of Embu were endowed with agricultural and eco-tourism riches that could be harnessed for further economic rejuvenation of the Embu people. Kabeca elicited the patriotic character of the Embu people to defend their socio-economic wellbeing through popular colonial and post-colonial leaders such as late senior chief Muruatetu and Kombo Munyiri.

Though Kabeca's observations were inclined more on socio-economic and cultural prism, nevertheless political patriotism and galvanization was prominent to the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016), with the establishment of CGE in 2013.

2.4 Interventions offered by Devolved Governance to Mitigate Ethnic

Polarization in Kenya

The models of local government were reviewed in: Russia, Nigeria, South-Africa, Ethiopia, Kenya and finally Embu County. Kononenko (2016) affirmed that though Russia was considered by many to be a centralized regime, as per the 1993 Federal Constitution (FC) in such a vast territorial expanse, regional governors and city mayors governed the state in the post-communist era since 1997.

Russia FC operated a 3-tier system of governance made up of the center, the regions and the cities and 12,215 municipalities. Moscow and St. Petersburg were Russia's federal cities and enjoyed a status above the 623 of the other Russian cities out of the total municipalities. Moscow was divided into 10 administrative regions (*Okrugs*) and 123 municipal districts. St Petersburg was divided into 18 city districts, which were further divided into 9 cities/towns, 21 settlements and 81 districts. A prominent challenge arose in that each local government entity was allowed to model its own government arrangements to reflect local circumstance, custom and complexion thus prioritizing ethnicity. On the other hand, only 4,519 municipalities elected a mayor while the rest were governed by elected bodies. Power and responsibility varied from one municipality to the other with the only common provision being education and environmental matters.

The central and regional governments also tended to limit the development of local autonomy and democratization. Local budget crises caused by low levels of training and exposure existed. Persistent corruption was the major factor undermining post-soviet states from achieving broad-based political, economic and social development along liberal democratic lines. High levels of corruption endeared enlistment into potential extremist groups which led to national and transnational instability and conflict. The observation was relevant in that ethnic polarization and corrupt governance practices were likely to pose major drawbacks not only in Embu County but the rest of the 46 counties in Kenya.

The concept of decentralization as a source of empowerment from the central authority was relevant to both the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016) and Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993). It was striking to note that in some unpopulated or barely populated areas of Russia, no local government existed. However, the true nature of corruption, the specific ways in which it endangered development and how to fix it was not elaborately dealt with. This research endeavored to address the matter.

Stevens (2006) maintained that the expansive nature of the Russian state with its numerous local governments controlled by the regional governors and city mayors could only be enhanced by the traditional federalist conception of the supremacy of the federal law. Discrepancies would be removed by allowing federal law to prevail over members laws in case of conflict with the federation. This was because each municipality and other local government authorities were permitted to model their own governance arrangements to reflect local circumstance, custom and complexion.

Moscow and St. Petersburg held special systems of government which reflected their historical importance. Other cities in Russia benchmarked with the two. A few cities in Russia resolved bureaucratic and service delivery linkages by concentrating centers of administrative authority in a single building. This provided an efficient organization that ultimately provided an improved service for both citizens and investors. However, most cities in Russia had no benefit of a city hall, their administrative centers were fragmented, while some sparsely populated areas had no local authority at all. The Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016) was thus applicable in this regard.

This systemic discriminative approach was not practiced in Embu County in principle. As in Russia, Information and Communications Technology (ICT) had been embraced in Embu County as an effective and efficient component of public governance approach and service delivery. Like in Embu County, corruption, religious and other forms of discrimination have often informed the resident complaints. These scenarios established fertile ground for ethnic polarization. In this regard the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations by Huntington and Learner (1993) applied.

Osaghe and Suberu (2005) posited that the strength of any democracy was based on the strength and spirit of local government institutions. Artificial local governments based on demographic criteria had to be avoided at all costs. The creation of local government had to have a philosophy, an inherent cohesion and a social raison. The 768 local government authorities created by the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria stripped the states of their power.

This was by asserting that the local government structures so established by the states governments had to be approved by the Federal National Assembly (FNA) in regard to names and headquarters of such local government areas. However, the same Constitution stated that Nigeria comprised 768 local government areas. Like in Kenya the central government had to control any further mushrooming of local government areas in order to limit capitation for sustenance of such regional local government areas from the central government. The failure by subsequent governments to ignore the settlement patterns in molding traditional local government in each region had led to more harm than good in bringing about efficiency and effectiveness to the general governance practices in Nigeria.

Urban and rural settlement distinct requirements were also not addressed. Historical and cultural antecedents cannot therefore be ignored in establishing a local government area since that safeguarded the integrity of local governance framework and practices. This governance practices encouraged corruption as a component of poor governance due to the caveat that civil servants had to resign in order to contest for elective posts in local government.

Similar to Kenya, this had left the field replete with private sector and business minded citizens, some of whom had limited education and appreciated little about local heterogeneous governance norms and practices. The possibility to deploy a robust system of social capital to attain enhanced material and infrastructural development at the local government level more often than not had been lost. Just like in Kenya, doubts had existed as to whether the grassroots felt any closeness to the present local government governance model and practices. Such glaring gaps were addressed in this research.

This was worse in a multi-ethnic backdrop where there existed skewed development that usually favoured the dominant ethnic group. Ethnic polarization was a likely outcome. At popularity level, this research manifested the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016) and Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993). The research also established whether the citizens' involvement in budgetary formulation and financial accountability in Embu County was within optimal and acceptable standards. The efficacy of the CA in patronizing transparent and accountable leadership governance in Embu County was equally explored.

Moller (2010) intimated that the national and the provincial governments in South-Africa both played concurrent functions thus ending up in putting a lot of pressure on the local governments. Mistrust of the shift from Apartheid to black majority rule existed. A multi-lingual and multi-ethnic society needed a civic society capable of overcoming such problems.

The country had a multi-partisan society with varying party ideologies some of which were the very threat to local government governance norms and practices in South-Africa. Corruption and youth unemployment were new challenges to local government governance in South-Africa. Several smaller municipalities struggled to operate and maintain their service infrastructure in a cost-effective and sustainable manner.

This resulted to rapid deterioration of assets, component failure and prolonged disruption in service delivery. The municipalities experienced governance deficiency and weak responsiveness and accountability to communities. The end result was regular service delivery backlog and protests throughout the country.

The situation had not greatly changed since the first democratically elected local government elections held in 2000 and where the 3rd tier of municipal governments was established. The 283 municipalities had different capacities and were faced with different economic and social challenges albeit those in the rural areas which required frequent government intervention in financial resources and logistics. The provincial and local government got shared financial resources through shared allocations from the national government. States at times also competed with one another in unproductive and unorthodox manner.

They offered fewer unproductive ideas to prevent those from other states from benefiting more so on welfare issues. This problem trickled down to the local government operations and was made worse by ethnic polarization. Like in the Kenya case, the gap of wasteful duplication of human capital in administration occurred. Financial resources became depleted as financial decisions had to trickle down to the lowest unit. The use of devolved units that played the roles of both taxing and spending units hampered the redistribution of income and more often money was siphoned by corrupt officials. People felt overtaxed in order to maintain a strong economy to sustain money sharing to the state and regions.

In any case such money did not resort to enhanced equitable distribution of income taking into account that communities were also not at the same level of development. The decentralized units in South-Africa were more than the devolved units in Kenya. Just as in Kenya, a needs assessment in governance needed to be crafted so as to match the high level of socio-economic development in South-Africa. The propensity to embrace xenophobia in recent times which was manifested to ethnic polarization damaged the South-Africa state progressive record.

Chaane (2014) suggested that government departments which owed huge debts to the local governments should be put on public publication and sustainable interventions put into Theory by Rothchild (2016). However, the process of dispensing with corruption and other vices seemed to be more constitutionally direct and safeguarded in Embu County than in South-Africa. place in order to consolidate municipal debts. Parliamentary and other legal solutions should also be sought.

Collaborative approaches between the Financial and Fiscal Commission (FFC), department of Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs (CoGTA), National Treasury (NT) and South-Africa Local Government Association (SALGA) had to provide reviews in local government fiscal framework and train councilors on budgets and mergers. Participatory democracy in equitable financial sharing formula and gender mainstreaming would also ease administrative bottlenecks in most municipalities. Employment of technocrats could also scale down corruption and waste to enhance efficiency in running the municipal governments. In my view power transfer, financial assistance and technical mentorship was relevant to improved governance norms and practices in order to defuse possible ethnic polarization in Embu County. These circumstances qualify the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016).

Fenta (2013) stressed that although ethnic federation framework in theory benefited the people of Ethiopia; the same was often misused by the authoritarian Ethiopian Government and the liberal leadership governance in local government. The key focus of local government in Ethiopia was increasing service provision, poverty alleviation and sustained development in the grassroots society. Financial empowerment and transparent use of it thus remained the key liberating agent to efficient service delivery by the local governance model in Ethiopia. The local government engendered distributive power and authority which accorded the local government more administrative autonomy in handling local government affairs.

However, conversations about identity, nationality and patriotism continued to be held in the villages of Ethiopia's rural region where 85% of the residents reside. Like in Embu County, this could be a robust fertile ground for ethnic polarization. The Oromo and Tigray ethnic federal states were already at the stage of violent odds with the Federal Government of Ethiopia (FGE). The concept of ethnic federalism with its constitutional liberties to secede was not applicable to Embu County government as it was in Ethiopia. Similarly, the authoritative nature of the FGE was inclined to the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993).

Mwabu (2001) observed that Kenya's devolution could result to over representation of smaller ethnic groups while people with no distinct ethnic grouping would be denied representation. Internal conflicts may be triggered in counties which were multi-ethnic in composition. The obvious gap was occasioned by resource distribution and equitable hiring of human capital. However, a mixture of territorial and non-territorial counties would result into an overly cumbersome system of governance. The constitutional fund allocation of 15% meant that the county financial budgetary expenditure was rarely met.

There existed a popular perception that problems which afflicted the national government were likely to be devolved in the county governments. True to this fact, the Human Resource and the Procurement Sector were replete with indictment. This posed a serious governance problem in scenarios when the public watch dog institutions were not alert, rigorous, accountable and transparent. However, taking efficient governance to the grassroots for resource creation and appropriation was relevant to both the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016) and Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993) used in this research.

The study thus strived to establish whether the counties had stuck to their constitutional mandate and whether the economy was vibrant enough to support the devolved system of government.

UoN (1978) corporate authors observed that service delivery to the grassroots continued to be impeded by inadequate, ill-trained and faintly motivated staff that vented through waste and corrupt practices. The review triggered a gap in focused on local government using the Municipal Council of Embu while ignoring the entire ecosystem of governance organs in the then Embu District.

Ironically, dealing with insufficient funding brought about by bloated wage bills remained a perennial gap of local governance in Embu County. Ethnic polarization sufficed due to feelings of marginalization in income earning opportunities instead of targeting the entire county ethnic community set up. The relevance of the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations by Huntington and Learner (1993) was thus qualified. This research was more inclusive by giving focus to the resident communities in Embu County. Aspects of governance norms and practices largely subsisted thus qualifying the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016).

Muthumbi (2007) preferred ethnicity free non-territorial or corporate governance. The focus was to ensure developmental targets were attained as opposed to the common political euphoria of ethnic polities determining the control and use of economic resources. This meant that cultural minorities secured the right to establish their own schools, legislative councils and their jurisdiction was defined in terms of cultural community membership. Scholars preferred power sharing or group autonomy to address political disputes which arose from these cleavages.

This kind of reasoning was applicable to both the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016) and the Rising Expectations led to Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993). However, the replicated renditions in many counties, Embu County included, was that real separation of power was not feasible with the CA vouching to be financially mollified by the Governor in order to give a nod to the Governor's policies. Njagi (2015) vouched for ideal and efficient policy and their effective and efficient implementation, timely and adequate funding, proactive sensitization of the public and the enactment of inclusive and efficient laws by the CGE to ameliorate recurrent ethnic polarization through an efficient and legitimate governance model. However, the author focused on the concept of the common good and public utility and management of solid waste in Embu Town while the current study focused on how to forestall ethnic polarization through an ideal and efficient governance approach for the entire County residents.

A robust devolution in Embu County was better protected not only by the CA but also the enlistment of technocrats, civil society, the media and religious group's participation at local levels. This participatory reality was relevant to the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016). The fact that it was not practical to satisfy every conceivable interest of the Embu County residents, aptly factored the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993).

2.5 Theoretical Framework

The two conflict theories used in this research were:

Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016)

It made reference to a conflict theory that was premised on socio-economic and political marginalization of the nation state, an administrative region or constituency. The state endeavored to put a positive image in the face of such sentiments by making concessions of functional power transfer to the affected constituency of the state. This theory was relevant since state power was constitutionally delegated mostly through an elective office to the county residents. The theory also explained the main rationale of establishing the devolved model of governance in Kenya with its attendant executive, legislature and hegemonic power exchange to the county governments by the Constitution.

The strength of this theory was that it embraced bargaining and negotiations to bring about stability once such mechanisms were rolled out by the state. This theory logically exemplified the statement of the problem, research objectives, significance of study, review of related literature and the research methodology.

However, the theory held a domineering tone because of the high stakes required to eject from office the elected Chief Executive Officer (CEO), at times of systemic malfunction. The oversight institutions of the CAE and the Senate House were subordinate to the Appeals Court of Kenya (ACOK) and the Supreme Court of Kenya (SCOK) respectively. Other gatekeeper institutions and operative policy documents became moribund as long as operating within the rule of law was whittled down.

Politicization of policy and political protection of both state and public technocrats brought about majoritarian impunity on the minority ethnic communities. The dependent valuable of governance in Embu County was relevantly but skewedly used to create dominance in executing policy mandate and programmes. However, these gaps were compensated through public and resident's petitions and demonstrations that were inherently potent in the 2nd theory.

Rising Expectations Led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993)

This conflict theory espoused the passion for accomplishment of tasks which were rationally perceived to bring about positive socio-economic and political value-added transformation to the county residents and the general citizenry. The major merit was that it was citizens driven. It complemented the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016) because hegemonic policy that was patronized by the majoritarian Aembu ethnic community sidelined the Ambeere ethnic minority from policy participation, allocation of socio-economic resources and equitable distribution of socio-economic and political resources and opportunities; the theory was alluded to.

The two theories logically coordinated the statement of the problem, research objectives, significance of the study, and review of related literature to the applied methodology. The Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory was also closely associated with the Relative Deprivation Theory by Ted Gurr (1970) on the discrepancy between value expectations and value expectancies as a reason for ethnic polarization and ultimate violence against the perceived obstacle of the victim's state of deprivation.

The very contemplations of a holistically empowered civilian population eventually lapsed on account of the realities of perpetual discrimination that retrogressively impacted on their livelihoods. I chose Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner because of its direct implications in the face of alienation, exclusion and discrimination vis-à-vis access to socio-economic services and placement on basis of one's ethnicity.

The converse of this theory articulated the ideal euphoria that greeted the overwhelming endorsement of the COK (2010) more so on Chapter Eleven that created the Devolved Government. The greatest demerit and limitation of this theory was that it entertained citizen's emotions and hostile discretions. Within a few years of operations of devolved governments, narratives of disillusionments abound. The gap in this theory was complemented by the legality and legitimacy enshrined in the COK (2010) and other policy documents that empowered and protected the transfer of power to the devolved governments through the exercise of sovereign power by the county residents.

The initial rising expectations were converse, leading to rising frustrations from many county residents; hegemonic exchange of power notwithstanding. The independent variable of ethnic polarization infiltrated governance in Embu County as steered by the Aembu on one divide and the Ambeere on the other was articulately served by this theory. To the marginalized ethnic community, this theory would complement the other with changed hegemonic executive and political powers if the Ambeere ethnic community were to scoop the position of Governor, CGE.

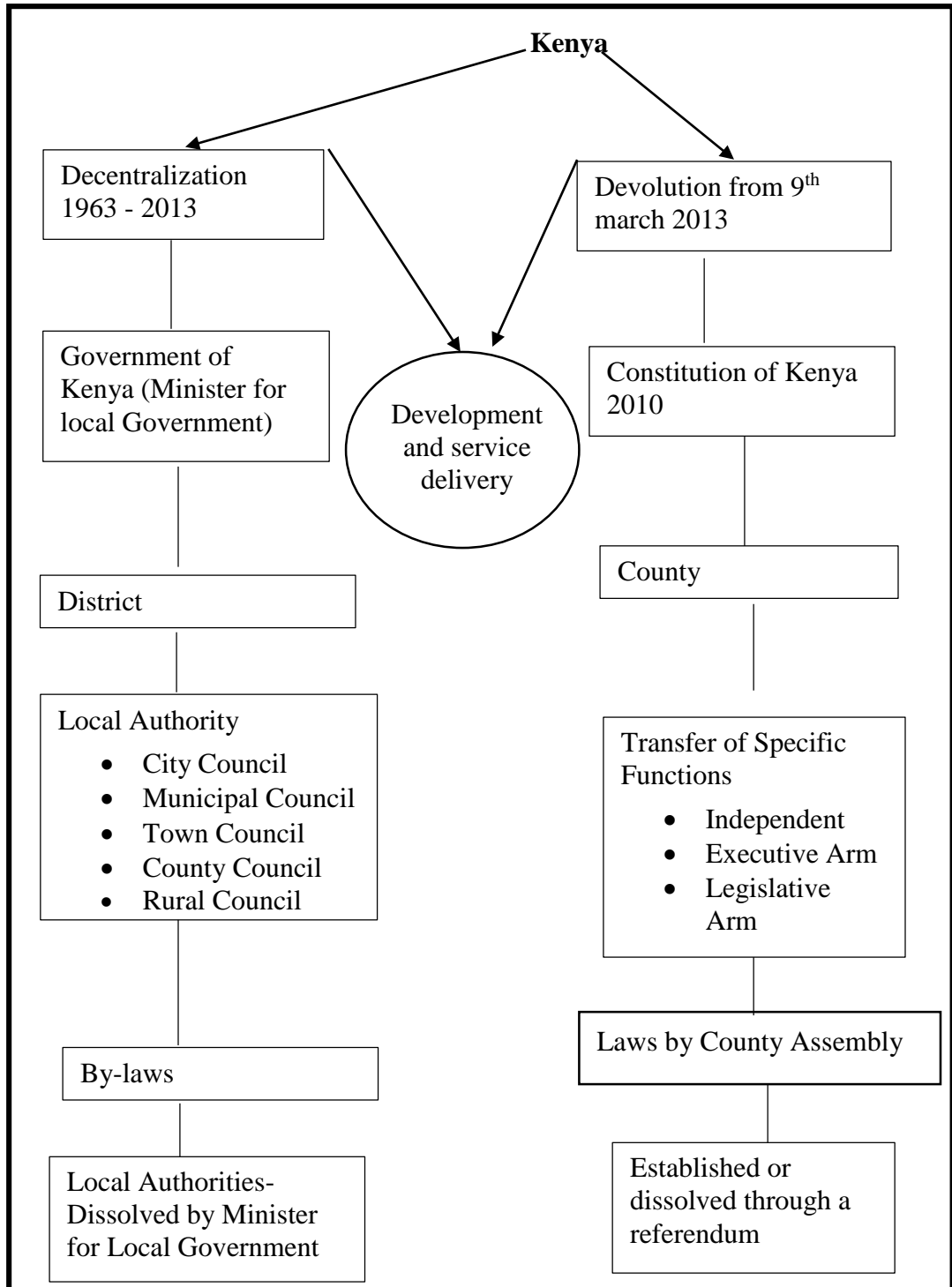
2.6 Conceptual Framework

The decentralization and devolution models of governance were put in place to enhance infrastructural development and income generation attached to various approved functions and service delivery. Although the two governance models received funding from the national budget, constitutional guarantee even of their very existence was nonexistent in the case of the decentralization model of governance.

Enforcement in decentralization was based on bylaws while the County Assembly (CA) laws applied in devolution. Decentralization and its various types of structural organs from the most to the least endowed was based on a district. The national government executive gave out such as a means of consolidation of power to communities which were politically correct. The Ambeere were given their first district of Mbeere North in 1996. Siakago town, the district and ultimately the Mbeere North Sub-County headquarters had since remained a town council up to 2023. It was obvious that the independent variable of inter-ethnic polarization between the Aembu and the Ambeere communities in Embu County had interacted with both decentralization and devolution from 1963 to 8/03/2013 and from 9/03/2013 to 2023 but at contrasting levels (LGA, Cap 265, 1963; COK, 2010; CGA, 2012).

Political leadership, socio-economic development and service delivery were common to both decentralization and devolution models of governance. In this respect, attributes of both bad and good governance subsisted in the two models of governance. The structural functioning of the decentralization and devolution models of governance as dependent variables were conceptually displayed in Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1: An Innovative Diagramme Showing the Governance Structure of Decentralization and Devolution



Source: Field Survey Innovation (2022)

2.7 Summary

The critical and wider review of related literature enriched knowledge in this study as guided by the objectives of research. The focus on relevance, divergence, and identification of gaps ushered fresh concepts of corroboration; all of which galvanized the researcher's opinion. The theoretical framework and the conceptual framework further provided clarity of insights and basis for critical interpretations in this study. Chapter Three on methodology of the research was next.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Overview

This chapter dealt with the nature of research: design, area, piloting, sample size and sampling techniques and procedures, instruments of data collection, validity and reliability of research instruments, data analysis, data presentation and ethical considerations. The ultimate goal was to come up with valid and reliable data for robust and credible research outcome.

3.2 Research Design

The study employed descriptive research design in both qualitative and quantitative research approaches (McCombes, 2023) Under qualitative approach, oral and verbatim responses, patterns and inferences were used. A limited survey data relevant to this study was also given by both county state and public officers under the quantitative research approach. However, there was unforeseen delay encountered in quantitative research approach which was largely fashioned on purposive sampling. Such approach provided a deeper insight to the independent and dependent variables of the research topic. The research approaches were configured in tune with the research objectives. Interviews and written questionnaires were insightfully used for generation of information that was appropriate for logically assembling the research findings. The research findings provided the basis of formulating the research recommendations.

3.3 Study Area

This study was carried out in county no.14; Embu County, Kenya, COK (2010). The target population of Embu County was 608,599 (KPHC, 2019). The County headquarters at the time of the study was Embu Town located in Embu West Sub-County and domiciled in Manyatta Constituency. Embu Town is 125km to Nairobi on the Meru-Chuka-Runyenjes-Embu Town-Mwea-Thika-Nairobi Highway. The town bore a cosmopolitan residence with Europeans and Asians races, Swahili and Somali communities running various businesses. By end of July,2022, Embu County comprised of six sub-counties namely: Embu west, Embu east, Embu north, Mbeere north, Mbeere south and Mwea. Embu west, Embu east and Embu north sub-counties possessed high agricultural potential while most of Mbeere north, Mbeere south and Mwea were arid and semi-arid areas. Embu County had a total of four constituencies namely: Manyatta and Runyenjes constituencies for the Aembu; Mbeere north and Mbeere south constituencies for the Ambeere/Akamba communities. The majority of the Aembu were residents in Embu west, Embu east and Embu north sub-counties while the Ambeere and Akamba lived in Mbeere north, Mbeere south and Mwea sub-counties of Embu County. Ethnic polarization made Embe County most appropriate because the phenomenon had persisted decentralization and devolution models of governance spanning from the pre-colonial period to 2023. The incidents of open inter-ethnic conflict had been documented by various scholars in other counties. It was necessary to forestall ethnic polarization to manifest into open inter-ethnic conflict in Embu County. Ethnic balancing was a crucial, sensitive and competitive factor when it came to key economic, social and political governance slots in Embu County.

3.4 Piloting

Extensive piloting was done in Embu Town, Embu West Sub-County. However, for purposes of balanced opinion, piloting was also done in Embu east, Embu north, Mbeere north, Mbeere south and Mwea sub-counties. Piloting gave an informed view on the identification of the research assistants and the sample size. In the overall, the baseline studies validated the generalization of research findings.

3.5 Sample size

The sample size was 130 respondents derived from a target population of 608,599 (KPHC, 2019). Taro Yamane's formula (1973) was used to calculate the sample size. The formula particulars were $n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$ where: n =sample size (persons), N =target population and e =margin of error which was placed at 9% or 0.09. The factorization calculation was done as follows:

$n = \frac{608,599}{1 + 608,599(0.09)^2}$. This translated to: $n = \frac{608,599}{608,600 \times 0.0081}$. This translated to: $n = \frac{608,599}{4929.66}$. $n = 123.46$ respondent persons which was logically equivalent to 124 respondents. However, the respondents for probability sampling were 70. The respondents for purposive sampling increased by 6 from 54 to 60. The addition of 6 was quite insignificant grating that the target population included children, the teenagers and the elderly. This was done to come up with a round figure that was divisible by 10 and to create a logical balance in the sample size configuration. The sample size distribution in sub-counties was: 29 for Embu west, 23 for Embu east, 18 for Embu north, 20 for Mbeere north, 21 for Mbeere south and 19 for Mwea (Table 3.1 refer).

Table 3.1: Sample Size per Sub-County of Embu County

SUB -COUNTY	SAMPLES SIZE
Embu West	29
Embu East	23
Embu North	18
Mbeere North	20
Mbeere South	21
Mwea	19
Total	130

Source: Field Survey (2022)

Six research assistants were used. Their articulation in the local languages, knowledge of the geographical area, ethnic dynamics and governance framework viz-a-viz legal authority documents in Embu County was considered. Integrity in handling respondents and indicate valid data was also a factored criterion. Gender balance was equally adhered to in identifying the sample size.

3.6 Sampling Techniques and Procedures

Both probability and non-probability sampling technique were used to identify the sample size and come up with relevant and valid data. In the probability sampling category simple random sampling and systemic random sampling. 19 respondents were sampled in Embu West Sub-County, 11 in Embu east, 10 in Embu north, 10 in Mbeere north, 10 in Mbeere south and 10 in Mwea. This category of sample size totaled to 70 research respondents.

The distribution of these respondents with particulars of their sub-county, gender, age, name, occupation, and date of filling in the research instrument was under Appendix (A10-A21).

For the non-probability sampling category, the knowledge in the theoretical and conceptual frameworks, norms and practices of governance on the ground viz-a-viz ethnic dynamics in the area of equity and equality in Embu County was a criterion for consideration. The research respondents in this category were purposively identified. This area of recruitment included: the CGOE (01), the Senator(01), Members of the National Assembly (04), Women Representative (W Rep) (01), Members of the County Assembly (MCA) (10), Deputy County Commissioner (DCC) (02), Assistant County Commissioners (ACC) (06), Chiefs (12), Speaker of the County Assembly (01), County Secretary (01), Clerk to the County Assembly (01), County Executive Committee (CEC) Members (01), CPSB (01), SCA (04), Media personnel (02) and Clergy Members (12) which totaled to 60 research respondents (Table 3.2 and Table 3.3 refers). The particulars of these respondents were placed under Appendix (A10-A21).

Table 3.2: Cumulative Sample Size per Sub-County for both Probability and Purposive Sampling Technique in Embu County

Sub -County	Cumulative Sample Size	
	Probability	Purposive
Embu West	19	10
Embu East	11	12
Embu North	10	08
Mbeere North	10	10
Mbeere South	10	11
Mwea	10	09

Source: Field Survey (2022)

Table 3.3: Sample Size by Gender per Sub-County for Sampling Technique in Embu County

Sub-County	Probability		Purposive	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
Embu West	07	12	07	03
Embu East	04	07	09	03
Embu North	05	05	06	02
Mbeere North	01	09	08	02
Mbeere South	04	06	08	03
Mwea	05	05	05	04

Source: Field Survey (2022)

3.7 Instruments of Data Collection

Through field research, the study generated primary data based on oral and written interviews through the questionnaire and the interview guide. Official government reports from Government Printers and KNA were used to enhance this area. Secondary data was gathered from relevant books, theses, written articles in journals, newspapers, and electronic sources. Such materials were sourced from Kenyatta University Post Modern Library (KUPML), Kenya National Library Services (KNLS), Embu and internet sources.

3.8 Data Collection Techniques and Procedures

Data for simple random sampling was collected through question answer method on market days, Saturday and Sunday services. Key research respondents were written down. As for purposive sampling, appointment confirmations through phone were made by the researcher who then proceeded to carry out the interviews. On special considerations of the busy state and public officers, a part of the interview would be done the following day.

3.9 Validity and Reliability of Research Instruments

The research instruments and methods of data collection met the validity threshold by upholding fidelity in what they were intended to test. Validity was achieved by aligning the research instruments and data collection methods to relevance with the research objectives, questions, hypotheses and the theoretical framework. The validity of research instruments was also predicated on adherence of scope and limitations parameters of this study.

Corroboration of data from the research respondents with relevant documented citations validated research data. Due to the sensitivity of the interview guide viz-a-viz the offices of the respondents in this category, title codes were used instead of names unless such information was already documented. This approach secured validity and reliability of the information given.

The Content and Construct Validity Index (CCVI) formula for research instruments was used. Academic validity was realized through the process of defense from the concept paper to the final thesis. The concept of reliability was attained because similar findings were repeatedly brought out with different sample size in the same area of study.

Moreover, the Cronbach Alpha Coefficient (CAC) formula (1951) was applied to bring about precision, reliability and interpretation of research instruments whose value of 0.7 or higher indicated acceptable internal consistency which basically served the objectives of this research, research questions and research hypothesis.

3.10 Data Analysis

The data collected was assembled, polished, consolidated and variously coded under broad and specific categorization as guided by the objectives of the research and research questions; added to the insightful testing and prove of the research hypotheses. The relationship between the independent and dependent research variables was brought out. Innovative and logical symbols were used to code and summarize data and enhance the objectivity of certain research respondent's identity and confidentiality.

Data was also synthesized and reviewed to come up with integrated thematic and sub-thematic issues examined in different chapters as guided by the objectives of the

research. In particular, statistical tools such as mean, average and range were used. The statistical analysis for this objective based research included: descriptive, predictive, and inferential including hypothesis testing. The analytical tool of excel was extensively used in the construction of bar graphs, line graphs, and pie charts. However, to enhance on logical insights and inferences, diagrams, tables, plates and verbatim captions were used. Corroboration with published works was used to validate conflicting field data.

3.11 Data Presentation

Data was translated into diagrams, tables, figures, plates, pie charts, bar graphs, line graphs and verbatim captions as guided by the objectives of the research and the theoretical framework.

This was done through interpretation, in order to provide meaning and relevance of data; more so within the context to prove the research hypothesis.

3.12 Ethical Considerations

The research was validly covered by the research authorization and permit by: Kenyatta University, National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI), the County Commissioner (CC), Embu, County Governor of Embu (CGOE) and the County Director of Education (CDE), Embu. The vetting and authorization in various Departmental Defense sessions from Concept Paper, Proposal and Thesis added to the Thesis Examination, verbal and Minutes of the Board of Examiners' Observations and Verdict in the Final Thesis Faculty Defense at the Graduate School of Kenyatta University were crucial ethical considerations.

The role of the six research assistants was clearly defined and guided. The respondents were assured of confidentiality in using the information they had given for the sole purpose of scholarly works. Permission was sought from respondents before ultimately using their already documented verbatim captions to enhance validity and reliability sections of this thesis document.

3.13 Summary

This chapter formed a pivotal value in this research. This was in reference to: the data collection techniques and procedures, sample size, data analysis, data presentation and ethical considerations. The concept of validity and reliability was strictly observed so as to provide a basis of writing chapter four, five, six and seven of this particular thesis document.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF DECENTRALIZATION IN KENYA AND EMBU COUNTY, FROM PRE-COLONIAL PERIOD TO 1963

4.1 Overview

In order to rationally assess the effects of decentralization in Embu County, it was important to understand the historical context of the decentralization model of governance. It should not be lost that the employment of this model of governance was influenced by ethnic polarization. The economic, social and political factors that emboldened ethnic polarization during this period were brought out. The ultimate was to craft a logical nexus between the independent and dependent variables of the research topic. This chapter therefore discussed the nature and expectations of decentralization in Kenya with a focus on pre-colonial and colonial phases among the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities up to 1963.

4.2 The Pre-Colonial Context of Decentralization among the Aembu and Ambeere Ethnic Communities.

The Aembu and Ambeere ethnic groups, according to Saberwal (1970), had patriarchal family structures that fiercely guarded their socio-economic and political means of subsistence. The Aembu did not engage in substantial hunting and gathering like the Ambeere did. But in the late 19th century, the Aembu fished for visiting coastal traders who had come to pursue their demand for ivory.

The Athi hunters and gatherers who were a part of the Aembu hunting bands received the meat from the elephants that they killed for their ivory. The Aembu were passionate beekeepers who relished both honey beer and larvae, much like the Ambeere.

Saberwal (1970) observed that livestock among the Aembu and Ambeere ethnic communities was owned by men in all the homesteads. On the basis of gender roles, the men took the livestock to grazing grounds as far as the Mwea plains where they met the Maasai who taught them about circumcision. Livestock represented accumulated capital and was used in transactions that involved: bride wealth, bloodwealth and lifecycle ceremonies such as birth, initiation, marriage and death. This included dispute settlement procedures. Livestock was also used as a last resort for food; mostly during famines. Apart from being used to reward the warriors during raid victories, livestock was also used for sacrifice to God in petitioning for rain during prolonged drought.

A vital resource that belonged to the clan was land. Like most African ethnic communities, the Aembu and Ambeere clans and communal life were governed and directed by the Council of Elders. The entry point towards becoming a member of the Council of Elders was initiation (circumcision) where one was placed into an age-set. The next step was joining the warrior class which comprised of different age-sets and was controlled by the war council within the Council of Elders. The Council of Elders controlled every aspect of life in the community. The center-peripheral relations that was unique with decentralization for distinct clans, operated since the community assets and liabilities, family welfare, gender tasks, age-sets and warriors were all controlled by the Council of Elders.

The warriors were supposed to be courageous, self-reliant and assertive. The responsibilities cut for a warrior included: participating in cattle raids against another ethnic community, protecting the war councilors who led them, and on bad days carry out raids to kidnap women of the opponent community.

The Aembu usually procured such raids against the Ambeere, Gichugu, Ndia and the Achuka and vice versa. The victors in the raid would engage in *Kivata Dance* in the start of the 20thc. War dances were not unique to the Aembu ethnic community in the African context (Saberwal, 1970). The war councilors supervised the warriors who danced with the girls to make sure that they did not engage in sexual activity or marry an age mate's daughter. The war councilors determined war penalties to the warriors for such an offence and others; which they executed on behalf of the Council of Elders. For instance, if a warrior failed to respond to the community's distress alert; they were fined a bull. All women in the Aembu and Ambeere community brought food to the warriors after a successful raid. The ultimate achievement for any male among the Aembu and Ambeere ethnic community was to be crowned as a member of the Council of Elders. The cherished position was also true of the Ibo of Nigeria when one became crowned as an *Igwugwu* (Saberwal, 1970; Achebe, 1958). The threshold to join the Council of Elders among the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic community included: advanced age, no. of goats that one had given out during community occasions, level of respect a man enjoyed in the community, size of his herd and size of homestead.

In tune with decentralization, the Council of Elders during the pre-colonial period was at the center of authority and power over the clans and their inner regulations up to the household levels. The two main Ambeere clans of *Mururi* and *Ndamata* were an

affiliation of over 39 sub-clans who had kept jostling for hegemonic control over the other even in contemporary local and national politics. The functions of the Council of Elders among the Aembu and the Ambeere were: daily organization of homesteads, neighbours and the community at large, ensured that crops were planted in time, necessary and proper performance of traditional ceremonies, consulted diviners and medicine men in times of human and animal epidemics including the administration of oaths, ensured that bride wealth was negotiated and cows or piece of land bought or sold, adoption of famine refugees, ensured that raids on other ethnic communities were executed, ensured that disputes in the neighbourhood were heard, discussed and settled down, ensured that the initiation ceremonies for a new age-set were timely announced and arbitrated on homicide cases (Saberwal, 1970; Haugerud, 2000).

It should not be lost that the Council of Elders in the context of the African continent was mostly embraced in decentralized ethnic communities in Africa. However, even in the centralized empires of the Asante; with the division between Metropolitan Asante and Provincial Asante in Ghana, the Fulani kingdoms of northern Nigeria, the Shona-Ndebele kingdom of Zimbabwe, the Buganda kingdom of Uganda and the Wanga kingdom of western Kenya; decentralized and strong centralized institutions, administrative units and responsibilities were operational.

It was these realities that informed the application of the British colonial administrative policy of direct and indirect rule in respective ethnic communities of Africa. (Burns, 1969; Burk, 1964; Okoth, 1979; Ssekamwa, 1971; Ogot and Ochieng; 1995). In the case of the Aembu and the Ambeere of Embu District, direct rule was therefore applied on them by the British colonial masters.

4.3 The Colonial Period Context of Decentralization in Kenya and its Effect on the Aembu and the Ambeere of Embu County between 1915 and 1963

Kenya's decentralization was designed and implemented by the British colonial government to support the national government during that time. The year 1915 was used because of the following reasons: the British East Africa Protectorate (BEAP), Kenya had been established in 1895, the Uganda Railway was built between 1896 and 1901, the headquarters of the BEAP, Kenya was moved from Mombasa to Nairobi in 1906, the Legislative Council (LEGCO) was established in Nairobi in 1907 and the fundamental colonial land reforms had been enacted by 1915 save for the Swynnerton Plan of 1954. The latter gave limited access to Africans to practice cash crop growing. The Aembu ethnic community in Embu west, Embu east and Embu north embarked on coffee and tea cash crop growing. The arid and semi-arid sub-counties of the Ambeere ethnic community have not been suitable for the growth of these crops since 1954. The policy and institutional framework for British colonial exploitation through establishment of the settler economy had already been set up. The administrative framework developed by the local government and the national government realized this governance model's operation simultaneously.

Nonetheless, the national government's institutional agents had strong oversight and control over the institutional agents of the local government. The latter could therefore only be established under the ambit of a district which was a national government administrative unit. Under the circumstance, the Ndia and the Gichugu were part of Embu District since Kirinyaga District was established in 1963 (Bell, 1964; Manone, 1974; Mukundi, 2012).

In 1915, the Governor, Sir Henry Belfield set up local committees which decided who could be spared to join the army and listed the African resources in terms of cattle and crops throughout BEAP, Kenya. The local committees were the precursors of the native councils in BEAP, Kenya and the Kenya Colony in 1920 (Bell, 1964; Manone, 1974; Mukundi, 2012). The Native Authority Amendment Ordinance (NAAO) no. 14 of 1924 established two types of local authorities in the Kenya Colony namely:

The LNC for Africans were 24 and the District Councils (DCs) were 5. The latter were designated for settled areas and towns which had a large European and Indian populations. Both the LNC and the DCs category of local authorities started in Embu District in 1924. The functions of the LNC included development, provision and maintenance of roads, schools, dispensaries, heritage and cultural issues such as female circumcision, trading centers, grazing control, forests, natural water sources and improvement to crops and stock. The LNC had limited power of local taxation and from such locally raised funds was able to be financially self-sustaining. At the same time, the services they offered were also financed through grants from the central government.

In 1943, the Standing Advisory Committee (SAC) was set up to improve the relationship between the national government and local African authorities (Bell, 1924; Mukundi, 2012; Haugerud, 2000; KNA/LG.3/E/6, 7, 13, 21, 26, 31; 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958; Saberwal, 1970). From a hegemonic reality, the colonial administrators held more power and authority over the LNC. As such, the autonomy Africans got through the LNC was donated by the national government and not absolute. The high expectations they initially held was turning into high frustrations.

The English model of DCs had their functions initially limited to roads and public health. By 1929, 5 such councils were established covering the Kenya Highlands as well as municipal boards for Nairobi, Mombasa, Nakuru, Kisumu and Eldoret. The members of these boards were Europeans and Asians. African interests were separately represented in Nairobi but in all the other boards, the DC who was the chairman to this boards represented the African interests. All the funding of the DCs was from the central government grants and were at best agents of the central government than independent authorities.

It would be logical to conclude that the national government used the existing institutions such as the executive and LEGCO through the provincial administration to control and regulate both the DCs and the LNC up to 1962. During the colonial period in Embu County, the European Christian missionaries had already settled in Embu West Sub-County, Embu East Sub-County and Embu North Sub-County. Their focus of attention was building Christian mission stations, schools and dispensaries.

The Church Missionary Society (CMS) were the first to arrive in Kigari under Rev. John Comley in 1910 and set a mission on land donated by Chief Kabuthi of Embu North Sub-County. St. Marks Kigari TTC began training primary school teachers in 1935. The CMS also built Kangaru School in 1920s. The Catholic Church followed suit under the Consolata Father/Sisters and settled at Kyeni mission in Embu East Sub-County in 1930 and Embu town. They built the Consolata Mission Hospital Kyeni in 1930s. The Consolata Mission built St. Paul's Sec. School, Kevote in 1960.

The colonial Provincial Commissioner (PC) and DC only opened offices in Embu town in Embu West Sub-County which included the current Embu North Sub-County and Runyenjes in Embu East Sub-County (KNA, EP. Vol.2; DC-EBU.DT.2). From this information, it can be concluded that there was not a single mission or secondary school education institution that offered Cambridge School Certificate (CSC) in any of the 3 sub-counties settled by the Ambeere ethnic community. The fertility of the land for coffee and tea cash crop growing with adequate and reliable African labour and the possibility of sustaining the subsistence sector including conducive weather conditions encouraged the Europeans missionaries and administrators to settle in all the 3 Aembu sub-counties of Embu County. From the onset, this gave these sub-counties a clear head-start in socio-economic development over the 3 ASAL Ambeere sub-counties of Mbeere north, Mbeere south and Mwea. This economic disparity was responsible for historical polarization and ill-feelings of the Ambeere over the Aembu ethnic community.

The most intense area of historical polarization between the Aembu and the Ambeere played out during the State of Emergency in Kenya Colony. The colonial chiefs among the Aembu were sympathetic to the Aembu freedom fighters popularly known as the *Mau-Mau*. Some of the powerful colonial chiefs around this period included: Njagi Muthang'ato for Ngandori Location in present day Embu West Sub-County/Embu North, Muruatetu of Gatari Location in present day Embu West Sub-County, Runyenje of Runyenjes Location in present day Embu East Sub-County, Kombo Munyiri of Mavuria Location in the current Mbeere South Sub-County and Mwea, Mwandiko of Evurore Location and Manunga wa Ngochi of Nthawa Location both in Mbeere North Sub-County (Gathogo & Nthukah, 2019).

The colonial chiefs in Kenya were essential propagators of community decentralized development just like the LNC. Their functions were: labour recruitment for white settlers, domestic needs and public works, law and order particularly in the African reserve setups during the State of Emergency, enforcement and collection of colonial levies and taxes, promotion of education, enforcement of colonial agriculture, drug and substance abuse, particularly alcoholism and environmental conservation. From 1937 the chiefs held sweeping powers to arrest, detain and even fine suspects and offenders through the powerful use of the Chief's Authority Act (CAA); that was enshrined in the Public Order Act (POA); (KNA-L & O-17/13; 15/9/1960; Mbutia, 2019). The Ambeere did not join the Aembu ethnic community in the war of independence and the Aembu pejoratively referred to them as *home guards* (KNA- L&O 17/25/3; 1952).

This issue was more elaborated by the fact that there was no dedication of an estate or road for any of the freedom fighters in the 3 sub-counties of the Ambeere, while the Aembu had Kubukubu Estate and road in Embu town in Embu West Sub-County including Kubukubu Boarding Primary and Junior Secondary School in Embu East Sub-County named in memory of one of the Aembu *Mau-Mau* freedom fighter's war generals. The intensity of polarization of the Aembu against the Ambeere for their betrayal on this matter made the *Mau-Mau* fighters to cut the nose or upper part of the lips of the Ambeere that they met during the State of Emergency (PS/AE/CLERGY/01/22, O. I., Mbeere South Sub-County, 09/09/2022). It was important to note that the period between 1944 to 1962 was a time of crucial reforms in Kenya. However, the period between 1954 and 1962 registered the most crucial reforms

propelled by the violent *Mau-Mau* war of independence. In the period between 1952 and 1960 the DCs were more active than the LNC.

The real fruits of decolonization were realized between 1960 and 1963; marked by the First Lancaster House Constitutional Conference, 1960; the release of the Kapenguria six detainees in 1961; the Second Lancaster House Constitutional Conference in 1962; the attainment of internal self-government in Kenya that marked the end of Kenya Colony on 1st June, 1963 and the London Conferences starting from October, 1963 that negotiated the granting of Kenya's independence by Britain on 12th December, 1963 (Ochieng, 1985).

4.4 Summary

During the pre-colonial period, the Council of Elders for different clans were agents of decentralization on behalf of the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities. They overlooked societal regulation and functioning putting greater emphasis to intra-ethnic community order. However, inter-ethnic cattle raids were common between the Aembu and the Ambeere. During the colonial period, institutions of socio-economic empowerment such as schools and colleges, hospitals and dispensaries were initially started by the Christian missionaries in Embu west, Embu east and Embu north. The LNC under the supervision of the DC became the agent of decentralization. The colonial administration placed their development focus in agriculturally potential areas to promote their cash crop economy. A huge political gap existed between the Aembu and the Ambeere when the latter did not support the *Mau-Mau* war of independence. Chapter five was next.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 THE APPLICATION OF DECENTRALIZATION AND DEVOLUTION

MODEL OF GOVERNANCE IN KENYA AND EMBU

COUNTY BETWEEN 1963 AND 2013

5.1 Overview

Chapter five focused on the distinctions in application between the decentralization model of governance and that of devolution as dependent variables in Kenya and Embu County. One of the most prominent products of bad governance that enhanced ethnic polarization was corruption and it was extensively factored in this chapter. The other area of attention was to critique the economic, social and political factors that looped in the independent variables of ethnic polarization between the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities as was guided by the scope of historical periodization when the two governance models were in use. Legal policy documents that guided the transition from decentralization to devolution were considered. The last section of discussion in this chapter was the summary.

5.2 The Post-Colonial Context of Decentralization in Kenya and its Effects on the Aembu and the Ambeere of Embu County between 1963 and 2010

Decentralization was the transfer of limited functions, powers and authority to regions and districts which were established by the national government. The powers over these entities were domiciled in the minister for local government who was a Member of the National Assembly (MONA) and the provincial administration from 1963 to 2010.

The functions of the Local Authorities were: power to enter into contract, acquisitions of and dealings in land; sale and sub division of any land or buildings, sold, let or disposed any land in case of knowledge of an offensive trade, established and maintained woodlands, approved grants of money, imposed fee and charges of any movable and immovable property in form of licenses and permits authorized by a by-law, assigned land for factory, industrial business or workshop sites, build offices and other buildings for discharge of duty, disbursed bursaries to needy students, maintained street lights and access roads, and charged cess levies on certain type of businesses (LGA, Chap 265, 1963).

The functions of the municipal councils were to: established hospitals, maternity services, health centers and dispensaries, disinfecting and disinfestations services, locust spraying, public meetings and assemblies, established hospitals, maternity services, statistical information on the inhabitants of the area, build stadiums, parks, squares and open spaces, game reserves and recreations, established, maintained and controlled refreshment rooms, cafés and restaurants, maintained public markets and market buildings, established and maintained public weighing machines, established and maintained bands for musical performances in public places and Local Authority precincts, established and maintained public monuments, established day and boarding schools with the authority of the Minister, procured firefighting equipment, sewage control and provided water services to residents including the establishment of provision for rental residential houses (LGA, Chap 265, 1963).

Decentralization had been supported by donors such as the WB, IMF including bilateral state donors as an institutional panacea for problems of African states; hence the popular adoption by African countries. African governments implemented decentralization to the extent it enhanced the incumbency and the central government consolidation of power.

In Ethiopia, the FDRE introduced a federalist system that splintered opposition from ethno-regional groups with the potential to secede. However, the responsibilities given to the sub-national groups were not matched by adequate resources which weakened their credibility with the electorate which created a dependency syndrome to the central government (Cornell and D'Arcy, 2016). The military governments of Nigeria in the 1980s and early 1990s used decentralization as an avenue to create loyal local bases. The ruling party in Cote d' Ivoire had systematically used decentralization to consolidate party control. Within the same period, that political wisdom was applied by the ruling party and central government of Zimbabwe. In Zambia, the local councils were placed on check since central government ministers approved their budgets. President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda transformed the RCs, dominated by the NRM into a local governance system designed to consolidate power. From the year 2000, all the budgets of the RCs had to be approved by a Minister of the central government. At the same time, the high number of sub-national units weakened their bargaining power. The ruling party in Tanzania had persistently used decentralization to consolidate party control (Cornell and D'Arcy, 2016).

In instituting reforms, the national government had instrumentalized their design and implementation in their favour. They had failed to transfer significant power that was sufficient to create ideally autonomous sub-national governments. This signified that decentralization paradoxically reinforced the central authority through minimized power of resources. In the context of neo-patrimonialism, this manifested implementation partiality. The resource imbalance had been a bone of contention between the national government and the devolved health functions (Cornell and D'Arcy, 2016).

In Kenya, the post-independence period; 1963-2010 was characterized by the centralized model of governance. The executive and legislative arm of government maintained and regulated control of all state resources, doling out economic and political power through a fungible and highly complex system of patronage. It was surprising to discover that the DC with only two informants' account would turn themselves into quasi-judicial officers to extract the truth from suspects by a traditionally administered oath, poisoning and ordeals. Remember the Kiambu DC, Fred Mwangi who ordered the beards of Headmaster, Joseph Mwaura shaven with no water or sanitizer at a public *baraza* to discuss church conflict at African Independent Pentecostal Church grounds, Ruiru in 1990. (KNA-DC-EBU. DT.2; *Nation*, 1990; Cornell and D'Arcy, 2016; Kanyinga, 1994). Centralization concentrated development projects and resources in certain regions of the country on basis of ethnicity and ethnic rent and clientele extents (Levitsky, 2012; Cornell and A'rcy, 2016).

At independence, the Kenya state adopted a federal model of governance that divided the country into 8 regional governments in order to protect marginalized ethnic communities. The Senate House vouched for the interests of these *majimbo* governments while the House of Representatives vouched for the interests of the national government. The bi-cameral legislature made up the National Assembly of Kenya. Although Kirinyaga District was established in 1963, the Ambeere ethnic community irrespective of one of their own, Hon. J. J. Nyaga being the Embu political kingpin, from 1954-1992 when he left active politics, still remained part of Embu County (Hornsby, 2022).

Unlike during the colonial period when the local authorities were governed by easily changed colonial ordinances, these authorities got a legislative force through the Local Government Act (LGA), cap 265 of 1963. The city council, the municipal council, town council, the county council, urban council and the rural council were under the Minister for Local government. The Minister approved revenue sources, budgets, by-laws, and dissolved a council if it was not functioning efficiently and effectively. Between 1965 and 1982, the rural development initiative became an integral part of developing the Local Authorities, particularly the ones which had been configured around multi-ethnic groups within the districts.

The Presidency deliberately ended federalism in 1966 by failing to disburse the regional financial kitty arguing that *majimboism* was a threat to national unity and the prospects of the KANU manifesto of a unitary government in Kenya. This meant that the Local Authorities were subjected to stringent national government control through the provincial administration and the powers vested on the Minister for Local Government.

These two were powerful agents of the national government. Between 1964 and 1990, Kenya witnessed an exponential degeneration into authoritarianism. A series of constitutional amendments concentrated unchecked executive powers at the center, creating a powerful neo-patrimonial presidency (Levitsky, 2012; Cornell and A'rcy, 2016). President Moi put it better by declaring that '*siasa mbaya, maisha mbaya*', which meant that wrong political choices would attract low or no economic resource assistance from the government for such a region. Authoritarianism and neo-patrimonialism deepened the disparity in the level of regional development while the national government capacity to provide public good deteriorated.

The councilors elected a mayor for both the city council and the municipal council while a chairman presided over the operations of all the others. The councilors represented a ward and were elected for 5 years tenure of office during a general election. In case of a successful election petition of an incumbent, a by-election was usually held. The PSC appointed technical staff such as the Town Clerk in case of a city council and municipal council and clerk to council in case of a county council or rural council. All the Local Authorities operated through the assigned Departmental Committee. This regional economic disparity informed the pre-constitutional debates of 2010 to focus on how to share power among the various ethnic and regional groups under a substantially power emasculated presidency. The Embu County Council was established in 1967, while the Municipal Council of Embu was established in 1977.

Mbeere District was hived from Embu District and granted to the Ambeere community by President Moi including a school bus to Siakago Girls' Secondary School in 1996. The County Council of Mbeere was also established in the same year (LGA, Cap 265, 1963). Three years later, the Municipal Council of Runyenjes was established which allowed the Aembu ethnic community to have two municipal councils in Embu District. The District Focus for Rural Development (DFRD) had been established by President Moi in 1983.

The DC, who was a direct appointee of the President had to lay a firm grip in the running of both the Local Authorities and the District Development Committee (DDC) as a double chairman of the two economic resource and development initiatives. The functions of the DFRD were: to expand rural development through local interest groups such as co-operatives, self-help groups, churches and the ruling political party.

The DC was also a Returning Officer (RO) during elections up to 1992, during the first multi-party elections in Kenya taken up by the Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK), set development committees at all levels of the provincial administrative hierarchy in line with the DFRD strategy, initiate a participatory approach for local people so as to mobilize local resources as well as maximize utilization of government and external resources, initiate ownership in the development projects in the district, position the central government as a coordinator of development initiatives in the district and train leaders of self-help groups in communication and training skills (Omoto, 1988).

Apart from the provincial administration, the political kingpins of the time had enormous influence on development favours for their ethnic communities and key political supporters on patron-clientele basis that was therefore practiced by Hon. J.J. Nyaga, Hon. Kamwithi Munyi, and Hon. Njeru Ndwiga, Hon. Martin Nyaga Wambora and Hon. Cicily Mbarire (Cornell & D'Arcy, 2016).

The Local Authorities wielded enormous authority and power to enact a partial development agenda in favour of their ethnic communities. This perception occupied the sentiments of the Ambeere community during the pre-1996 period since the Aembu office bearers practiced skewed development.

The period 1996 to the year 2010 was a watershed towards the Ambeere development agenda due to the establishment of Mbeere District that separated them from their oppressors; the Aembu community. The period seemed to be exemplified by the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993) on the very fact of having an ethnic configured district which in itself was self-gratifying and helped to wish away the past economic exclusions by the Aembu ethnic community. This level of economic alienation and bias triggered the Hutu majority ethnic group to direct their violence against the Tutsi minority ethnic community in Rwanda for the latter's political domination that sparked the Rwanda genocide in 1994 (Mamdani, 2009).

The existence of two political kingpins in Embu District during the one-party state namely: Hon. Kamwithi Munyi and Hon. Jeremiah Nyaga marshalled their Aembu and Ambeere ethnic politics towards the concept of economic accumulation in the 1980s and part of early 1990s. Hon. Kamwithi Munyi fought more for ethnic welfare and opened greater political competition while Hon. Jeremiah Nyaga embraced conservatism as a weapon of political survival. However, the Aembu aligned with Hon. Kamwithi Munyi while the Ambeere coalesced around Hon. Jeremiah Nyaga and not just because of ethnicity but the assurance of personal and group/club goodies that went with the political loyalty (Cornell & D'Arcy, 2016).

During the multi-party era and in particular from the year 1992, the pattern became replicated with Hon. Joe Nyaga for the Ambeere and Hon. Njeru Ndwiga for the Aembu jealously holding their political clientele and sycophants. The situation became interesting in 2002 to 2010 when Hon. Njeru Ndwiga from the Aembu Community was the only Minister of government in Embu District. The power of influence of the kingpin over their ethnic community was corroborated by (Murunga and Nasong'o, 2007).

It was established that all the mayors of the Municipal Council of Embu (MCE) since 1977 were from the Aembu community with the Ambeere contending with the position of chairmen of their respective Local Authority, particularly after 1996 when Mbeere District was created by the Government. Though Siakago became the Mbeere District headquarters, the infrastructure development and linkages to other towns in Kenya were so poor.

The Ambeere put the blame to previous economic alienation by the Aembu political elites that the ministers for local government over the years did not elevate the status of Siakago town from a town council to a municipal council. The logical insight was that there were government funds for the DFRD and later the CDF.

With transparent and accountable leadership, it was possible to trigger credible economic growth and development in the then two constituencies of the Ambeere ethnic group to cover Mbeere north and Mbeere south sub-counties (Brendon & Jacobs, 2018).

It should not be lost that the Inter-Parties Political Group (IPPG) in 1997 concluded a pressurization by multi-party-political actors after which the President gave a leeway to political parties to make nominations of commissioners to the ECK and do away with the draconian and colonial CAA (Kanyinga, 2014).

Although the first referendum towards a new Constitution was held in Kenya on 21st November, 2005, the *banana* side of the government lost to the *orange* opposition side for lack of expanding the executive and giving regional governments prominence; just like this had defined the 2002 campaigns across the political divide (Kanyinga, 2014).

5.3 The Constitutional Mandate in Kenya and Context of Devolution Model of Governance in Embu County between 2010 and 2013

The promulgation of the Constitution of Kenya (COK, 2010) on 27th August, 2010 and the operationalization of the devolved model of governance on 09/03/2013 placed the two Ambeere districts of Mbeere North (2009) and Mbeere South (2009) back to the CGE (PS/AB/MCA/01/22, O.I., Embu North Sub-County, 10/11/2022).

The Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993) was thus implied since the Ambeere ethnic community had enjoyed a measure of ethnic autonomy since 1988 when they got two Constituencies like the Aembu ethnic community and a second District in 2009 (Hornsby, 2022). Devolved governments enjoyed and derived their functions and powers from the COK, 2010 and the CGA, 2012.

However, it should not be lost that the transition to devolved government was done by the TA whose legal framework was done between 27th August, 2010 and 8th March, 2013. The date of commencement was 9th March, 2013. The TA core functions was to validate assets, personnel capacity, infrastructure capacity and requisite capitation from the national government to facilitate smooth transition to devolved governance. The TA was answerable to the Commission for the Implementation of the Constitution (CIC) and the CRA added to relevant government ministries and department (COK, 2010).

Its functions and powers collapsed 3 years after the first general election in the new Constitution (CGA, 2012).

The main challenges of the TA in Embu County were: inadequate resources, sabotage on books of accounts, viewed as a patronizing center of power by the CGE between 9/3/2013 and 4/3/2016, limited time lines on institutional accountability threshold such as the Treasury, CIC and the CRA among others (www.kenyalaw.org; PS/AB/POL/01/22, O.I., Mbeere South Sub-County, 02/10/2022).

Devolution in Kenya was predicated in long historical discussion, even around federalism, constitutional processes after the Post-Election Violence (PEV) of 2007-2008 which ultimately led to the establishment of the Committee of Experts (COE) that pioneered the new COK, 2010 under the Chairmanship of Hon. Justice Nzamba Kitonga. Devolution was a more comprehensive form of decentralization that represented a form of power sharing between the national government and the 47 devolved county governments in Kenya. It was a product of constitutional processes following political crisis as opposed to Ethiopia, Nigeria and South Africa whose reforms originated from the central government imperatives.

In this regard, the CGE exercised power and authority through the executive organ and a legislative organ. The latter became a quasi-judicial organ at times of impeachment (CGA, 2012). Of keen interest was that the Governor's headquarters were placed in the Aembu sub-county of Embu West by virtue of more advanced infrastructural development. The tax payer from the Ambeere community were not satisfied with that state of affair.

Similarly, it was important to note that Part VI, Section 49-54 of the County Government Act (CGA, 2012) recognized decentralized units in devolution by retaining the cities, Municipalities and Town councils headed by a Sub-County Administrator (SCA); including wards headed by a Ward Administrator (WA), villages headed by a Village Administrator (VA) and Village Councils (VC) chaired by the VA.

The County Inter-Governmental Forum (CIF) to be chaired by the Governor or Deputy Governor (DG) or CECM nominated by the Governor combined all Heads of Departments (HODs) of the national government and all CECMs of the CGE to review and co-ordinate devolved functions and inter-governmental functions; including security briefs within the county (CGA, 2012). The latter was guided by the National Police Service Act, (NPSA, 2011).

The legal functions of the devolved government of Embu were to: enact county legislation in accordance with Article 185 of the COK, 2010, exercise executive functions in accordance with article 183 of the COK, 2010, implement the functions provided for in article 186 and assigned in the 4th schedule of the COK, 2010, implement any other function that may be transferred to county governments from the national government under article 187 of the COK, 2010, execute any other function agreed upon with other county governments under article 189 (2) of the COK, 2010, and establish the staffing of its public service as contemplated under (Article 235 of the COK, 2010; CGA,Chap11, 2012). The devolved functions which were the focus of Embu County included: Agriculture (crops, livestock and fisheries), County health services, Control of air pollution (noise pollution, public nuisances and outdoor advertising), Cultural activities, public entertainment and public amenities, County transport, Animal control and welfare (licensing of dogs, animal accommodation, care and their burials), Trade development and regulations, County planning and development, Pre-primary education, village polytechnics, home craft centers and child care facilities, Natural resources and environmental conservation, County public works and services (storm water management, water and sanitation services), firefighting services and disaster

management, Control of drugs and pornography and Communities and locations mobilization in governance at local levels to develop their administrative capacity for effective participation in governance at local levels (COK, 2010).

Any logical evaluation of the CGE would greatly interrogate this constitutional functions. As we get deep to the 3rd cycle of the General Elections the area of public transport presumably at subsidized rates was yet to be actualized by the CGE. There was hope that the crucial component of accountable public participation at least in 2022-2027 and beyond was going to be the norm for all the county residents. These devolved government functions in Embu County were better addressed by focus on their economic, social and political potential on the county residents in strict compliance with part X11 on Delivery of County Public Services (DCPS) and in particular section 116 sub-section 2 of the (CGA,2012) that states:

“A county shall deliver services while observing the principle of equity, efficiency, accessibility, non-discrimination, and transparency, accountability, sharing of data and information, and subsidiarity.”

It was possible for county governments to bring about improved inter-ethnic communities' relations (Dickovik, 2014). Like in the unitary decentralizations of Malawi and Uganda, devolution was expected to enhance service delivery, engender efficient and effective extraction of greater resources from national to county government, offer post-conflict accommodation brokered by political elites, be a platform of meaningful reforms and transfer of significant powers, with county actors acting as a counterweight to national ones (Cornell and D'Arcy, 2016).

Kenya's devolution had encapsulated political, administrative and fiscal powers. Devolution was a manifestation of the original federal *Majimbo Constitution* at independence in Kenya that was hastily dismantled by President Jomo Kenyatta in 1966. Kenya was unique in Africa for enshrining devolution in the Constitution as opposed to other sets of legislation that could easily be amended (Cornell and D'Arcy, 2016).

There existed intense persuasions of devolution in Kenya, Embu County included because: the citizenry was motivated to defend devolution against the national government subversion, political elite losers had a possibility to align themselves with the new county level politics by forming alliances with the Governor in their struggle with the central government, reforms which ran counter to the interests of the national state elites received popular support for implementation, of going with the gain in expanding rather than undermining; patronage had helped devolution to become embedded, rent seeking and patronage politics by politicians at the central level were popular persuasion at local levels with the idea of county government (Cornell & D'Arcy, 2016).

Devolution in Kenya was still tenable because those who were in the ruling coalition party and the opposition still maintained positions at the national and county governments where they maintained compelling resources and their patronage power had expanded. At the same time, rent generated by devolution projects had flown outward to the center. This meant therefore that the extractive economic and political institutions remained largely intact though devolved (Cornell and D'Arcy, 2016; Brendon and Jacob, 2018; Faure and Mwangi, 2015; Hope, 2014).

The Council of Governors (COG) had emerged as a strong defender of devolution with constitutional executive powers transferred to the Governors in August, 2013, throwing the three years supervision role of the TA off balance. Though the Constitution stipulates a minimum of 15% of national budget shared to the 47 counties, 32% of national revenue was shared to the counties in 2013. The Legislative arm of government had earlier been put in place for all the 47 counties in Kenya starting from 09th March, 2013 (*Daily Nation*, 2013). Governors had vigorously campaigned for the *Pesa mashinani* (money to the grassroots) of 45% of the national budget call for a referendum to the COK, 2010. All the 47 County Assemblies supported them. An opinion poll carried by InfoTrack and IPSOS-Sino vet indicated that a majority of Kenyans supported the idea. However, it was important to note that devolution entrenched ethnic politics and identities patronized by larger ethnic communities (Akoth, 2011; *The Standard*, 2015).

Devolution provided the hopes to address the grievances and needs of marginalized communities and regions in Kenya (Ongwae, 2016; Lagarde, 2014). This model of governance was fashioned to ensure equity in the distribution of national resources in all the 47 counties (Ntara, 2013; Kimenyi, 2013). However, Uganda posed a case of significant decentralization but in recent times recentralization by the national government was already in full force (Cornell and D'Arcy, 2016).

It should be noted that even in Kenya's devolution, like in Burundi where decentralization came up as a means of conflict resolution, the national government could still re-assert itself when the conflicts that initially made the country to embrace devolution were obsolete. Similarly, the county governments had not changed the way politics was practiced in Kenya, but the levels on which it operated, thus bringing it closer to the ordinary citizens. Devolution had thus entrenched at the local level the national problematic problems: rent seeking by politicians and ethnic patronage politics (Cornell and D'Arcy, 2016).

The center-peripheral relationship seemed to even be stronger in Kenya's devolved government and many countries in Africa alike. Ethnicity could be likened to an attractive monetary enterprise for communities and their kins who wielded enormous hegemonic power and authority at both the national and county governments. Other factors that emboldened ethnic polarization in Embu County between 2013 and 2023 were put into consideration.

5.4 Economic Factors which Emboldened Ethnic Polarization in Devolved

Governance of Embu County

The agricultural sector had potential for a high-income earning sector in Embu County. The cash crop sector covered crops such as coffee which did well in Embu east, Embu west and some parts of Embu north sub-counties. The 1977 peak of coffee rates and payment was surpassed in the year 2022/2023 at the rate of 400 shillings per kilogramme. Embu County had over 20000 coffee factories. The high spike in coffee payouts automatically led to increased establishment of coffee processing factories (PS/AB/MCA/01/22, O.I., Embu North Sub-County, 10/11/2022).

Tea was also extensively grown in Embu east and Embu north sub-counties. There was a total of 3 tea processing factories in Embu County namely: Mungania and Rukuriri in Embu East Sub-County and Kathangariri in Embu North Sub-County.

Macadamia nuts was a remarkable income boost for farmers in Embu east, Embu north and Embu west sub-counties. A macadamia processing factory called PRIVAMNUTS EPZ (KENYA) LTD was built at Muthatari in Embu West Sub-County in 2015 and started its operations in February, 2016.

The former Governor of Embu; His Excellency Martin Nyaga Wambora had this to say:

“The factory had an employee capacity of 2000 workers. Embu County was currently the largest producer of Macadamia nuts in East and Central Africa. Trade, Tourism, Investment will continue supporting Public Private Partnership (PPP) so as to create more opportunities for wealth creation and employment to the residents thus boosting the country’s economy.”

Source: County Briefs (2016)

It was noted that the tea and macadamia factories were well connected to tarmac roads. However, most of the coffee factories particularly Nembure-Rukira, Ena-Rukira-Kithimu-Karurina-Ndatu-Kambo-Kimangaru-Itabua in Embu West Sub-County and Kivwe-Muruatetu-Kagumori, Kivwe-Karingari, Nembure-Karingari-Mirundi-Kamviu-Kianjokoma, Kamviu-Kianjuki-Muchagori-Kavutiri, Kamviu-Makengi-Nguire-Kang’ethia, Makengi-Kang’ethia, Makengi-Kevote-Ena, mainly in Embu West Sub-County had to be tarmacked. The region accommodated about 7 coffee and macadamia distribution factories, with most areas domiciled in sub-counties that were very different from the constituencies (PS/CCA/01/22, O.I., Embu, East Sub-County, 08/11/2022).

If the Building Bridges Initiative (BBI) on review of the Constitution was allowed by the SCOK on 31st March, 2022 (*The East Africa*, Thursday: 31st March, 2022, pg. 1-3), this area had a new constituency slotted to it. However, Mbeere North Constituency had been declared untenable. The situation appeared to support the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993). This was because the NGCDF was entrenched in the Constitution and was a game changer in development. On the other hand. Mbeere North was part of Embu East Constituency between 1963 and 1987 (Hornsberg, 2022). After having enjoyed political autonomy since 1988, it would not be the wish of the Ambeere community to forego a national level seat.

The possibility of being marginalized at both the national/central and sub-national level was a sad fate for any community (Cornell & D'Arcy, 2016). The One Acre Fund (OAF) in partnership with Ministry of Agriculture; Kenya Plant Health Inspectorate Service (KEPHIS) and CGE introduced Hass Avocado farming on co-operative basis for export in December, 2018 in Embu East Sub-County.

The processing factory was located at Ena in Embu East Sub-County. Apart from high income earnings and mitigation of food insecurity, the project had led to the establishment of Kagaari- Gaturi Irrigation Project (Catherine Njue, O.I., Embu West Sub-County, 31/08/2022; Josphine Njeru, O.I., Embu East Sub-County, 01/09/2022). Hass avocado growing had since been adopted in Mbeere North Sub-County, Evurore Division through the efforts of the Catholic Church in that area (Wereri Nyaga, O.I., Mbeere North Sub-County, 29/08/2022). The game changer of Hass Avocado farming was slowly creeping in Mbeere South Sub-County.

The possibilities of using devolution to empower rural communities just like federalism had done in Nigeria, Ethiopia and South Africa was not far-fetched. (Dominic Njeru, O.I., Mbeere South Sub-County, 28/08/2022; Cornell & D' Arcy, 2016). Dairy farming was prominently done in Embu East Sub-County with the Kenya Co-operative Creameries (KCC) depot and milk collecting center at Runyenjes. A dairy product processing factory had been earmarked in Embu East Sub-County.

Farmers in Embu West and Embu North sub-counties had for a long time been selling milk in Mbeere South Sub-County using *matatus*, motorcycles and pick-ups in Muthatari, Rwika, Gachoka, Gachuriri, Muraru, Mecca, Munathiri, Gikiiro, Kiritiri and Machang'a market centers (James Njagi, O.I., Embu North Sub- County, 05/09/2022).

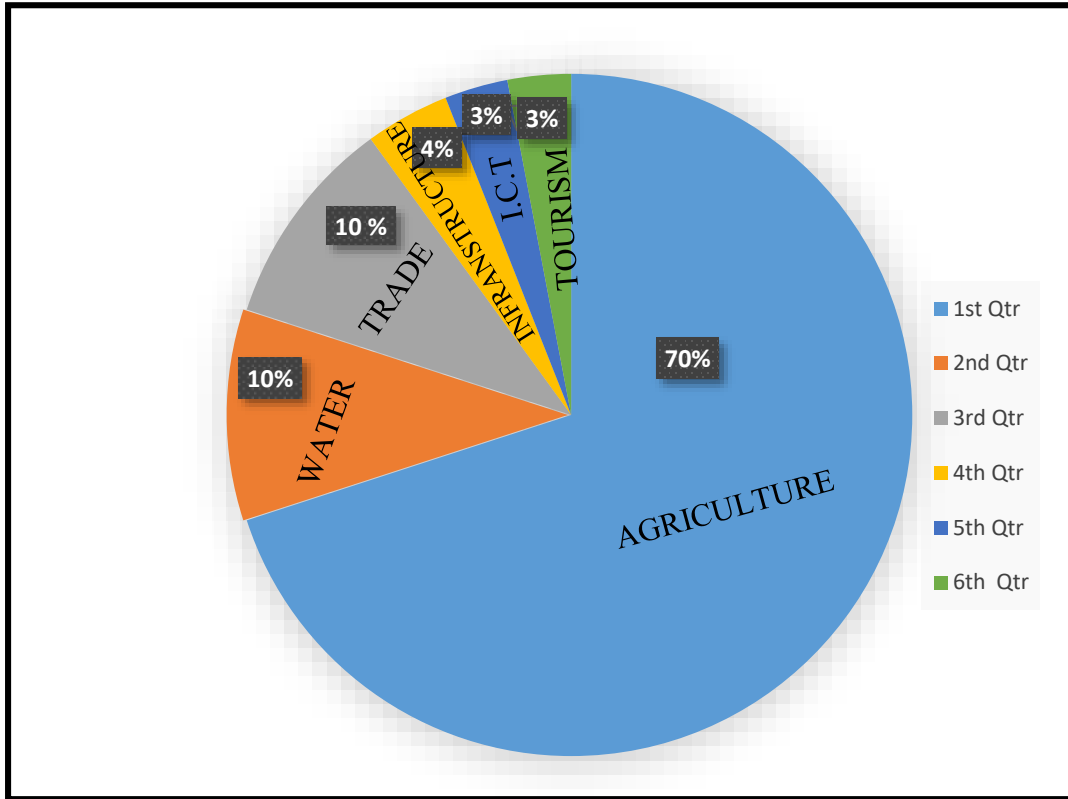
Traditional livestock farming was popular in the Arid and Semi-Arid (ASAL) sub-counties of Mbeere south, Mbeere north and Mwea. Weaving and pottery were cottage crafts that could be incorporated in a wider scale in the Export Processing Zone if a factory of this nature were located at Machang'a area of Mbeere South Sub-County to connect very well to Mwea Sub-County. With elaborate infrastructure the Mwea Game Reserve (MGR) would be financially rejuvenated. Poultry keeping also did well in these sub-counties. It was interesting to note that Mbeere South Sub-County and Mbeere North Sub-County were second to Meru County in the area of *Miraa* production (CGE Media Briefs, 2022).

This export crop would give the residents of these sub-counties increased earnings if the water and infrastructure facilities were sufficient and usable in all weather. A few farmers grew *miraa* in some parts of Embu east and Embu west sub-counties. It was curious that the spirit of co-operative farming had not been taken up as far as this crop was involved (PS/AB/MCA/01/22, O.I., Mbeere North, 02/10/2022).

Agriculture represented 70% of the economic engagement of both the Aembu and the Ambeere. However, because of cash crops and dairy farming, better access to water resources and higher cumulative all-weather roads; their returns in the Agricultural investment gave more returns than that of the Ambeere.

Figure 5.1 gives a glimpse of the economic endowments of Embu County that has also contributed in galvanizing ethnic hegemony and encouraged ethnic polarization between the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities on the basis of the haves on one hand and the have nots on the other.

Figure 5.1: A Pie Chart Showing the Economic Endowment of Devolution Model of Governance in Embu County



Source: Field Survey (2022)

There was only one tarmac road done by the national government connecting Mbeere south and Mbeere north to the three sub-counties of the Aembu community, and none to Mwea Sub-County either way. The Gachoka-Gachuriri-Makima-Karaba Road should be done to open up this potential agricultural area and promote tourism at the MGR too. The Machang’ a-Scheme-Makima-Karaba Road was the worst of the roads. The Makutano-Karaba-Wango-Nthingini-Riakanau road should be tarmacked to support the fisheries department and other motor boat riding initiatives.

The Kiritiri-Irabaari-Kirie-Kiminda-Siakago road should be tarmacked to unlock agricultural and livestock potentials in that part of Mbeere South Sub-County. This included the Kavondori-Kerwa-Gikondi-Muminji-Siakago-Kathigagaceru-Gitii-Kanyuambora road that should be tarmacked. Sand and bricks for building come from Mbeere South Sub-County and Mbeere North Sub-County (PS/AB/POL/01/22, O.I., Mbeere South, 2/10/2022). The road from Mecca-Kirima-Nganduri posed a real nightmare. Interestingly too, almost all the county rate chargers on sand and bricks in Mbeere south, Mbeere north and Mwea employed by the county government spoke Kiembu language (Leonard Nyaga, O.I., Mbeere South Sub County, 28/08/2022). This kind of scenario was reminiscent of the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993). It promoted high ethnic polarization between the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities.

The six sub counties of Embu County had markets at their sub county headquarters namely: Embu Town, Runyenjes, and Manyatta, Kiritiri, Siakago and Karaba. Of great concern was that the CGE had only been able to build modern markets and privately leased stalls at the rate of 01(Embu Town) in Embu West Sub-County, 2 (Runyenjes and Kianjokoma) in Embu east and 01 (Kiritiri) in Mbeere south. This scenario qualified the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993) that encouraged the Ambeere ethnic community to feel sidelined by the CGE which they associated with preferential treatment of the Aembu ethnic community.

Although the open market was robust, there was a feeling that the residents would make more money if modern stalls like those in Embu West could be done in Ishiara because of accessibility. The SFD and the MGR which were national resources made Embu County to benefit by 25% of the national proceeds and that should benefit the Mbeere South Sub-County and Mwea Sub-County respectively through the most transparent public participation on how such proceeds were going to benefit the particular sub county residents. However, the management of the county government was inward looking at the expense of serving the public; thus, glorifying corruption. This was because the institutions which were put in place to curtail such a vice appeared inefficient and ineffective; allowing the corrupt to go on with the vice unabated. This injustices in sharing national resources to the counties and communities where they were domiciled had preoccupied the Maasai of Narok in tourism for some time, the Turkana of Turkana County with the oil resources and Mombasa County on the national revenue generated by the port of Mombasa. The prevalence of such a vice was corroborated by (PS/AE/CLERGY/01/22, O.I., Mwea Sub-County, 09/09/2022; Baraza, 2017).

The state of all-weather roads cumulative distance and connectivity in and out of all the 3 resident sub-counties of the Ambeere ethnic community were in a sorry state of affairs. Out of a cumulative road network of 2213.1km in the entire Embu County, only about 71km were tarmac. This situation had affected the flow of local trade goods in and out of all the local markets. Access to some schools, health centers and administrative facilities located in the interior parts of the sub-counties of Mbeere north, Mbeere south and Mwea was so difficult due to poor state of the roads in both the dry and wet seasons.

The scenario was different in the 3 Aembu sub-counties which had over 97km of tarmac road out of the total road network of 2213.1 km. in Embu County (PS/AB/POL/03/22, O.I, Mbeere North Sub-County, 02/10/2022; en.m.wikipedia.org). However, the 3 Aembu sub-counties had a high economic endowment and head start that dated back to the colonial period. In the pre-devolution period, the sub-counties were propelled by a consistent ruling party and coalition loyalty and community focused political leadership (PS/CCA/01/22, O.I., Embu, East Sub-County, 08/11/2022).

A scenario where the Ambeere community were convinced that the concept of equitable economic development favoured the Aembu community was reminiscent of the abuse of the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016) by the Aembu and ushered in the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993), as far as the Ambeere ethnic community was concerned. During the Harambee spirit of post-independence period in Kenya, MPs contributed towards what voters demanded and dispersed club goods too for them to be re-elected. Harambee was embedded in the NG CDF which encouraged the electorate to evaluate their politicians in terms of their ability to channel economic resources to the local communities (Cornell & D'Arcy, 2016). There were several PPP initiatives by the CGE in the Aembu resident sub-counties of Embu west, Embu east and Embu north cash crop growing and dairy farming. On the other hand, dismissive attitudes on *miraa* as a dangerous drug and traditional livestock farming in the Ambeere resident sub-counties of Mbeere north, Mbeere south and Mwea had not convinced the CGE to initiate a co-operative approach to make these economic activities productive and beneficial since 2013.

The Livestock Off Take Programme (LOP) was not initiated by the national government in the 3 Ambeere sub-counties. The fertilizer and seeds distribution programmes initiated by the national government had not benefited the Ambeere ethnic community as much since without adequate and reliable water, these initiatives became just a procurement bluff by officers who connived with suppliers and ultimately stole taxpayers' money (PS/AB/MCA/02/22, O.I., Mbeere South Sub- County, 08/11/2022).

This state of affairs was consistent with the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993) as far as the Ambeere ethnic community was concerned for they put the blame on the Aembu ethnic community.

Bricks and sand for building constructions come from Mbeere north and Mbeere south sub- counties. However, apart from environmental damage incurred in the extraction of such commodities the roads leading to such points were some of the worst in Embu County. It was also interesting to note that most of the CGE cess collectors spoke kiembu mother tongue; which meant they were deliberately posted there to sustain and make economic fortunes (Dominic Njeru, O.I., Mbeere South Sub-County, 28/08/2022).

This scenario promoted ethnic polarization and thus tended to manifest both the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016) on governance issue and the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993); all of which favoured the Aembu ethnic community compared to the Ambeere ethnic community.

The CGE had built modern stalls market facilities in Embu west and 2 in Embu east sub-counties and with only 1 at Kiritiri town in Mbeere South Sub-County. The CGE had therefore created better market facilitative initiatives in the resident sub-counties of the Aembu than was the case in the Ambeere resident sub-counties. However, it was important to note that the Ambeere benefited financially in the concept of weekly urban centers through their open markets at Ishiara on Tuesday and Friday market days in Mbeere North Sub-County and once again on the huge market days of Monday and Thursday at Kiritiri in Mbeere South and Mwea sub-counties.

This position still promoted ethnic polarization among the Ambeere community against the Aembu; considering that the Akamba community had other tentacles in Machakos, Makueni and Kitui counties (Margaret Ngungi, O.I., Mbeere South-Sub County, 28/08/2022). In both the context of governance and ethnic polarization, the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016) and the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations by Huntington and Learner (1993) was manifested.

The public *matatu* transport system in Embu County had displayed one of the most glaring polarizations between the Aembu ethnic community and the Ambeere ethnic community since the late 1990s. The trend was elaborately taken up between 2010 and 2022. The Aembu in the public *matatu* transport formed and coalesced themselves around the Nairobi, Embu, Nissan Operators (NENO) SACCO whose headquarters was Embu Town in Embu West Sub-County. The Ambeere took it up and formed the Kiritiri, Embu, Thika, Nairobi, Nissan Operators (KETNNO) SACCO in 2007 whose headquarters was Kiritiri Town in Mbeere South Sub-County.

Each one of them also established chartered routes that they were going to follow. When the Aembu NENO SACCO established a petrol station in Embu Town, the Ambeere KETNNO SACCO established theirs at Kariguri area in Majimbo in Embu West Sub-County (PS/AB/MCA/02/22, O.I., Mbeere North Sub-County, 02/10/2022).

This was a clear case of ethnic polarization that was indicative of the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016) in the context of *matatu* transport governance and the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993) from the context of stiff competition and ethnic polarization.

Ethnic skirmishes that at times required police intervention was common between the Aembu NENO and the Ambeere KETNNO public transport vehicles particularly on peak time of schools', colleges and universities' opening and closing dates. However, the zoning in public transport was a common feature in Kenya but what was unique in Embu County was that the ethnic polarization had the intent to fight economic marginalization against the designed Aembu ethnic community.

It was curious to note that the Aembu community were subjected to the highest land purchase price regime and business rental premises in all the 3 sub-counties of Mbeere north, Mbeere south and Mwea. It was only in the rental houses where the Aembu were not openly discriminated. In the period of this study, it was also important to note that the number of the Aembu community who headed Secondary school as Principal particularly in Mbeere north and Mbeere South sub-counties were less than 3 out of over 100 secondary schools. No member of the Ambeere community headed any secondary school in Embu east, Embu west or Embu north in the years of this study (Josephene Njeru, O.I., Embu East Sub-County, 01/09/2022).

In social places the Aembu who taught in the sub-counties of Mbeere north and Mbeere south at the time were openly told to “forget leadership positions in Mbeere and only eat the hardship allowances that had brought them there.” This kind of a backdrop tended to align with the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016) in governance perspectives and the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993) in this characteristic case of ethnic polarization.

Another unique case of ethnic polarization was a SACCO called Sky Base Contractors (SBC) that was started in 2019 to financially uplift the Ambeere ethnic community. The SACCO’s management and membership was made up of the Ambeere ethnic community and never enlisted any member of the Aembu ethnic community irrespective of having the maximum share capital that the SACCO allowed of 2 million.

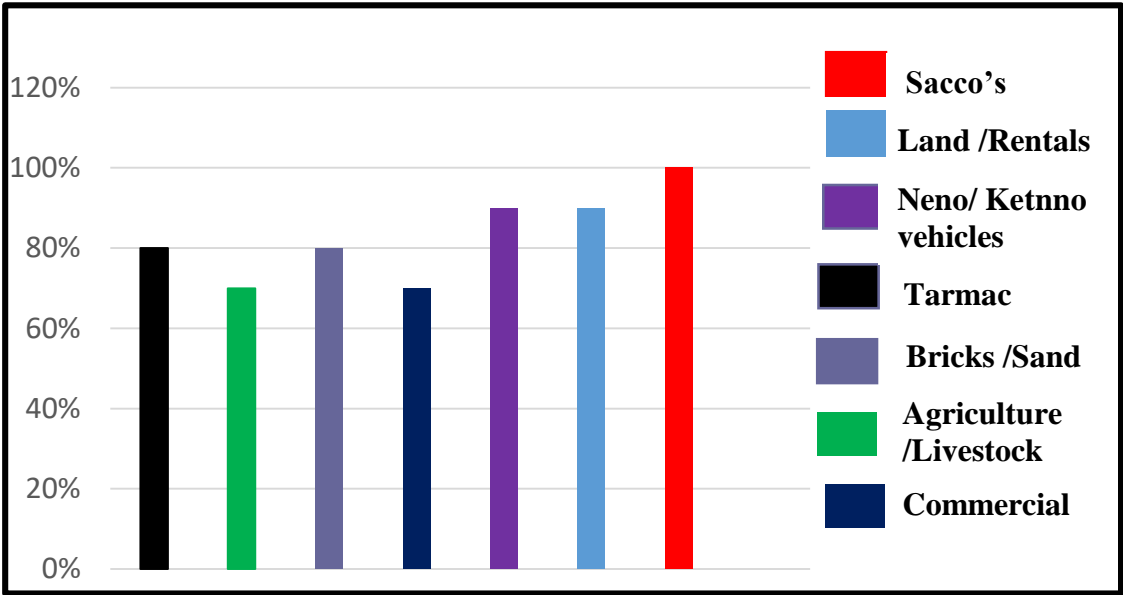
The SACCO management who subjected an applicant to a legibility interview was only guided by the succinct prove of the Ambeere ethnicity fact. However, the fact of eligibility decision was done craftily through evasive statements like; “the Sacco management was to re-look into the issue of wider ethnic accommodation in the near future.” (Vincent Mutugi, O.I., Embu West Sub-County, 31/08/2022). The scenario reinforced the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016) from a governance prism and the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993) from the ethnic polarization dimension.

The Kimbeere title of the Sacco; “Mwimbua ni Itu,” was metaphorical and more explicit. The image of a destitute who lived in a house bereft of the luxury of an iron sheet roofing and consigned to fate by the exploitative Aembu. Like in Rwanda between the Hutu and the Tutsi, historical marginalization had to end (Mamdani, 2009).

The Seven Folks Hydroelectric Power Project cover the sub-county of Mbeere south, partly Mbeere north and partly Mwea sub-county. According to the National Resource (Benefits Sharing Bill) No. 6 of 2022 by both the Senate House and the National Assembly, the benefits from this national resource were to be divided as follows:

20% to Treasury, 28% to National Government, 19.2% to County Government where the resource was domiciled, 12.5% to affected community and 0.3% the sub-county concerned. This would total to 32% to the county (GOK: 2022). Interestingly there was no single power sub-station among the Ambeere community and the offices of billing, connectivity and maintenance were in Embu West Sub-County. The number of the Aembu community connected to power were more than that of the Ambeere community. This scenario was a recipe for ethnic polarization.

Figure 5.2: A Bar Graph Showing the Economic Structural Challenges of Ethnic Polarization between the Aembu and the Ambeere in Embu County



Source: Field Survey (2022)

From Figure 5.2 the Economic Structural Challenges of Ethnic Polarization between the Aembu and the Ambeere in Embu County the SACCO'S recorded the highest percentage of economic strength with a percentage of 100%. Bricks/Sand and Tarmac shared 80% of the Economic Structural Challenges in Embu County. Agricultural/Livestock and Commercial Activities Scored 65% equally among the economic structural challenges as shown in figure 5.2 Above.

Clientelism, rent seeking and patronage that defined the neo-patrimonialism structure of the state all manifested economic corruption. The Harambee spirit which was embedded in NG CDF encouraged Kenyans to evaluate their politicians in terms of their ability to channel economic resources to the local communities. Devolution increased corruption because of the transfer of meaningful powers to the local level through the transfer of patronage of resources (Cornell & D'Arcy, 2016).

Corruption was institutionalized in Kenya since independence (Kiai 2010: 214; Wrong, 2014). Corruption had persisted in Kenya because some people in power benefitted while the existing governance institutions lacked both the will and the capacity to forestall the unorthodox traits of such public and state officers (Hope, 2014: 494).

Kenya's extractive political institutions had led to the existence of extractive economic institutions whose goal was to enrich a few at the expense of the majority (Acemoglu and Robinson, 2012). The former chairman of Kenya Anti-Corruption Commission (KACC) and Kenya School of Law (KSL) Director, P.L.O Lumumba asserted that in Kenya, corruption paid, but honesty never did (Kinyua, 2016).

Irrespective of the establishment of Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission (EACC), Kenya ranked no.123 out of 180 of the most corrupt states in the world with a Corruption Percentage Index Score (CPIS) of 32% out of 90%; with the latter rated the best. The most corrupt country had a CPIS of 12% for the year 2022. This meant that Kenya was one of the most corrupt countries of the world (Hope, 2014; Transparency International, 2022; Ndung'u, 2017).

Many Kenyans view the EACC as a toothless, inept and highly politicized institution. Despite having a budget of US dollars 25million and a staff of over 4 thousand in 2015/2016 many view their investigations as carried out by corrupt and compromised personnel (Muraya, 2016; Hope, 2017a; Rotberg, 2017: 152; Abdullahi, 2017; Murigu, 2016; Igadwah, 2017). Based on these observations therefore, it was logical to conclude that checks against abuses of power such as corruption existed but without proper enforcement mechanisms, corruption was now firmly devolved to the counties (Hope, 2014: 499).

The Controller of Budget stressed high expenditure on domestic and foreign travel between 2013 and 2022 as one of the economic challenges to the counties budget execution (GoK, 2014; *Daily Nation*, 27th January, 2014). The frequency of foreign trips was in destinations such as Israel, Dubai, Zanzibar, Tanzania and Rwanda.

The percentage of recurrent expenditure spend by county governments on travel was higher in most cases than the national government Ministries' and Department Agencies (MDA) caveat of 2% of the county budget between 2013 and 2014. Embu County used 74.5 % of actual expenditure to revenue which was poor (COB, FY 2021/2022).

Political elites used devolution for their own personal benefits but also for their own specific ethnic communities. The Aembu on account of their majoritarian vote perceived themselves as the owners of Embu County. Most of the 47 counties had been accused of gross irregularities in governance that touched on fraudulent deals; particularly in procurement, forged academic certificates, misappropriation and embezzlement of funds; mostly in fraudulent pending bill, stolen public assets and unexplained wealth, penal code offences, breach of trust, payroll manipulations and ghost workers stuffing. In this immediate and specific regard,

Embu County had recorded 68.8% of total recurrent expenditure to revenue that according to the PFMA, 2012 was not supposed to exceed 45%. Other issues of bad governance included ghost projects and procurement malpractices. Personal benefit, nepotism and use of ethnicity were the basis that these malpractices were conveniently executed in Embu County (Cornell and D'Arcy, 2016; Brendon and Jacob, 2018).

The reality on the ground was that the 3 resident sub-counties of the Aembu ethnic community of Embu west, Embu east and Embu north were economically more developed and endowed than the 3 resident sub-counties of the Ambeere ethnic community of Mbeere north, Mbeere south and Mwea.

This scenario had evoked the feelings of discrimination, alienation and economic decimation particularly because in the key executive officers and chief officers of the CGE from 2013, the Aembu slots outnumbered that of the Ambeere ethnic community. Economic policy development had thus continued favouring the Aembu ethnic community (PS/AC/DCC/01/22, O.I., Mbeere South Sub-County, 09/09/2022).

The disparities were manifested in gross tarmac road networks, number of cash crops endowments, high levels of capital investments and capital infrastructure; all of which set up more facilitative opportunities for wealth generation and higher income per capita for the Aembu ethnic community at the expense of the Ambeere ethnic community in Embu County. This scenario provided fertile ground for ethnic polarization for both the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities on account of the Aembu guarding the status quo while the Ambeere complained of economic marginalization; feasibility studies notwithstanding. These realities were crowned by the fact that all the 3 resident sub-counties of the Ambeere ethnic community were ASAL classified (PS/AC/DCC/01/22, O.I., Mbeere South Sub-County, 09/09/2022). The Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016) was satisfied from a governance prism while the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993) was inclined from the ethnic polarization dimension.

The MSS now domiciled in Mwea Sub-County had displayed the worst inter-ethnic land conflict in Embu County since 1979 (PS/AE/CLERGY/01/22, O.I., Mbeere South Sub-County, 09/09/2022; Mugo, P. 2021). This was similar to the Ngiiri intra-clan land conflicts in Mbeere South Sub-County and the Muthanthara inter-ethnic land conflicts between the Ambeere of Mbeere North Sub-County and the Atharaka community (PS/AE/CLERGY/01/22, O.I., Mbeere South Sub-County, 09/09/2022).

When the CGE decided to be the arbiter in the MSS issue, the CGE top brass of the Aembu ethnic community and top national government officials of Embu County allotted themselves and their cronies hundreds and thousands of the MSS riparian land. The Ambeere raised an alarm and combined with the Akamba who had been given very small allotments with many genuine squatters left out. Only cases of not more than 10 acres were initially given the title deeds. However, towards July of 2022 all the others were given title deeds. Land developments had begun in earnest amid simmering ethnic disasters. The Ambeere felt shortchanged and betrayed by the CGE and the Aembu ethnic community (PS/AE/CLERGY/02/22, O.I., Mbeere South Sub-County, 09/09/2022; Mugo, P. 2021).

Based on the governance inclination, the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016) was qualified while from the Ambeere viz-a- viz the CGE and Aembu ethnic community, the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993) was satisfied in that regard.

A negative solidarity psyche that was guided by ethnic exclusiveness of the Aembu by the Ambeere ethnic community in the 3 sub-counties of Mbeere north, Mbeere south and Mwea in Sacco ventures, prohibitive land regimes and ethnic price tags in business premises was a damning challenge in the path towards seamless ethnic co-existence among the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities in Embu County. A catalogue of such underhand ethnic economic maneuvers greatly derailed the avenues of ethnic co-existence between the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities in Embu County (PS/AE/CLERGY/02/22, O.I., Mbeere South Sub-County, 09/09/2022).

Premised on governance and the euphoria of ethnicity, both the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016) and the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993) were inclined

5.5 Social Factors which Emboldened Ethnic Polarization in Devolved

Governance of Embu County

In the social slot, the greatest indictment was registered in the health sector between the year 2013 and 2017 and 2017 and 2022. The complaints in all the sub-counties ranged from lack of medication, neglect, inadequate, lethargic and inept medical personnel, poor diet of patients and stealing of medical equipment.

The period was also characterized by numerous strikes of health personnel due to low work morale, salary non-payment backlogs, non-remittance of statutory deductions and obsolete equipment in the transport sector particularly the ambulance vehicles. Corrupt public and state officers who were protected by powerful party operatives at the national and at county level practiced all manner of corruption with impunity since they were insulated from any reprisals (Brendon & Jacob, 2018: Lydia Wanjira, O.I., Embu West Sub-County, 31/08/2022). The current Governor, 2022-2027 deserved credit for resuscitating this crucial sector by holding very relevant and transparent procurement to equip these facilities with sufficient medication for the residents in all the 6 sub-counties of Embu County. This was crowned by effective and efficient health policies to enhance proficient and efficient service delivery. The sitting Governor's urgent attention was consistent with the 100% access to health provisions by all Kenyans. (KV 2030, 2007; BFA, 2018-2022 and CGE Media Briefs, 2022).

The Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016) was thus exemplified. However, Embu Level 5 Hospital with best state of the art equipment including an Intensive Care Unit (ICU) and a High Dependency Unit (HDU) was in Embu West Sub-County. Kairuri level 4 and Kibugu were in Embu North Sub-County, Kianjokoma, Runyenjes and Karurumo level 4 hospitals were in Embu East Sub-County, Siakago and Ishiara level 4 hospitals were in Mbeere North Sub-County while Kiritiri Level 4 hospital was located in Mbeere South Sub-County (PS/AB/POL/01/22, O.I., Mbeere South Sub-County, 02/10/2022).

This scenario meant that 6 key health facilities including the only level 5 hospital were domiciled in the Aembu community sub-counties, with 3 in the Ambeere sub-counties and none in the predominantly Akamba Mwea Sub-County. The concept of equity needed to be addressed in this regard. It was also fodder for ethnic polarization for the Aembu, Ambeere and the Akamba communities of Embu County based on those who were well endowed and those who were less endowed with resources to better their life. The situation was even worse for the Ambeere community when missionary and private state of the art hospitals were factored. In that regard, the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations by Huntington and Learner (1993) was applicable.

The only stadium for games and sports was in Embu West Sub-County. What existed in the other sub-counties were DCC *baraza* venues. It was only a few institutions like the University of Embu and Kangaru School and Kangaru Girls' High School that had standard Soccer, Basket Ball, Hockey, Volleyball and Netball added to Badminton fields to accommodate inter-county games and competitions (PS/AC/CEC/01/22, O.I., Embu West Sub-County, 14/09/2022).

The current Governor of Embu County (2022-2027) had embarked on a spirited effort to modernize Moi Stadium before 1st June, 2023. However, this was done since the venue was to accommodate the President during the Madaraka Day celebrations. There was obvious state sponsorship to actualize the Moi Stadium modernization. That was the reason why the Kenya Inter-County Sports and Cultural Association (KICOSCA) and County Assemblies Sports Association (CASA) were usually held in the Kangaru complexes' any time Embu County was the host to the games and sports.

At the same time the current Governor, (2022-2027) had promised to build an Olympics standard sports complex at the Embu County show ground venue at Njukiri in Embu West Sub-County before the end of her first term of office (CGE Media Briefs, 2022). It was worth noting that the perennial challenges in the 3 Ambeere resident sub-counties of Mbeere north, Mbeere south and Mwea remained lack of water resources at both domestic and community levels including schools and hospitals (Paul Maimba, O.I., Mwea Sub-County, 30/08/2022). The former Governor: His Excellency Martin Nyaga Wambora had extended the services of the Embu Water and Sanitation Company (EWASCO) between 2013 and 2021 to cover Mbeere South Sub-County.

This initiative attracted inclusion endearment from the sub-county residents. In the same period, he donated plastic water tanks to some schools in Mbeere South Sub-County but water shortage remained endemic during prolonged droughts that depleted the water intake. On a critical insight, this was manifest of clientelism that was premised on winning the appeal of voters. At the same time, the water tank donations were clearly personalized in their bold identity writings to display what voters demanded from politicians.

This was an example of personalized goods and narrow club goods.

Similarly, the water tanks were not randomly delivered and the Governor was conscious of the fact that voters evaluated the politician in terms of their ability to channel resources to local communities. This was manifest of neo-patrimonialism and ultimately an act of corruption (Cornell & D'Arcy, 2016). Mbeere North Sub-County which got supplied with water under Embu-Mbeere Water and Sanitation Company (EMB-MBEWASCO) from Thuci River in Embu East Sub-County often accused the Aembu of water diversion to punish them since the pipes were mostly dry for prolonged periods. Such incidents promoted ethnic polarization (PS/AC/CHIEF/02/22, O.I., Mbeere North Sub-County, 14/09/2022).

In the spirit of equity, equality and non-discrimination, the current Governor of Embu County Her Excellency Cecily Mutitu Mbarire hit the ground running by commissioning the desilting of Gitanangugu and Kangondo dams in Mavuria Ward and Kiambeere Ward in Mbeere south and Mbeere north sub-counties respectively.

This initiative served the Big Four Agenda (BFA, 2018-2022) on enhancing 100% food sufficiency and make Mbeere north, Mbeere south and Mwea bread baskets in the future. The initiative was anchored in both the (SDG, 2016-2030; KV 2030, 2007) blue prints. Mbeere north, Mbeere south and Mwea were hardship and relief food recipient sub-counties. The initiative would avail water for domestic and irrigation for improvement of health, food supply and trade earnings.

The sitting Governor had this to say on Monday, March 13, 2023:

“My administration had identified key projects including sinking of boreholes and construction of earth dams and pans to store runoff water to turn around the fortunes of locals who rely on agriculture as the main economic activity. Existing earth dams will be desilted in readiness of the upcoming long rains in partnership with the WB funded National Agricultural and Rural Inclusive Growth Project (NARIGP). With funding from the exchequer, locals were to be supplied with water by the Kenya Electricity Generating Company (KEN GEN) since Mbeere South Sub-County was home to the majority of the Seven Folks Dams (SFD)”

Source: County Government Briefs (2022)

The EWASCO domestic water connection, flow and billing in many parts of Embu West Sub-County and Mbeere South Sub-County up to Gachoka market was commendable between 2014 and 2017 and best between 2017 and 2022. The levels of chlorination were professionally done by the Public Health Officer (PHO) who was permanently assigned for that task by the CGE. The water company had one of the most predictable rationing regimes in its area of water supply coverage. This scenario was instructive of the politician’s consciousness that devolution created a bottom-up accountability mechanisms, intended to provide public service more efficiently and boost local development by both political elites and technocrats (CGE Media Briefs, 2022; Peter Kariuki, O.I., Embu West Sub-County, 31/08/2022; Cornell & D’Arcy; 2016).

The CGE emergency response initiative had been very ineffective between 2013 and 2022. The few fire engines were only operating in Embu Town in Embu West Sub-County. The fire engines had never salvaged any incident of fire even within Embu Town as it had happened at the Marigiti Stalls in the center of Embu Town on (*Daily Nation*, 13th March, 2020) and later in Naivas Super Market on (*The Standard*, 29th June, 2020).

The fire engines were necessary for disaster management and promotion of business. However, no compensation or reconstruction was made to avert the loss of the Marigiti stall owners. The worst-case scenario was that the fire engines were grounded and extensively vandalized by 2022. However, the sitting Governor, (2022-2027), Hon. Cecily Mbarire promised to procure and assign a permanent firefighting engine for each of the 6 sub-counties in Embu County (County Media Briefs; PS/AD/MEDIA/01/22, O.I., Embu West Sub-County, 14/09/2022).

It was worth noting that the Governor, CGE between 2017 and 2022 took up the Government of Kenya social spectrum by initiating an ambitious housing project in Spring Valley in Embu West Sub-County for the county public servants. The County Public Servants Housing Project (CPSHP) comprised 140 three-bedroom houses and 80 two bedroom houses whose total was 220 house units. This was relevant to meeting the BFA threshold of building 500,000 low-cost housing units each year for ultimate ownership by public servants in Kenya. The (CPSHP) was a milestone in relieving housing deficits in Embu Town (KV 2030, 2007; BFA, 2018-2022 and CGE Media Briefs, 2022).

During the period 2013 and 2017 and 2017 and 2022 tremendous development was made in the use of ICT to promote service delivery; more importantly with the automation of motor vehicle parking started by the Governor, CGE between 2022 and 2027 (CGE Media Briefs, 2022; Joseph Muthama, O.I., Embu West Sub-County, 31/08/2022).

This had gone a long way to curtail financial loss and leakages and ultimately attained remarkable levels of efficiency. However, movie and betting dens had mushroomed over the years. Such a development had an adverse effect particularly on the youth in that glaring school dropouts and a surge in crimes had been reported (Joseph Muthama, O.I., Embu West Sub-County, 31/08/2022).

Religious conflict had bedeviled humanity for long. Between the 11th and 15th century, the Pope dispatched Christian soldiers known as the crusaders in the Ottoman Empire to fight not only the Muslims but break away sects of the Catholic Church. This was typical of religious nationalism that ended up in the emergence of the Western Christian Church whose headquarters was Rome and the Eastern Christian Church whose headquarters was Constantinople (Cornwell, 1969). The Sunni and Shia/Shiite Muslims had continually wrestled each other on who was the right non-lineage, or lineage to succeed Prophet Mohammed; in the name of Abu Bakr and Ali respectively.

Since the 20th the differences between the Sunni and Shia Muslims had escalated to open warfare on basis of religious and political hegemony (Sarah Pruitt, 2022). The Anglican Church of Kenya Diocese of Katakwa was hived from the Anglican Church Diocese of Nambale, Busia County in 1991 out of an inter-ethnic battle between the Iteso and the Luhya that made the former to stage a hunger strike at the All-Saints Cathedral in Nairobi in the late 1986, running to 1991.

The Iteso had already developed their own local language Bible and hymn book. The Archbishop Nzimbi and Archbishop Kuria Commissions ultimately led to the birth of the ACK Diocese of Katakwa under Bishop Eliud Okiring who was an Iteso (*Daily Nation*, 9th March, 2012).

The Anglican Church Diocese of Embu was divided into the ACK Diocese of Embu and the ACK Diocese of Mbeere in 1996, when the Mbeere District was established. The two dioceses were born from the Anglican Church of Kenya Diocese of Embu purely on ethnic polarization considerations. This had seen 2 Bishops from the Aembu ethnic Community for the ACK Diocese of Embu between 2010 and 2022.

Similarly, the trend of ethnic polarization had continued with the election and installation of 2 Bishops from the Ambeere ethnic community between 2010 and 2022.

The fact of ethnic polarization was important because when the Church of the Province of Kenya (CPK) Diocese of Mt. Kenya East was dissolved in the 1990s to separate the Anglican ethnic congregations of the Aembu and the Kirinyaga, the Anglican Church of Kenya Diocese of Embu was established. It was interesting to note that the Provost of the Cathedral in Embu West Sub-County who was then from the Ambeere ethnic community and technically with the highest eligibility to the office of the Bishop, Anglican Church of Kenya Diocese of Embu, was defeated in the elections of the bishop by a candidate from the other parishes purely on basis of ethnic polarization. This could be interpreted using the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993).

It should also be understood that those were the years when religious sponsors determined who were to be the Head teachers or Principals of their sponsored schools (PS/AB/MCA/01/2022, O.I., Mwea Sub-County, 10/11/2022). The matter espoused was relevant to the Hegemonic Exchange Theory (2016) by Rothchild from a governance perspective.

Thanks to the Teachers Service Commission Act (TSCA, 2012) and the Basic Education Act (BEA, 2013) for defusing the sponsor's role in their Education Management Reforms (EMR). The sponsor's prominence had become highly abusive.

However, meritocracy in the promotion and appointment of school administrators was still a long way in meeting the accountability and transparency values of Article 10 and 232 of the C O K, 2010 among other outlined values and principles of governance. In both the Anglican Church of Kenya Diocese of Nambale and the Anglican Church of Kenya Diocese of Embu, for the Iteso and Ambeere communities respectively, ethnic polarization on basis of past ethnic contempt and marginalization was evident.

However, the Ambeere used the excuse of acquisition of the new Mbeere District whose dividends they understood too well while the Iteso fought for it (See Plate 5.1 below). Although religion and political hegemony applied, ethnic polarization was not openly inclined in the Sunni/Shia divide.

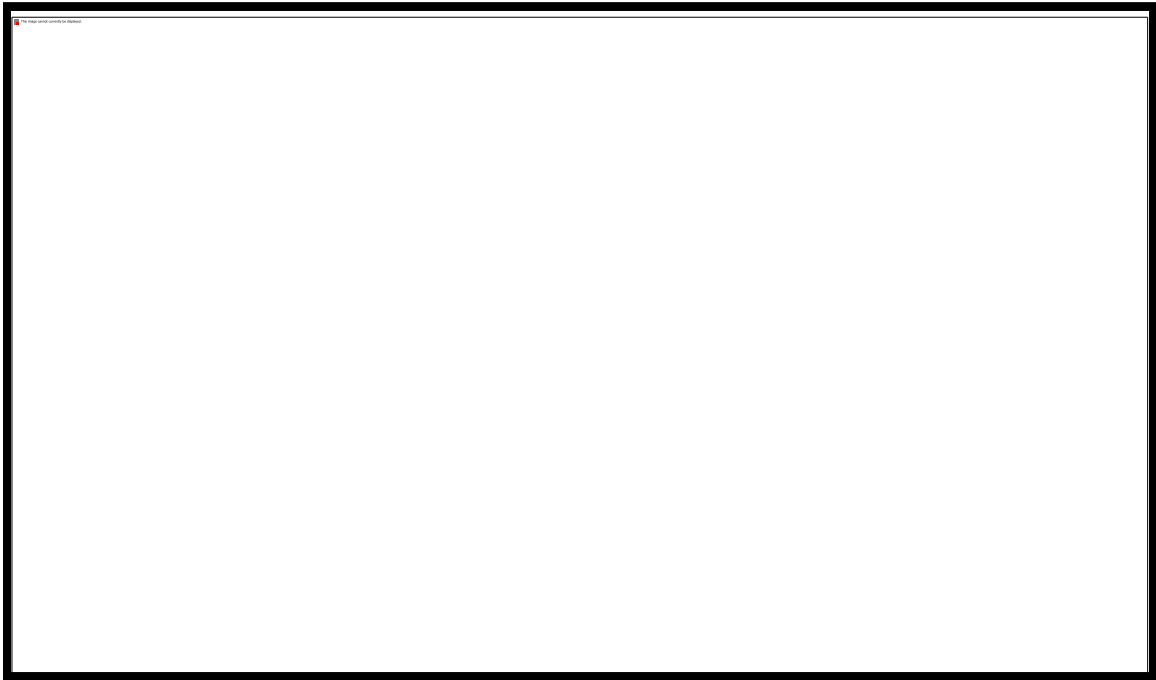


Plate 5.1: Front View of the Diocesan Office of the ACK Diocese of Mbeere

Source: Field Survey (2022)

The dire need of water for domestic and self-development requirements amid prolonged drought in all the 3 resident sub-counties of the Ambeere ethnic community should be a rallying call to the CGE to promptly and equitably distribute this essential social resource to Mbeere North Sub-County, Mbeere South Sub-County and Mwea Sub-County. Although Mbeere South Sub-County was home to the SFD, it was interesting to note that many homesteads were not connected to the National Electricity Power Grid (NEPG).

The Housing project of the 220 units by the CGE was all concentrated in Embu West Sub-County while the rest of the Aembu ethnic community resident sub-counties of Embu east and Embu north were sufficiently served with water and electricity at homestead levels (PS/AC/CHIEF/02/22, O.I., Mbeere South Sub-County, 04/10/2022).

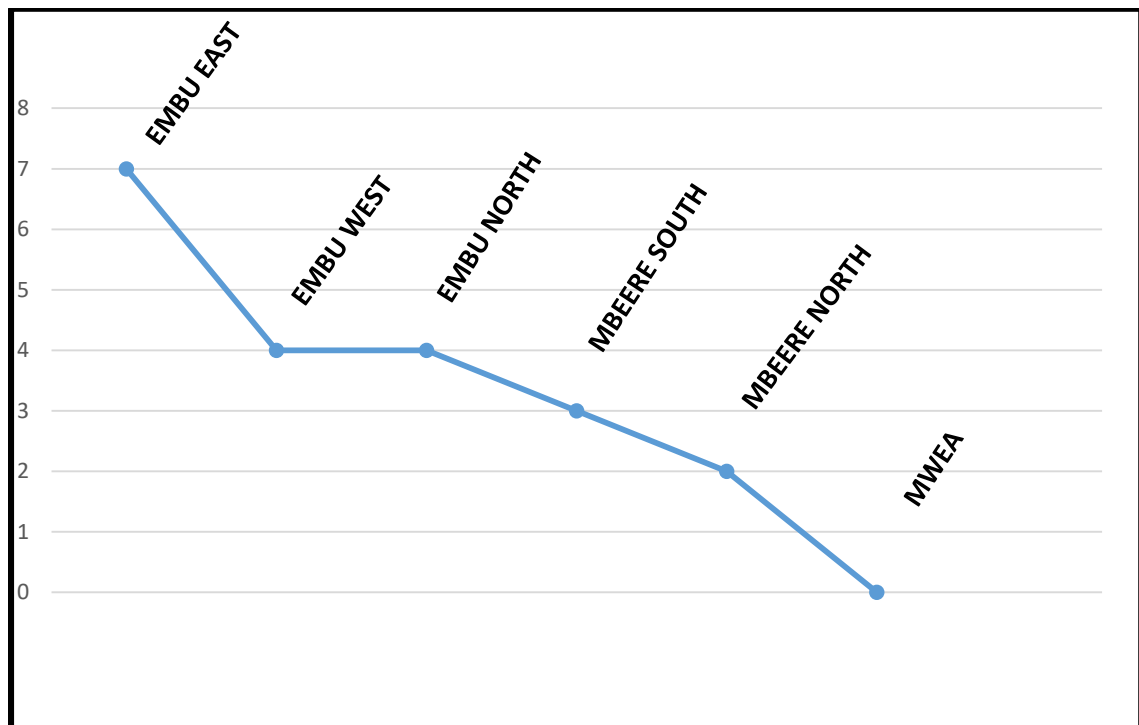
Many of the football clubs in Europe had a tendency to use the names of the city of origin for their club identity. Almost all the soccer clubs in Embu County had adopted this trend. However, in the homogeneous communities of Europe, this was both a measure of identity and patriotism. On the other hand, the identity and patriotism in the soccer clubs of all the 6 sub-counties of Embu County was configured from an ethnic orientation basis. The leadership of all this soccer teams was also local and ethnic (PS/AC/CCA/E/01/22, O.I., Embu East Sub-County, 08/11/2022). This scenario was inclined to the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016) from a governance prism and the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993) from the ethnic polarization view point.

It was similarly more expressive to note that an ethnic language in a heterogeneous community itself was a fertile ground for ethnic polarization when shrouded by sentiments such as bias, suspicion, discrimination and hate. In the 2006 World Cup Finals in Berlin, Germany, between France and Italy, the French player Zinedine Zidane got a straight red card for his head-butt to the chest of Italian defender, Marco Materazzi, complaining that the latter uttered demeaning remarks towards him. However, it should be noted that irrespective of all this differences, the rate of inter-marriage between the Aembu and Ambeere ethnic community had persisted to date.

The education sector provided yet another source of ethnic polarization between the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities. The national secondary school category was evenly distributed at 1 (Siakago Girls) in Mbeere North Sub-County amongst the Ambeere, and 01, Moi High School, Mbiruri in Embu East Sub-County among the Aembu ethnic community.

However, extra county category schools had an uneven distribution in the Aembu and the Ambeere resident sub-counties: Embu East Sub-County (2), Embu West Sub-County (3) and Embu North Sub-County (3); Mbeere North Sub-County (1), Mbeere South Sub-County (00) and Mwea (00). In the quality boarding public school's category Embu East Sub-County (4), Embu West Sub-County (1), Embu North Sub-County (1); Mbeere North Sub-County (1), Mbeere South Sub-County (3) and Mwea Sub-County (00). This scenario indicated glaring discrepancies of equitable distribution of quality schools among the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic resident sub-counties in Embu County (PS/AB/MCA/02/22, O.I., Mbeere North Sub-County, 02/10/2022). Figure 5.3 refers).

Figure 5.3: A Line Graph Showing the Distribution of Quality Public Secondary Schools and Quality Public Boarding Primary Schools among the Aembu and the Ambeere Ethnic Community Resident Sub-Counties in Embu County



Source: Field Survey (2022)

From a leadership prism this ambience tends to subscribe to the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016) and from an ethnic polarization view point, the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993). However, it was important to understand that the cumulative aggregate of development had to factor the volume for resources for which to base tangible development and dividends of macro-economic scale (See Figure 5.4). This were in abundance in the 3 Aembu resident sub-counties of Embu County.

From 2009, it was logical for the Ambeere leadership to have drifted from lamentations and complacency to being proactive. The Ambeere electorates were not interrogative enough to their politicians on the bases of consolidating sufficient resources to their constituencies and ultimately the sub-counties. Cornell & D’Arcy (2016) argued that when the politicians were able to bring sufficient development resources home, the electorate was least bothered about how effective they were at national level legislation or executive oversight. The consideration for re-election was assured for such politicians, because they were in communion with their ethnic community at the local electorate level.

Almost all the 47 counties were replete with allegations of moral corruption and misdemeanor (COK, 2010 Chapter 6; PFMA, 2014; Cornell and D’Arcy, 2016; Njagi, 2016a; Njagi, 2016b). Ethnicity and nepotism featured much in winning plum personal and group favours out of the huge county resources.

Sentiments of inadequate or alienation from health care facilities were as loud among the Ambeere ethnic community as they were loud in Mandera County (Muthama, 2015; Okello, 2015; Mwangi, 2015; OAG, 2013-2017). The fact that all the 3 sub-counties of the Ambeere ethnic community of Mbeere North Sub-County, Mbeere South Sub-County and Mwea Sub-County were located in the ASAL area could not be overemphasized (Mugo, P. 2021; PS/AE/CLERGY/01/22, O.I., Mbeere South Sub-County, 09/09/2022).

Water was a precious and rare social commodity. It was also important to note that the two commercial water projects of EWASCO and EMB-MBEWASCO that benefitted the Ambeere ethnic community in the urban areas of Kiritiri in Mbeere South Sub-County and Siakago in Mbeere North Sub-County respectively drew their water from rivers and water reservoirs located in Embu West Sub-County and Embu East Sub-County respectively.

At times of various ethnic crisis between the two ethnic communities, the water issue was used to fuel the crisis through illegal and deliberate sabotage by the Aembu ethnic community. The over 20 gate valve vandalization in 2022 alone was always detected in Embu East Sub-County. The feeling of deficiency of a very crucial social facility was a great challenge towards toning down ethnic polarization between the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities of Embu County (PS/AE/CLERGY/01/22, O.I., Mbeere South Sub-County, 09/09/2022). From a governance perspective this provoked ethnic polarization on either side of the ethnic divide. This ambience subscribed to both the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016) and the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993).

The soccer clubs displayed extreme negative solidarity for both the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities both in identity and psyche. There was a strong feeling that all the 3 sub-counties of the Ambeere ethnic community lacked a modern standard soccer field initiated by the CGE. On the converse Moi Stadium and Njukiri Olympic Standard Stadiums were all domiciled in the Aembu ethnic community sub-county of Embu West Sub-County.

A situation of this nature derailed avenues towards ethnic co-existence between the Ambeere and the Aembu ethnic communities of Embu County. An equitable distribution of such public utilities helped to tone down the passion of ethnic polarization (PA/AB/MCA/02/22, O.I., Mbeere South Sub-County, 08/11/2022).

A feeling of neglect and sabotage over the years had engulfed the Ambeere ethnic community in that regard. From a governance parlance this obviously skewed pattern of development provoked ethnic polarization on levels of contempt from the Aembu ethnic community on the Ambeere and deceit from the Ambeere perspective by the Aembu ethnic community. A scenario of such nature ascribed to both the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016) and the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993). When suspicion and mistrust based on historical injustices got founded in a community's psyche, it was an uphill task as avenues to eradicate ethnic polarization were sought. This was because one cannot change their ethnicity at whatever time.

This was because "ethnicity was like a home where one got solace when all else had failed." (Taeku, 2022). This indelible circumstance when defiled by deep seated identity grievances made it very difficult to eradicate ethnic polarization between the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic community in Embu County (Taeku, 2022; PS/AB/MCA/02/22, O.I., Mbeere North Sub-County, 02/10/ 2022).

The Anglican congregations was divided between the 3 sub-counties of the Ambeere ethnic community of Mbeere north, Mbeere south and Mwea and the 3 Aembu ethnic community sub-counties of Embu west, Embu east and Embu north into the ACK Diocese of Mbeere and the ACK Diocese of Embu respectively.

It was noted that if the process of getting a diocese for the Catholic congregation were not so stringent, the Ambeere ethnic Catholics' congregation would have separated themselves from the Catholics' Diocese of Embu (DoE) to form their own Catholics' congregation diocese long time ago. However, some of the initial catholic congregation of the Ambeere ethnic community had circumvented this condition by converting into the different Pentecostal protestant denominations, just to have themselves separated from the Aembu ethnic community (PS/AE/CLERGY/02/22, O.I., Mbeere North Sub-County, 08/09/2022). When this was viewed in the governance inclination and ethnicity responses dimension, both the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016) and Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993) were implied.

5.6 Political Factors which Emboldened Ethnic Polarization in Devolved

Governance of Embu County

The political prospects of devolution in Embu County were governed by the concept of legality and legitimacy in its establishment. Article 10 on national values and principles of governance and article 232 on values and principles of public service (COK, 2010) were cardinal values for the governance of the CGE; the Executive and the Legislative organ: CAE including other public institutions not within the purview of the CGE. The CGA, 2012, the Public Procurement and Assets Disposal Act (PPADA, 2015), the Intergovernmental Relations Act (IGRA, 2012), the Public Officer Ethics Act, (POEA, 2003), The Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Act (TJRA, 2008) and the NPSA, 2011 were crucial documents of reference.

The legal documents referred to were a prescription of how power and authority was handled in conformity with the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016). However, devolution in its legal sanctity brought about overwhelming hopes that got dashed on the ground operations in Embu County. The use of perfect democracy and the need for political survival and preservation by the top county electoral winners and appointees brought about ethnic polarization. The majority of these top officials came from the Aembu as opposed to the Ambeere ethnic community.

This arrangement was inclined to the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory (1993) by Huntington and Learner. The Ambeere ethnic kingpins put up immense political jostling in the 1990s until President Daniel Arap Moi gave them the Mbeere District in 1996. Frantic transfers were made by the Ambeere public servants from Embu District so as to be HODs in their newly created district.

On logical basis, this did not work for all of them since a district was not a tribal entity in its operations but a national government entity. However, in the education sector, all the Mbeere District Schools separated from the Embu District Joint Mocks and joined the Machakos-Mbeere District Joint Mocks in 1997 (Wawira Kithu, O.I., Mbeere North Sub-County, 29/08/2022). This pattern of behaviour was driven by the motive of ethnic polarization and the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016) due to the instinctive desire of the Ambeere to rid themselves of freely associating with the Aembu ethnic community. In the year 2009, once more through serious political canvassing and ethnic pressurizations, the Ambeere desired to have two districts like the Aembu who had Embu west and Embu east.

President Mwai Kibaki gave them the Mbeere South District in 2009. The Aembu put political pressure and in 2011, President Mwai Kibaki gave out the Embu North District to the Aembu community. However, in July, 2022 President Uhuru Kenyatta gave out Mwea Sub-County that was carved from Mbeere South Sub-County to have the Akamba community separated from the Ambeere ethnic community (James Njagi, O.I, Embu North Sub-County, 05/09/2022). The consolidation of political ethnic destiny helped to strengthen the path of economic resource accumulation for a particular ethnic community.

This characteristic pattern of ethnic political pressurization exemplified ethnic polarization and at various periods both the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities found themselves consigned to the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993). On the urge to control their political destiny, the two communities found themselves at the verge of the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016).

A striking incident of ethnic polarization was witnessed when President Uhuru Kenyatta awarded a Charter to University of Embu (UOE) on 7th October, 2016. The Ambeere were not happy with that title and they wanted the University to be called the University of Embu-Mbeere. Most of the Ambeere snubbed the inauguration ceremony and in the end shifted their political allegiance to Bus and Wiper political parties. They settled to build their own university sponsored by the Anglican Church of Kenya (ACK) Mbeere Diocese at Kanyuambora that was yet to take off due to internal church and clan hegemonic wrangles (PS/AE/CLERGY/01/22, O.I., Mbeere South Sub-County, 09/09/2022).

One of the most conspicuous political frustrations of the Ambeere ethnic community was to find themselves merged together once more with the Aembu community by the devolution model of governance. Though the levels of development were certainly unequal, there was hope in public participation in bringing socio-economic development to the grass root. From the onset, some parliamentarians were opposed not only to the amount of proposed fiscal devolution to the counties but similarly to the power and authority of the county executive, including the legislative arm. In such cases, patronage of the incumbent presidency and those who were aligned to the opposition kept playing out (Bosire, 2014; Cornell & D' Arcy, 2016; Ng'ethe, 2017; Obala, 2015; Houreld, 2017). The other consolation was that the County Senator, the DG and the SPCA were all members of the Ambeere ethnic community in 2013.

His Excellency Governor Martin Nyaga Wambora come out as a perfect diplomat where the Ambeere controlled 3 key county positions of Senator, SPCA and the office of DG through an MOU that was to give forth to a lady Governor from the Ambeere community after the Aembu served their 10 years. The gender rule on the Governor's position was also perfectly in place. Supremacy battles strategically hatched by the then Senator through a favorable ethnic link in the top Executive and the CAE against the Governor vitiated this arrangement. For political survival, the Governor ignored the CAE-Senate line to Judiciary line between 29/01/2014 and 11/12/2015.

However, this arrangement was dashed by the application of the concept of perfect democracy that had seen both the Governor of Embu County and the Senator so predictably come from the Aembu ethnic community in 2017, and more specifically from Embu East Sub-County and Embu North Sub-County respectively.

Election campaigns in almost all the counties were done using the same approach and expectations with similar post-election results. Voters and local politicians had expectations that it was everyone's turn to eat. Candidates for political positions vied not as individuals but kingpins of ethnic communities. The winning Governors, Embu included, were from the majority community and had held jobs at national government level which gave such personalities the qualifications of delivering patronage (PS/AE/CLERGY/01/22, O.I., Mbeere South Sub-County, 09/09/2022; Brandon and Jacob, 2018).

Devolution therefore entrenched ethnic politics and identities in ways that some saw as mirroring colonial "tribal home guards", which linked access to patronage of resources with majoritarian ethnic communities' membership to an even greater extent than previously. The "winner takes all" concept of perfect democracy created new forms of exclusion from patronage networks. Although the Aembu were double winners; represented politically in both the national and county levels, the Ambeere would generally fit in the category of partially trapped minority who had representation at national level (Cornell & D'Arcy, 2016; Chome, 2015; Cheeseman, Lynch, and Willis, 2016; Brandon and Jacob, 2018; Jan Erk & Lawrence Anderson, 2009; Steve Ouma Akoth, 2011). However, the Akamba, Agikuyu, the Somali and the Swahili lived outside their traditional counties and together with Asians and Europeans were trapped double losers in the context of Embu County. The Ambeere were minorities in their own county just like the Kuria in Migori, the Saboat in Bungoma, the Teso in Busia and the Marakwet in Elgeyo-Marakwet.

The double losers in other counties included: the Swahili and Agikuyu in Lamu; the Akamba in Taita-Taveta and the Agikuyu in Uasin Gishu (Cornell & D’Arcy, 2016; KPHC, 1989; Jan’ Erk & Lawrence Anderson, 2009; *The Standard*, May 10, 2015).

Table 5.1: Distribution of Number of CEC Members by Sub-County of Embu County between 2017 and 2022

Sub-County	CEC Members 2017-2022	CEC Members 2022-2027	Ethnicity
Embu West	01	02	Aembu 07
Embu East	03	03	
Embu North	03	02	
Mbeere North	02	01	Ambeere
Mbeere South	02	01	02
Mwea	01	01	Akamba 01

Source: County Media Briefs (2017; 2022)

The observation based on Table 5.1 indicate that the majority of the top county officials (Governor and the CEC Members) were from the Aembu community who were domiciled in Embu west, Embu east and Embu north sub-counties. The representation of the Ambeere in these top slots has been deteriorating since 2013. The distribution of Chief officers in Embu County has favoured the Aembu ethnic community in the three national electoral cycles since 2013 (Table 5.2 refers).

Table 5.2: Distribution of Chief Officers by Sub-County of Embu County 2017-2022 and 2022-2027

Sub-County/Other Countries	CHIEF OFFICERS	
	2017-2022	2022-2027
Embu West	01	04
Embu East	06	07
Embu North	02	03
Mbeere North	01	02
Mbeere South	01	02
Mwea	01	02
Nyeri County	02	
Meru County	01	
Tharaka Nithi		01
Kirinyaga		01

Source: County Media briefs (2017; 2022)

However, every political electoral position calls for political survival and power base. The process of reward of political supporters and cronies was mostly guided by ethnic considerations (PS/AB/POL/04/22, O.I., Mbeere South Sub-County, 02/10/2022). The situation was going to be worse for the Ambeere ethnic community were BBI to succeed. An extra constituency was to be curved from Runyenjes and Manyatta constituencies making the Aembu ethnic community to have 3 constituencies while Mbeere North Constituency was to get lost leaving the Ambeere community with only 01 constituency.

Between 2014 and 2015 the Governor, Embu County sustained two upheld impeachments by both the CAE and the Senate and litigations in the High Court of Kenya and the Appeals Court. The ground for impeachment was: his refusal to act on the recommendations of the CAE and that amounted to gross violation of the Constitution and abuse of office. On 29th January, 2014 the CAE passed a motion of impeachment of Martin Nyaga Wambora, the Governor of Embu County. The Governor lodged a petition in the Embu High Court Constitutional Petition No. 8 of 2014 through Andrew Ileri Njeru and 21 others. The CAE Speaker forwarded the fact of Governor Wambora's impeachment to the Speaker of Senate. After the Special Committee of the Senate was mandated to look into the allegations, and reported back to the Senate House, the Senate voted for the removal of Martin Nyaga Wambora as Governor, Embu County by publishing the Gazette Notice No.1052 of 17th February, 2014 (KLR, 2015).

These developments took place in total contravention of interlocutory orders obtained by the appellant restraining the Speaker of Senate and the Senate from proceeding with the removal proceedings. The High Court sitting in Kerugoya ruled that the removal proceedings against the appellant were null and void, and consequently the Court restored Governor Wambora to office on its judgement of 16th April, 2014. On 29th April, 2014 the CAE commenced the removal process against Governor Wambora and passed another resolution for his removal. The Senate mandated the same members of the Special Committee that had earlier investigated the allegations of Governor Wambora during the first removal process to investigate the allegations in regard to the second removal process.

On 13th May, 2014, the Senate having received and debated the report of the Special Committee passed a resolution to remove Martin Nyaga Wambora from the office of Governor of Embu. The Governor moved to the Appeals Court in Nairobi (KLR, 2015). To cover up, two new allegations of mismanagement applied: tendering process for refurbishment of Moi Stadium in Embu and procurement and distribution of maize seedlings that never germinated. A critical analysis of this process clearly showed that it was vitiated by influence and bias of the supremacy battles between the Senators and Governors. It was not surprising that the 3 bench Appeals Court ruled on 11th December, 2015 that: the removal of a county Governor from office was not an exclusive affair of the CA and the Senate and that public participation was a pre-condition to proceedings for removal of a Governor under article 181 of the Constitution, the Governor, Embu County was not directly involved in the tendering process of the two allegations and there was no nexus between the appellant and gross violation of the Constitution (KLR, 2015). The courts had restored Governor Martin Nyaga Wambora to his official capacity.

Between 2018 and 2019 the litigations on electoral offences between Hon. Lenny Maxwell Kivuti of the Ambeere ethnic community and the then sitting Governor, His Excellency Martin Nyaga Wambora of the Aembu ethnic community polarized Embu County between the two ethnic communities as the case scaled upwards the judiciary ranks to the highest level; the SCOK (PS/AC/ACC/01/22, O.I., Mbeere North Sub-County, 08/09/2022). Election Petition No. 1 of 2017 for the Gubernatorial Elections Outcome for the August 8th 2017 General Elections in the High Court of Embu between Martin Nyaga Wambora v Lenny Maxwell Kivuti.

The issue was who between the two won the Gubernatorial Elections for Embu County. The judgement was delivered on 22nd February, 2018 where the Court declared Lenny Maxwell Kivuti the winner. Martin Wambora was also ordered to pay costs of 1.5m (KLR, 2018). Martin Nyaga Wambora appealed to the Appeals Court. The judgement was delivered on 17th August, 2018 and Governor Martin Nyaga Wambora won the appeal. Lenny Maxwell Kivuti was ordered to pay 3m fine cost. Lenny Kivuti appealed to the SCOK. In a judgement delivered by Hon Justice Mohammed Ibrahim on 9th February, 2019, the Court upheld Governor Martin Nyaga Wambora's win by 97,760 votes against Hon. Lenny Maxwell Kivuti's 96,775 votes and the latter's appeal was eventually dismissed with costs (KLR, 2018).

The characteristic ethnic political supremacy battle and polarization between the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities was heightened through these impeachments and litigations. This state of affairs appeared to manifest both the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016) due to the crave for both the Aembu and the Ambeere to see one of their own declared Governor and the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993) for the Ambeere community when the SCOK ratified the election of Hon. Martin Nyaga Wambora as Governor.

At the CAE where policy was approved, legislation done, representation done and oversight was done the configuration had failed to reflect the sub-counties or constituencies numerical balance. This automatically dis-advantaged the Ambeere MCA except in situations where the speakers ruling counted.

The CAE had 12 elected MCA from the Aembu ethnic community wards while there were 6 elected MCA from the Ambeere and 2 from the Akamba ethnic community wards in the current Mwea Sub-County. From the 10 nominated MCA in 2022-2027, 9 were women and 01 man (Table 5.3 below refers).

Table 5.3: Distribution of Nominated MCAs by Sub-County of Embu County between 2022 and 2027

Sub-County	No. of Nominated MCA's 2022-2027
Embu West	02
Embu East	02
Embu North	02
Mbeere North	01
Mbeere South	03
Mwea	Nil

Source: Field Survey (2022)

For better understanding of Kenya's elective politics where the Governor must survive politically and the concept of reward of diehard campaign supporters who needed rewards, it was understood why the nominations were skewed towards the three Aembu sub-counties. The obvious answer was that both the Governor and the DG were from the Aembu ethnic community between 2017 and 2027. The nominated members owe their direct loyalty to the Governor and are more tuned to personal benefit; which include canvassing to hype their popularity by sending more development to the ward and eventually trounce the elected MCA in subsequent elections.

When the current Governor doubles as the national Chair of the ruling UDA political party, her influence in party nominations were pivotal. However, it was fair to declare that the CAE had adhered to the constitutional gender rule of not more than 2/3 of one gender. This Constitutional gender threshold was observed in all the 03 election circles of 2013-2017, 2017-2022, and 2022-2027. In the latter case the CAE had 20 male MCAs and 10 female MCAs out of a total no. of 30 MCAs.

The period of this study was not an exception for political balkanization between the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities. This was discerned from the campaign period before the Referendum vote on 04/08/2010. While Manyatta and Runyenjes constituencies and by extension the sub-counties of Embu west, Embu east and Embu north respectively voted **Yes** for the new Constitution; Mbeere North Constituency and Mbeere South Constituency and by extension the sub-counties of Mbeere north and Mbeere south and Mwea voted **No** for the new Constitution. The Aembu voted under Party of National Unity (PNU) while the Ambeere voted under the Orange Democratic Party (ODM) (PS/AB/SPCA/01/22, O.I., Mbeere North Sub- County, 13/11/2022). The main reason as to why ethnic polarization brought about this political divisions was that devolution had ploughed back what the Ambeere had attained through decentralization by merging them once more with the Aembu ethnic community in county no. 14 called Embu County. This reminded them of the pre-1996 years' period of Embu District.

The voting pattern manifested Jubilee Party (JP) between 2013 and 2017 and United Democratic Alliance (UDA) party in 2022 for the Aembu. The voting blocks for the Ambeere was dominated by Maendeleo ChapChap (MCC) party, Bus Party (BP) and Wiper Party (WP) in the same period.

It should also be noted that during the campaign period and at times of national *matatu* strikes, cases of NENO- KETNNO public transport vehicles fracas had been witnessed between the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic community; mostly at the instigation of their sponsoring politicians (PS/AB/SPCA/01/22, O.I., Mbeere North Sub-County, 13/11/2022).

Similar fracas had been registered at Siakago and Kiritiri market in Mbeere North Sub-County and Mbeere South Sub-County which targeted the Aembu market rate charging officials for all forms of harassment (PS/AB/MCA/02/22, O.I., Mbeere North Sub County, 08/11/2022). However, ethnic targeting during political crisis was not unique to the Aembu and Ambeere. The Agikuyu were targeted by the Kalenjin in the Rift Valley of Kenya during the Post-Election Violence of 2007-2008 (IRF, 2009).

Glaring ethnic polarization was portrayed in acquisition of administrative and political units between the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities in Embu County. When Mbeere North Sub-County and Mbeere South Sub-County were established in 2009, the Aembu fought a spirited battle to have Embu North Sub-County in 2011. Mwea Sub-County was carved from Mbeere South Sub-County in July, 2022. This brought both the constituencies and sub-counties of the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic resident communities at par though the Aembu had since been struggling to have a third constituency allocated to them. Hence their support for BBI.

Many of the Akamba community had been assisted to secure land allotment by earlier relatives under the MSC. The Mbeere South Constituency voter transfer during elections from the primordial Akamba counties of Machakos, Makueni and Kitui; added to block voting, had tilted results in two election cycles between 2002 and 2007 and from 2007 to 2012.

It was now logical to argue that the Akamba community in Mwea Sub-County were going to work towards securing a new constituency called Mwea Constituency and make themselves independent from the Ambeere ethnic community in that regard (PS/AC/ACC/01/22, O.I., Mwea Sub-County, 09/09/2022). This state of affairs qualified the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016) from a governance management prism and the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993) from an ethnic polarization dimension. This was particularly so for the Ambeere whose chances of securing Mbeere County was logically very narrow.

The key scenario of polarization between the Aembu and the Ambeere in this regard was seen in the unequal distribution of wards in the CAE where Manyatta and Runyenjes constituencies had a total of 12 MCA as opposed to Mbeere north and Mbeere south constituencies which had a total of 08 elected MCA. The CAE debates could therefore be skewed in favour of the Aembu depending on the sensitivity of the matter for the vote. This scenario was made worse for the Ambeere by the fact that it was majoritarian political parties who fielded the 10 MCA nominees based on the numerical numbers of the MCA political party representation in the CAE.

The Aembu ethnic community automatically held the upper hand over the Ambeere added to the position of Leader of the Majority in the CAE (PS/AB/MCA/02/22, O.I., Mbeere North Sub-County, 02/10/2022; CGA, 2012; CAE Standing Orders). The scenario espoused was aligned to the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016) from a governance conceptual eye glasses and the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Leaner (1993) from the ethnic polarization viewpoint.

Although to completely eliminate polarization was out of the question, the Ambeere found themselves trapped and some of them complacent, thus abiding by the decisions of the Aembu majority. The fact of being partially trapped at the county for the Ambeere was a reality. In one of the most glaring cases of ethnic polarization and subsequent governance the Aembu had secured the position of the Governor for the third electoral cycle: 2013 to 2017, 2017 to 2022 and 2022 to 2027. This was a clear case of the fact that perfect democracy was at times brutal and unfairly limiting. What that meant was that the Aembu ethnic community had numerically dominated the plum position of the CGE. Heightened ethnicity was a product of perfect democracy (Cornell & D'Arcy, 2016; Brendon and Jacob, 2018).

However, for two electoral cycles; 2013 to 2017 and 2017 to 2022 scathing court litigations laced with this ethnic polarization between the Aembu and the Ambeere would stop at the apex court in Kenya: the SCOK. The aftermath of such battles was diehard ethnic re-assertiveness and a display of entrenched ethnic laced governance and polarization.

All previously enacted Memorandums of Understanding (MOU) between the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities on power sharing at the Governor's position in the CGE glided to a noxious halt (PS/AE/CLERGY/01/22, O.I., Mbeere South Sub County, 09/09/2022). The scenario described tends to be in sync with the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothschild (2016) from a governance disposition and the Rising Expectations=Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993) anchored in ethnic polarization. This clearly put the Ambeere ethnic community at a disadvantage. What would rescue the Ambeere was the emergence of a political elite whose personality clout was endearing to both the Aembu and the Ambeere. It should be noted that Uganda and Rwanda had posed a situation where a minority ethnic community had risen to the helm to secure the presidency. However, in the case of South Sudan where the Dinka formed the majority ethnic community, the opposition had been formidable because the Nuer made alliances with other minority ethnic groups to clinch a coalition government between President Salva Kiir and his one-time deputy, Dr. Riek Machar. When the opposition was out of government, political insecurity and warfare was witnessed (*The East African*, 2023).

From an historical context, it should be noted that the Shona were themselves enslaved by the minority Ndebele before Lobengula was duped by Christian missionaries and British South Africa Company (BSACO) operatives of Cecil Rhodes to sign the Rudd Concession of 30th October, 1888. The Ndebele Resistance of 1893 and the Shona-Ndebele Resistance of 1896-1897 was an attempt by the Ndebele to re-assert their hegemony over the Shona from the BSACO (Davidson, 1969).

The Ambeere experience political domination from the Aembu but there was no time ever when they had control over the Aembu. It should also be noted that the Ndebele minority were able to control the Shona up to about 1893 because of their military superiority.

Faced with a very strong opposition, the late President Robert Mugabe witnessed political disharmony and its associated ills. It became logical for the President to romp the late Morgan Tsvangirai of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) into a power sharing government as Prime Minister in 2009. Although the ethnicity of the two was Shona, electoral violence and ethnic tensions between the Shona moderates and the Ndebele who were enlisted party members of the MDC had to be eased (*Reuters*, 2009).

The center-peripheral relations in state decentralization as a strategy of poverty reduction in Africa that was synonymous with county-sub-county relations for marginalized sub-county residents was a reality in Kenya (Crook, 2003).

The local political elites in the counties; MCAs as long as they were well connected to the political party leadership at the national level, irrespective of whether ruling or opposition; were less interested in eradicating poverty for the electorate citizens. They were driven by acquisition of personal wealth maximization through misappropriating public funds as a way of ensuring the enjoyment of the spoils of devolution. They were insulated from any punitive action from the center (Olson, 2000; Cornell and D'Arcy, 2016).

In scenarios of underdevelopment and inequality like in Embu County between the Aembu and the Ambeere inequality divide, voters often demanded private rather than public goods. It was only the political heavy weight with enormous resources at their disposal who were able to engender clientelism, rent-seeking and patronage.

National institutions were undermined by devolution as it re-routed resources and patronage networks downwards. The Judiciary's failure to deter and prosecute corruption was therefore understood as a fault of the Kenya judges to choreographically forestall the EACC (Githae, 2016: 338; Osiro, 2016; Hope, 2017a; Rotberg, 2017: 94, 152). Halakhe Waqo, the then CEO of EACC noted that corruption had increased exponentially since the inception of devolution, and that county officials had devolved corruption from the center to the periphery (Baraza, 2017).

National government derailed devolution by disagreeing with county budget allocations and slowing financial disbursement towards devolution (*Daily Nation*, March 22, 2013). The Governor of the CGE held an office that was naturally ethnicized due to the ethnic competition stakes in the position. The demographic numbers in a situation of perfect democracy favoured the Aembu ethnic community. Although at odd times the Ambeere had fielded one candidate for the position so as to cash in on the Mwea Sub-County Akamba voters, the same did not work between 2017 and 2022 because of the difficulty of defeating the incumbency in the politics of Kenya in general.

The Akamba were also contented with one of their own as a MONA who held a CDF kitty. They usually supported the stronger person for the position of Governor so as not to suffer alienation on two fronts; that was both from the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities. For three electoral cycles, the Governor's position was scooped by the Aembu and in the 2017 and 2022 electoral cycles, the Deputy Governor (DG) had also come from the Aembu ethnic community.

However, the only time the gender rule was not observed in the position of Governor and DG for the CGE was the 2nd electoral cycle of 2017-2022. This trend had attracted a lot of animosity from the Ambeere ethnic community who were in favour of the 2013 executive arrangement. This made it an uphill task to develop a solid ethnic co-existence between the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities in Embu County (PS/AB/POL/01/22, O.I., Embu East Sub-County, 02/10/2022).

The court litigations ending in the apex SCOK in the two electoral cycles of 2013 and 2017 had galvanized ethnic polarization between the Aembu ethnic communities and the Ambeere ethnic communities. In 2013 it was the CAE but at the center was the SPCA from Mbeere North Sub-County and on the wings was the then Senator.

Similarly, from Mbeere North Sub-County and the then DG curiously from Mbeere South Sub-County all of whom were Ambeere in ethnicity. The then Governor of the CGE was of the Aembu ethnicity from Embu East Sub-County. This kind of obvious historical development and trend had made the Aembu hold the Ambeere with characteristic mistrust and suspicion. On their part the Ambeere ethnic community perfectly knew as it were that political populist merit automatically excluded them from the positions of Governor and DG of the CGE.

That explained why both the Governor and DG of the CGE had come from the Aembu ethnic communities in the last two electoral cycles of 2017 and 2022. In 2017, it was a Governor's contestant loser and ethnic kingpin of the Ambeere ethnic community who openly contested the Gubernatorial results all the way to the SCOK (PS/AB/MCA/01/22, O.I., Mbeere North Sub-County, 02/10/2022).

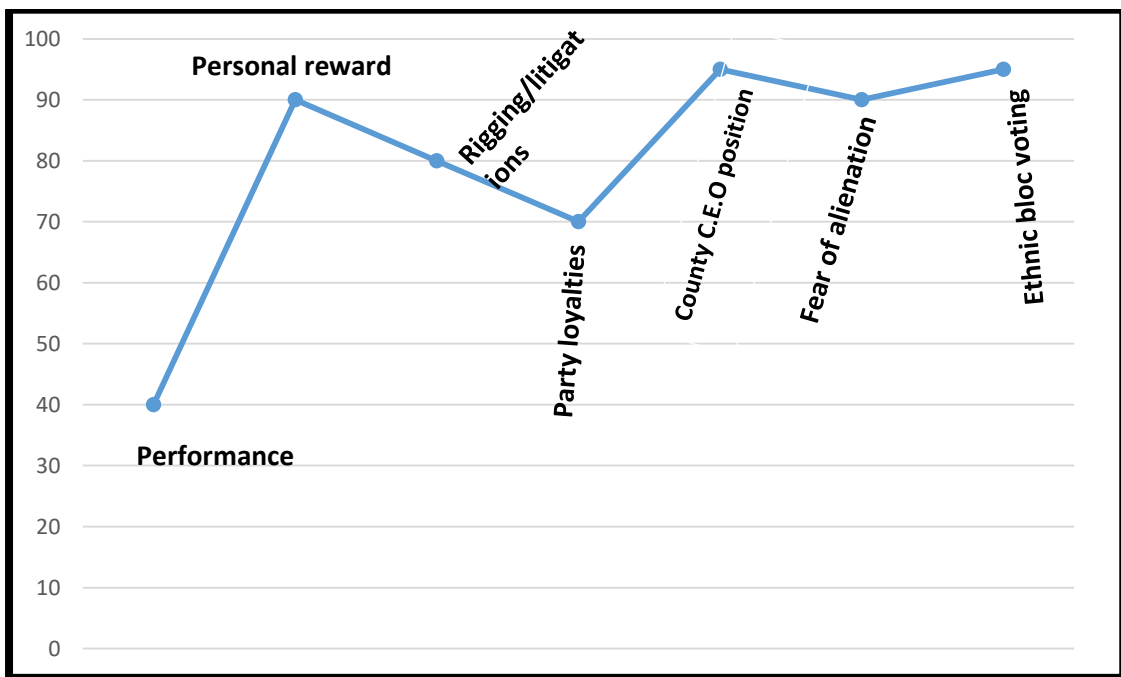
When ethnic tensions were driven by such passions and sentiments, it was logical to conclude that the top brass of the chief officers of the CGE had more officers from the 3 Aembu ethnic community sub-counties of Embu west, Embu east and Embu north as opposed to the 3 Ambeere ethnic community sub-counties of Mbeere north, Mbeere south and Mwea respectively over the three electoral cycles of 2013, 2017 and 2022.

The ethnic patronage by the larger communities was instructive of the CEC Members across all the 47 counties between 2017 and 2022. The NCIC indicated that 27 counties, Embu County included, had breached the legal requirements of ethnic balance in their personnel establishments; with 16 counties having mono-ethnic CEC Members (See Plate 5.6). Devolution for the Aembu therefore fulfilled their "turn to eat" (PS/AB/MCA/02/22, O.I., Mbeere North Sub-County, 02/10/2022; *The Standard*. May 10, 2015). The scenario played out forecasts the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016) from a governance disposition and the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993) from an ethnic polarization dimension.

The Aembu ethnic community in Manyatta and Runyenjes constituencies represented by the Embu West Sub-County, Embu East Sub-County and Embu North Sub-County mostly practice bloc voting and were generally pro-government. In that regard the Aembu voted for JP in 2013 and 2017 while they voted for UDA party in 2022.

On the contrary the Ambeere voters in the constituencies of Mbeere North and Mbeere South sub-counties voted on ODM, WP, MCC, BS, Democratic Party (DP) and the Independent Party (IP). The current MONA for Mbeere North Constituency and MONA for Mbeere South Constituency were voted in under the last two political parties respectively. This has resulted to difficulties while attempting to resolve polarization in the governance in Embu County; (Figure 5.4 refers).

Figure 5.4: A Line Graph Showing the Political Challenges in Resolving Ethnic Polarization in Embu County



Source: Field Survey (2022)

The frosty relationship between the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic community had made the Senate House to officially and legislatively be petitioned to establish the Mbeere County that was to be carved from Embu County on 20/01/2023. If this development were to be approved, the Ambeere ethnic community and the Aembu ethnic community would be separated.

5.7 Summary

This chapter dealt with objective two and was indicative of the fact that decentralization in Kenya was a strong transition from the colonial government period; particularly in the relationship between the national and the county level of government. The Bretton Woods Institutions (BWI) and the former colonial master dispatched conditional foreign aid for its success. At the same time, political leadership and goodwill that was attached to ethnic kingpins determined where development was directed by the national government. There were sufficient legal statutory policy documents supported by a robust checks and balances that enabled the CGE and the CAE to seamlessly operate under the helm of a Governor from any of the 6 sub-counties in Embu County. The greatest impediment to this trajectory was ethnicity, exclusiveness, skewed inclusiveness, corruption and sheer lack of political goodwill to bring about socio-economic egalitarianism to all the Embu County residents. It was plausible to discern from both the structural and skewed factors of ethnic polarization in Embu County between the Aembu ethnic community and the Ambeere ethnic communities that ethnic polarization happened in context. These factors were categorized into economic, social and political dimensions.

Perfect democracy in a heterogeneous ethnic set up never brought outright condemnation or right in issues that brought out such ethnic polarization because such sentiments usually had a bearing to the general livelihood of either the Aembu or the Ambeere communities. The issue of ethnic polarization needed sober negotiations, mediations and interventions for smooth ethnic co-existence. In a governance model that was guided by the state statutes, it would be rational to embrace the notion and value that unity and impartial value addition was even more progressive in ethnic diversity.

CHAPTER SIX

6.0 INTERVENTIONS OFFERED BY DEVOLVED GOVERNANCE TO MITIGATE ETHNIC POLARIZATION IN EMBU COUNTY, KENYA BETWEEN 2013 AND 2023.

6.1 Overview

Ethnic co-existence between the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities would be the best game changer for the holistic development of Embu County. Chapter six attempted to explore on some interventions that devolution could employ to tone down or possibly vanquish ethnic polarization among the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities in Embu County. The value of this effort was to engender both legality and legitimacy in the governance of Embu County. The underlying dividends were to be holistic economic, social and political development not only of the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities but all the other ethnic residents of Embu County. Devolution as a model of governance, offered the possibility of protecting the ethnic minorities, diffuse conflicts, boost local development and access robust politics within the grip of the resident citizens (Cornell and D’Arcy, 2016). Devolution was also created by a broad based citizenly motivated to defend devolution against national state subversion. Political losers could make alliances with the county level politics and aid the Governors in their struggle with the national government. Reforms which ran counter to the interests of the national government received popular support for implementation at the county levels (Cornell & D’Arcy, 2016).

The CGAA, 2014 had put Senators in charge of development committees for deciding on the development projects and involved all MONA within the county, including the W Rep. The national government in counties stepped up regulation of counties to entrench control and relevance. However, all this only depended on the goodwill of the Governors and could be hampered by bureaucratic hardships. It should also be noted that MONA and Senators had legislative and oversight powers, and Governors had executive powers and played a key role in how resources were disbursed. Similarly, all county leaders were expected to maintain high levels of integrity and ensure the interests of their county residents were upheld (PFMA, 2014; COK, 2010 Chapter 6).

6.2 Economic Interventions Through Which Ethnic Polarization were to be Mitigated in Embu County

Although the Aembu ethnic community residents of Embu west, Embu east and Embu north sub-counties were not all economically endowed, greater emphasis should be focused on the Ambeere ethnic community residents of Mbeere north, Mbeere south and Mwea sub-counties. Mbeere south, Mbeere north and Mwea sub-counties produced the best mangoes when the rains were reliable and sufficient.

Miraa had provided an economic game changer particularly in Mbeere north and Mbeere south sub-counties. At the same time the 2 sub-counties produced very fine honey. There was need to urgently establish a mango juice, *miraa* and honey processing factory in both the sub-counties. This would go a long way in promoting economic empowerment to the Ambeere residents of Mbeere north and Mbeere south sub-counties.

However, *Miraa* processing factories should also be established in Embu east and some parts of Embu west sub-counties where the crop did well. Ethnic polarization would largely be diffused between the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities of Embu County due to this economic empowerment (PS/AC/CHIEF/02/22, O.I., Mbeere North Sub-County, 16/09/2022). The urge to see the Ambeere ethnic community attain economic empowerment as their Aembu counterpart and the gradual loss of faith in devolution gave credence to the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016).

The CGE and the National Government ought to collaborate in order to distribute seeds, subsidized seedlings and fertilizer to the residents of Mbeere south, Mbeere north and Mwea sub-counties on the onset of rains to encourage afforestation, conservation of the environment, increase food productivity and generate pasture for livestock. During the occasional drought spells, the two levels of Government had to strategize in the CIF to institute a LOP in order to cushion the livestock farmers from total financial loss (PS/AB/POL/01/22, Mbeere South Sub-County, 02/10/2022; Mugo, 2021). The CGE and the National Government had to focus on repair of road networks in Mbeere north, Mbeere south and Mwea sub-counties; particularly the ones that led to bricks and sand source areas. The NG CDF had to embark on refurbishing works started by the current MONA of Mbeere South Constituency (2022-2027) for National Government category of roads. The CGE through the MCAs needed to attend to their own category of road networks in Mbeere north, Mbeere South and Mwea sub-counties. This infrastructure development initiatives were to bring these Ambeere sub-counties at par with the elaborate ones in Embu west, Embu east and Embu north sub-counties and eventually tone down ethnic polarization between the Aembu and the Ambeere in Embu County.

This scenario conformed to both the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016) and the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993) as far as the Aembu and the Ambeere were concerned respectively. However, some roads in the eastern parts of Embu West Sub-County required some attention too.

It was also important to note that although the *boda-boda* transport played a crucial economic part in the transport sector, its activities in fueling intra and inter-ethnic flares had to be regulated more so in Siakago Town; Mbeere North Sub-County and in Embu Town; Embu West Sub-County, (PA/AC/DCC/01/22, O.I., Mwea Sub-County, 09/09/2022; GOK, 2011; GOK, 2023).

The CGE had to ensure that the roads going to the sand and bricks harvesting sports in Mbeere north and Mbeere south sub-counties were in their best order for the Lorries doing that business. At the same time the Ambeere residents complained that the transport levy officers all spoke Kiambu language. Personnel rationalization was needed so as to employ more of the Ambeere ethnic community members in this area; just as most of the officers who cramped vehicles in Embu Town in Embu West Sub-County spoke pure Kiambu dialects.

The Ambeere community were worried by this trend of discrimination. The scenario depicted ascribed to both the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016) due to skewed ethnic hiring and the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993) since the Ambeere felt that they were not considered in sharing the benefits of devolution even at casual labourer's level of employment.

This rationalization of staff composition by the CGE would go a long way in bringing down ethnic polarization in Embu County (PS/AC/CHIEF/02/22, O.I., Mbeere South Sub-County, 04/10/2022; Mugo, 2021). The ICT sector had become a first-class employer of the youth in Kenya. Subsequently the GOK needed to collaborate in earnest through the CIF that brought together the two levels of Government to put in place fiber cables for internet connectivity. Both levels of Government required to institute a humane tax regime that kept the youth afloat in business.

The Finance Bill 2023 was expected to exercise reserved caution to cushion this sector of enterprising Kenyans (GOK, 2023). It was important to note that this infrastructure was more elaborately done in Embu west, Embu east and Embu north sub-counties that served the Aembu ethnic community compared to the low levels of the same in Mbeere north, Mbeere south and Mwea sub-counties that served the Ambeere ethnic community. The scenario in question was in tandem with both the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016) and the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations by Huntington and Learner (1993) when the situations of the Aembu and the Ambeere were subjected to a casual audit in this particular area.

6.3 Social Interventions Through Which Ethnic Polarization were to be Mitigated in Embu County

The CGE (2022-2027) hit the ground running and ensured that all health facilities were well supplied with drugs through a transparent and accountable drugs and equipment procurement and distribution system that had been vetted by politicians and technocrats in the health sector. The variety of health equipment allegedly irregularly transferred out of the Embu Level 5 Hospital to private enterprises between 2017 and 2022 had to be recaptured using all the legal fidelity means (PS/AD/MEDIA/02/22, O.I., Embu West Sub-County, 14/10/2022; GOK, 2010; GOK, 2011; GOK, 2012; GOK, 2015).

However, there was need to balance the public health facilities in the three sub-counties of Embu west, Embu east and Embu north that served the Aembu ethnic community to match the equitable numbers to the sub-counties that served the Ambeere ethnic communities. This stint of inequality could be inclined to the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993). Water for irrigation and domestic use ought to be connected through national and CGE and private sector co-operation. This would ensure that the Ambeere ethnic community was food sufficient throughout the year. The food supply gap between them and the Aembu ethnic community would be narrowed down (PS/AC/DCC/01/2022, O.I., Mbeere South Sub-County, 09/09/2022; GOK, 2023; Mugo, 2021). It was important to note that this lack of a basic resource that the Ambeere would have wanted to see done by devolution in Embu County was inclined to the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993).

One modern stadium was built in Embu West Sub-County and an Olympic Games and sports complex was planned at Njukiri Show Ground which was also domiciled in Embu West Sub-County. As much as there were taxpayers amongst the Ambeere ethnic community in Embu County, it was logical to argue that these public utilities mostly served the Aembu ethnic community. In order to ease spirited passions of ethnic polarization amongst the Ambeere ethnic community, there was urgent need to build a similar stadium in a connectivity well served town like Kiritiri or Machang'a area. However, there were open allegations that the Moi Stadium was funded, built and completed in the 2017-2022 electoral cycle at very exorbitant cost but very shoddy job was done after all.

The stadium was an object of corrupt procurement deals that needed to be legally resolved (GOK, 2011; GOK, 2012; GOK, 2015). In the meantime, the CGE through the CAE needed to institute allocation of specific days programmed for use of this stadium by the Aembu residents of Embu west, Embu east and Embu north sub-counties; and the Ambeere residents of Mbeere north, Mbeere south and Mwea sub-counties (James Nyaga, Bus/man, O.I., Mbeere South Sub-County, 28/08/2022). The scenario depicted accrued support in both the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016) and the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993) when one reflected on how the situation on the ground affected the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities respectively.

Though the establishment of a diocese was a rigorous initiative whose final verdict would ultimately come from His Pontiff the Pope in Rome, just like the Anglican faithful among the Ambeere, ethnic polarization would be toned down if a Catholic diocese were to be carved for them from the current Catholic Diocese of Embu. A new diocesan headquarters for the Catholic worshippers would be established in one of the sub-counties domiciled for the Ambeere ethnic community (PS/AE/CLERGY/01/22, O.I., Mbeere North Sub-County, 08/09/2022). This would separate the Anglican and the Catholic worshippers of the Ambeere ethnic community and the Aembu ethnic community and thus enhance the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016) as opposed to the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993) which had persisted for long.

Although social interactions were to ever be encouraged at school and religious institutions level, individual initiatives like marriage and its associated rites of passage ceremonies and social welfare groups had not sufficiently been able to cement cordial and vibrant relations between the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities. Robust social initiatives that enveloped the entire community's benefit carried the day (Njiru Kang'oroti, Farmer, O.I., Mwea Sub-County, 30/08/2022). Ethnic polarization governance between the Aembu and the Ambeere affected the CGE at both levels of government.

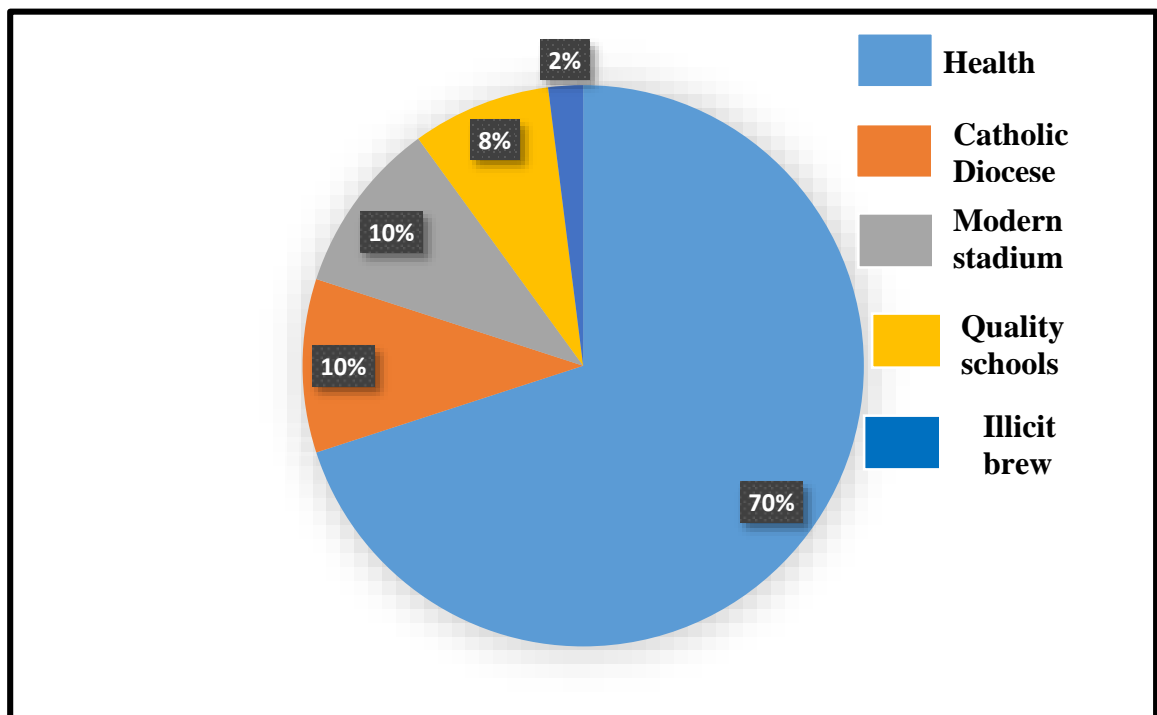
Despite the fact that Education was not a devolved function (COK, 2010) it was imperative for the CIF to swiftly earmark and elevate a school like Nyangwa Boys High School in Mbeere South Sub-County to a quality public school at the level of Siakago Girls National School so as to have at least 2 quality public schools among the Ambeere ethnic community to match the more than 8 quality public schools that were currently serving the Aembu ethnic community. The best school administrators had to be appointed to these schools so as to retain the identity of quality public schools (GOK, 2010; GOK, 2012; GOK, 2013; GOK, 2015; GoK, 2011; PS/AD/MEDIA/01/22, O.I., Embu West Sub-County, 14/09/2022).

The subsistence of such glaring inequality in quality public secondary schools including skewed disbursement of CGE bursary funds to students from secondary level to university among the Ambeere ethnic community viz-a viz the Aembu ethnic community had to stop. This behaviour was resonated with both the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016) and the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993).

It was important to note that though the lives of every resident of Embu County were to be factored in any social welfare benefits, focus on the youth was to be prioritized. This was because of their sheer numbers and the fact that they could be nurtured and relied upon to enhance the concept of the African extended families. In that regard worrying revelations had been sounded by the National Authority for Campaign against Alcohol and Drug Abuse (NACADA) in their research done between 2018 and 2023 that the youth were the greatest culprits of drug and substance abuse.

The Mt. Kenya region was third in terms of prevalence figures that stood at 12.8 %. This was an endemic problem in all the six sub-counties of Embu County (GoK, 2018-2023).

Figure 6.1: A Pie Chart Showing the Social Interventions Offered by Devolved County Government to Resolve Ethnic Polarization in Embu County



Source: Field Survey (2022)

From Figure 6.1 Health issues had the highest percentage of 70% in solutions offered by county government in devolution as the School Scored (8%), Church (10%), as illicit brew scored a very minute Percentage of (2%) in terms of interventions. Over 43 residents of Embu County died after consuming illicit brew called *Kathavuria* in Shauri Yako Slum of Embu West Sub-County. Another 5 died of the same in Mwea ward of Mwea Sub-County (Muchiri, 2014; <https://www.k24tv.co.ke>, 2022).

There was vehement blame, particularly from the Ambeere ethnic community that it was the CGE that was not serious in liquor licensing, corruption and ineptitude of the public health sector. The situation that played out was consistent with the Hegemonic Exchange Theory (2016) by Rothchild since most of the CGE management personnel were from the Aembu ethnic community. However, the CIF should develop robust ways to save the lives of vulnerable youth in this respect.

6.4 Political Interventions Through Which Ethnic Polarization were to be Mitigated in Embu County

The political set up and atmosphere between the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities was characterized by rising turbulence since independence. At the onset of devolution in 2013 the political luminaries that represented the two ethnic communities crafted a MOU that preferred negotiated democracy as opposed to perfect democracy on the position of the county Governor. The position of Governor was to be rotational after the Aembu community served the two terms of office. This was consistent with the MOU for the position of the President in 2013. The first Governor came from the Aembu ethnic community while the first lady DG came from the Ambeere ethnic community.

The constitutional threshold of gender for the office of county Governorship was legally and legitimately complied to (PA/AE/CLERGY/01/22, O.I., Mbeere South Sub-County, 09/09/2022; GOK, 2010). Devolution in the CGE had therefore brought commendable political calm between the Aembu ethnic community and the Ambeere ethnic community. This kind of backdrop was consistent with the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016).

It was curious that as long as the Embu County Senator (ECS) came from the Ambeere community, the passion to heighten ethnic tension and polarization rose tremendously. Although in 2013 this position adopted perfect democracy to produce a winner, in 2022 it was through a compromise candidate. The tension had since emerged with the new demand in the Senate to hive Mbeere County from Embu County dated 20/01/2023.

Hardline opinions on whether the status quo for Embu County should be maintained played out the ethnic polarization realities as the Aembu ethnic community supported it while the Ambeere ethnic community were resolute on secession as shown in table 6.1 below.

Table 6.1: Sample Size Resident Vote per Sub-County on ‘Yes’ or ‘No’ to Secession of the Ambeere Ethnic Community from Embu County

Sub-County	Yes	No	Neutral	Total
Embu West	05	20	04	29
Embu East	02	19	02	23
Embu North	03	15	Nil	18
Mbeere North	19	01	Nil	20
Mbeere South	18	02	01	21
Mwea	08	10	01	19
Total	55	67	8	130

Source: Field Survey (2022)

It should not be lost that the Senate House bore the constitutional mandate to oversight the CGE and the executive. The initiative to brew problems must come from the CAE so that the Senate House took it up (GOK, 2010; GOK, 2012).

Under the circumstances, the Governor needed to sustain the high notch cordial relations with the Speaker of the CAE. A glaring loophole of an Ambeere senator, DG and SPCA must therefore be avoided in order to diffuse ethnic polarization as it happened in 2013. The scenario that played out in this regard was keenly associated with both the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016) and the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993) with regard to the Aembu and the Ambeere communities.

The political atmosphere in 2022-2027 was reminiscent of the Appeasement Policy marshalled by the Allied Powers of Britain and France to appease Germany between 1933 and 1939. The latter pushed ahead to form the Axis powers from 1936 and the Second World War broke out in 1939 (Morgenthau, 2007). If negotiated democracy were given a chance in two electoral cycles (2013-2017) and (2022-2027) where decisive decisions to secede had been taken, it was logically safe for the Aembu ethnic community to use perfect democracy and only dish out the position of either the DG or the SPCA in order to mutilate the strong passions of ethnic polarization. This situation seemed to align with the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993). However, with the clamour for legalization of the Ward Development Fund (WDF) by MCAs there was need to equalize the number of wards among the Ambeere ethnic community to that among the Aembu ethnic community by allocating 2 extra for Mwea, 1 extra for Mbeere south, and 1 extra for Mbeere north sub-counties.

This initiative between the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic community would not only introduce the Akamba as a game changer during voting but also increase the quality of debate for the CAE. Just as there were two municipal councils serving the three sub-counties of the Aembu, proactive politics needed to approve the establishment of 01 extra municipal council at Kiritiri Town in Mbeere South Sub-County (PA/AE/CLERGY/02/22, O.I., Mbeere South Sub-County, 09/09/2022). What played out in this respect was consistent with the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016).

The political leadership of the CGE (2022-2027), to consolidate all the affiliate parties of the ruling political party and give political direction as the national Chairperson of the UDA ruling political party was commendable. The initiative was more pragmatic in that even the MONA for Mbeere South Constituency (2022-2027) who was elected on an independent candidate ticket was ushered into the fold of the UDA ruling political party coalition.

This aggressive attrition of the opposition political parties helped to establish a common voting bloc in Embu County. The unique political drive would disable the tendons of ethnic polarization between the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities in Embu County (PS/AD/MEDIA/02/22, O.I., Embu West Sub-County, 14/09/2022). The scenario portrayed in this respect was consistent with both the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016) and the Rising Expectations led to Rising Frustrations Theory by Huntington and Learner (1993).

Messages of appeal were being used in political rallies, social media platforms, schools and churches that urged the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities to treat each other with respect and honour and freely integrate with honesty as brothers and sisters. This deliberate personal and group initiatives cemented cordial ethnic relations and the recognition of the fact that all had the personal obligation to build a strong county where all co-existed peacefully as citizens of Kenya (PS/AC/DCC/01/22, O.I., Mwea Sub-County, 09/09/2022). What played out in this section was closely implied in the Hegemonic Exchange Theory by Rothchild (2016).

6.5 Summary

Politics was the main driver of the economy in any state through the exercise of fidelity to party manifesto. The CGE was not an exemption. The concept of the Aembu ethnic community having excluded the Ambeere ethnic community for a long period of time is already ingrained consistently from one generation to the other. It was no wonder that hardline decisions had dominated the psyche of either of these two ethnic communities and the passion of the Ambeere to secede from Embu County in all aspects had ever gained currency. The community had proved difficult to appease and toning down the ethnic polarization in Embu County had to loop in wider and superior institutional intervention. However, whatever initiative was engaged to end ethnic polarization in Embu County, the national government needed to play her constitutional duty of timely releasing the devolution share of funds to the county and all the loopholes of corruption had to be sealed in all avenues of institutional governance of Embu County.

CHAPTER SEVEN

7.0 SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND AREAS FOR FURTHER STUDY

7.1 Overview

Chapter Seven formed the last part of this thesis as guided by the three research objectives. The summary of the major research findings was configured from the research objectives following a systematic sequence; research questions and validation of the research hypotheses. The conclusion part was derived from logical statements discerned from the research findings and recommendations and gaps identified but within the confines of the research objectives.

The summary of the research findings provided a basis for the research recommendations section based on the logical content and sequence of the research objectives, research questions and research hypotheses. Areas for further research were discerned from the broader and associated perspective of the independent and dependent variables. This area formed the last section of Chapter Seven.

7.2 Summary of Main Research Findings

This section was logically and insightfully discerned from the Economic, Social and Political sub-themes of the research objectives among the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities. It gave focus to both decentralization and devolution modes of governance but keenly traced the development of ethnic polarization between the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities from the pre-colonial period to 2023. This section satisfied the Research Questions and validated the Research Hypotheses.

Both the Aembu and the Ambeere kept livestock during the pre-colonial period. Land belonged to clans and its extent and distribution was regulated by the Council of Elders. The Council of Elders regulated every aspect of land use and appropriation during the pre-colonial period among the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities. The Council of Elders regulated and vetted crucial events within the clans and society at large. Decentralization as an engine of economic development started in Embu County in 1924 through the formation of the LNC. The communities that formed Embu District during the colonial period included the Aembu, Ambeere, Ndia and Gichugu. The LNC was ran through local tax levies and grants from the national government. Local markets and provision of housing in the African urban settlements was run by the LNCs.

In the social findings, the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities had learnt the art of circumcision from the Maasai during the pre-colonial period. Circumcision was the gateway to key participation and recognition in the society for both the male and the female; though the patriarchal structure of the society was highly maintained. The Council of Elders ensured that the initiation ceremonies for a new Age-Set were announced and carried out in the timeliest manner, administered oaths and adopted famine refugees who were distributed to the various clans. During the colonial period, the European Christian Missionaries set up mission centers, schools and hospitals in the 3 resident sub-counties of the Aembu ethnic community up to 1960. However, the CMS were the first to settle at Kigari area; Embu District, in present day Embu North Sub-County under Rev. John Comley in 1910.

African communities operated both centralization and decentralization in the pre-colonial period. This informed the British application of either indirect rule or direct rule to administer particular communities within their colonial sphere of influence. Decentralization applied to the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities. Each of them had warriors who belonged to different Age-Sets. The warriors defended their communities from external aggression and carried out raids against each other and neighbouring communities. During this time livestock raids were common between the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities, conflicts on livestock grazing lands and placement of traditional land beacons prevailed. The Council of Elders swiftly solved such inter-ethnic polarization between the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities. In times of relative peace, raids were carried out by the Aembu against the Ambeere ethnic community purely to capture girls for the warrior's periodic emotional upkeep. During the colonial period, decentralization was designed to serve the central government under the vetting of the DC. The LNC served the interests of African communities in all the parts of the British Colony. However, the interests of the few Africans who were resident in major urban centers such as Nairobi, Kisumu, Nakuru and Eldoret where the Municipal Boards of the DCs operated were represented by the DC. This was because all the members of the Boards were either Asians or Europeans. Unlike the LNC which subsidized their expenditures with local taxes and levies, all the funding of the DCs came from the central government up to 1962. Historical polarization of the Ambeere against the Aembu ethnic community on the basis of the latter's socio-economic head start became reinforced and entrenched during the colonial period.

It was important to note that the Aembu were intensely polarized against the Ambeere ethnic community during the State of Emergency because the Ambeere failed to join them in the Mt. Kenya Forest in the *Mau- Mau* War of Independence.

Decentralization was adopted in Kenya between 1963 and 2012 because it was supported by donors such as the WB, IMF and other bilateral state donors. Unlike during the colonial period when decentralization was manned on easily changed Colonial Ordinances, it was given legislative force through the LGA, Chap 265 of 1963.

Objective 01, research question 01 and hypothesis 01 were tackled.

Between 1963 and 2013 Embu town located in Embu West Sub-County was both the decentralized and devolved headquarters for both the Aembu and Ambeere. In decentralization cash crop agriculture in tea, coffee and tobacco were enhance. Infrastructural development in terms of government offices for public officers, usable roads and convenient business premises thrived for the 3 Aembu sub-counties.

Both private and public hospitals, schools, residential facilities with good social amenities increased. The Embu County council that supplemented national government service delivery was established in 1967 to cover both the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities. The municipal council of Embu which covered both the Aembu and the Ambeere communities was given by the national government in 1977. The county council of Mbeere was given in 1996. Economic development was hastened in Embu East Sub- County when Runyenjes Town Council was elevated to municipal council in 1999.

Although it was not a unique matter to Embu County, ethnic polarization led to the division of the Anglican Church Diocese of Embu into the ACK Diocese of Embu and ACK Diocese of Mbeere in 1996.

Decentralization catalyzed the consolidation of the incumbent president's power through political patronage. Although the Ambeere blame their political marginalization on the Aembu political elites, it should be appreciated that the oldest and longest serving political elite came from the Ambeere community. The community had not suffered a structural leadership vacuum since 1988. Based on the summary of findings discussed, objective 2, research question 2 and hypothesis 2 were dully tackled.

Since 2013, the 3 Aembu sub-counties had received enormous support from the CGE in improving their Coffee, Tea, Macadamia and Hass Avocado. However, the Catholic Church had initiated Hass Avocado growing in Evurore Division of Mbeere North Sub-County. Political leaders among the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities were evaluated on basis of their ability to channel economic resources to the electorates at local levels. It was important to note that the lack of co-operative approach on *Miraa* and livestock farming in the 3 resident sub-counties of the Ambeere ethnic community was a factor of ethnic polarization against the Aembu ethnic community.

Ethnic polarization also extended to the land allotment conflicts in the MSS which was then in the larger Mbeere South Sub-County where the CGE played the role of arbiter from 2017-2022. In doing so, the top cohort of the county technocrats who were mostly members of the Aembu ethnic community and a few national government officers from diverse ethnicities and other national political luminaries, allotted to themselves thousands of MSS riparian land.

Clientelism and rent seeking by the political elite manifested economic corruption in Embu County. Kenya's extractive political institutions had devised a way to extractive economic institutions which enriched a few at the expense of the majority.

Although systemic corruption existed in the decentralization period, the situation was worse under devolution due to the huge financial resources dispatched to the County by the national government under constitutional safeguards of independent transfer of functions. Under the circumstances, the Aembu had held the Governor's position for the 3rd electoral cycle with all indication that this situation was tenable even beyond 2027.

This had certainly intensified ethnic polarization between the Ambeere and the Aembu ethnic communities. The gatekeeper institutions that fought against corruption in Kenya were toothless, inept, and highly politicized. Economic protectionism by the Ambeere against the Aembu had posed a great challenge towards a seamless ethnic co-existence between the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities in Embu County.

Similarly, the public transport system was used by both the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities as an avenue of ethnic polarization through their attachment to NENO and KETNNO SACCOs. Glaring ethnic polarization was canvassed by the Ambeere ethnic community against the Aembu ethnic community by being slapped with prohibitive land price sales and business rentals. Infrastructural development was extensive and elaborate in the 3 sub-counties serving the Aembu ethnic community but the same was in a deplorable state in the 3 Ambeere sub-counties of Mbeere north, Mbeere south and Mwea. However, the current MONA for Mbeere South Constituency had portrayed desirable servant leadership qualities.

He had hit the ground running by refurbishing the national government roads. This was an indication that an electorate sensitive political leader could act transparently and accountably to empower the community and by extension diffuse the tides of ethnic polarization between the Aembu and the Ambeere. Modern market stalls were in place in all sub-counties serving the Aembu ethnic community, including a 4 storied market complex inaugurated by President William Ruto on Friday: 26th May, 2023 in Embu West Sub-County. The CGE had to do the same in Siakago and Mwea to empower the Ambeere residents in enhancing business.

Health, formal education and water services got a head start in the 3 Aembu resident and current sub-counties viz-a-viz the 3 present Ambeere sub-counties. In particular, quality health facilities were more in the 3 Aembu resident sub-counties at the ratio of 6:3 to the Ambeere resident sub-counties.

On the other hand, there was no CGE initiated standard games and sports complex in the 3 Ambeere resident sub-counties of Mbeere north, Mbeere south and Mwea. The same applied to the establishment of quality schools which was at even higher ratio except in the national school's distribution which stood at the ratio of 1:1 for either of the ethnic resident sub-counties. The summary of findings discussed below attest to the fact that objective 3, research question 3 and hypothesis 3 were dully tackled and validated. Kenya's mode of devolved governance was unique in the context of Africa since it was enshrined in the Constitution as opposed to other sets of legislation which were easily amended. Political elites could easily and quickly broker post-conflict through ethnic accommodation. However, there was a glaring absence in the area of public transport at subsidized prices by the CGE.

The Ambeere ethnic community had consistently been unhappy with being in Embu County and that was why they had officially opted for an independent Mbeere County on 20/01/2023. The Aembu generally voted for the government of the day while the Ambeere embraced the opposition. Both the Aembu and the Ambeere jolted for addition of administrative and political units like sub-counties, constituencies and wards.

Court litigations all the way to the SCOK pitting the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities in the 2013-2017 and 2017-2022 electoral cycles had galvanized ethnic polarization between these two communities in Embu County.

The Governor of the CGE (2022-2027) had deliberately ploughed into avenues of firm cordial relations between the executive and legislative arms for seamless and swift development of Embu County. Such a versatile PR in governance was a formidable trajectory in toning down ethnic polarization between the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities in Embu County. The need to popularize the ruling coalition party, UDA as the national party Chairperson by the Governor among the Ambeere was a welcome initiative that would cultivate trust and co-existence between the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities.

7.3 Conclusions

This section captured the emphatic implications of the Main Research Findings and conclusions of the various chapters as was guided by the Research Objectives, Questions and Hypothesis.

While the Council of Elders were agents of clans and the entire community for both the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities during the colonial period, the Provincial Administration and the Minister for Local Government were agents of the central government during the post-independence period between 1963 and 2013. Such institutions had the duty to oversee that the functions of the LA conformed to government policy. In political parlance, it was logical to conclude that political elites and the general electorate for both the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities were in defense of the devolution model of governance.

Corruption, a manifestation of bad governance was replete in the health sector particularly in the 2013-2017 and 2017-2022 electoral cycle in Embu County. Corruption was devolved to the county due to lack of proper enforcement mechanism by the institutions which were charged with deterring the vice. However, the EACC had preferred corruption related cases to the court that involved 9 Governors including 3 sitting Governors in August 2023. It was hoped that culprits would receive jail sentences. On a positive note, it was hoped that devolution model of governance offered the possibility to boost local development.

In the social sphere, it was noted that the Ambeere ethnic community complained of marginalization in the area of adequate health care facilities in all their 3 resident sub-counties of Mbeere north, Mbeere south and Mwea. Water for domestic and irrigation purposes was also insufficient in all the 3 ASAL resident sub-counties of the Ambeere ethnic community. Water, sports complexes and establishment of quality schools needed a re-look in terms of equity and access in all the 6 sub-counties of Embu County.

However, other considerations particularly relating to viability of embarking on a project in terms of cost-benefit analysis had to be logically ironed out. A situation of perfect parity in numbers between the Aembu and the Ambeere in the facilities in question was not tenable. Devolution therefore provided the hope for the grievances and needs of the marginalized communities and regions in Kenya, Embu County inclusive. Devolution governance expanded patronage power and was more popular with politicians at both national and county levels.

However, it should be noted that devolution entrenched ethnic politics and was very popular with the majoritarian communities in a heterogenous ethnic set up. Devolution transferred meaningful power to the local electorate through the transfer of patronage of resources in Embu County. In the circumstance of perfect democracy, the demographic figures favoured the Aembu ethnic community for the position of Governor, CGE. The Aembu ethnic community on account of their majoritarian vote perceive themselves as the owners of Embu County. The Ambeere had always vouched for the preservation of the post of DG presumably to give an ethnic face of Embu County. However, this could only bring political harmony if the position of the SPCA of Embu was held by the Aembu ethnic community. Similarly, the devolution model of governance offered the possibility of protecting the minority ethnic communities, diffuse conflicts, engender robust politics with the grip of resident citizens.

The MSS comprised both genuine and generic squatters. A resolution to deal firmly with the latter was long overdue. There was strength in diversity whose notion sounded a clarion call that the Aembu and the Ambeere were brothers and sisters whose proactive synergies was the pride of Embu County.

Only then was Embu County the true “Land of Opportunities” for all citizens and other law-abiding nationalities. Avenues of mutilating and toning down ethnic polarization in Embu County were not extinct.

On the other hand, the gubernatorial positions were political and a rational Governor had to be informed by the voting pattern so as to be able to consolidate their political space in the previous and next general elections. In the Kenyan situation, this was best done through clientelism, rent-seeking and patronage in manipulation and distribution of resources at one’s disposal.

The national government micro-managed the CGE through devolution funds disbursement delays, retention and demands on financial returns by the Department of Treasury before the financial disbursement could be made to the county. The CGE was only oversighted for financial propriety or impropriety by the public participation, the CAE, the Auditor General and the House of Senate. The national government should strictly adhere to the 4th schedule of the COK, 2010 and other Statutory Acts relevant to the governance of Devolution in Kenya. At the initial stages, the crafters of the COK, 2010 initially adopted the regional government approach of the *Majimbo* Constitution at independence and intended to consign the Embu District and Mbeere District to Kirinyaga County. The constitutional thresholds, including a Referendum for an establishment of a new Mbeere County though premised on reason, was not tenable. The secession from Embu County proposal by the Ambeere ethnic community tendered on 20/01/2023 to the House of Senate was immensely afflicted by insurmountable legal parameters.

7.4 Recommendations

The section captured overriding and logical statements which were premised on the Research Findings and formed a flowing sync with the Objectives of the Research.

The early settlement of the Europeans, establishment of Embu District and initiation of the LNC added to the establishment of Embu Town European administrative headquarters gave a head start to the economic development of the 3 Aembu sub-counties against the 3 Ambeere ASAL sub-counties during the colonial period.

Since the Rural development and the DFRD economic initiatives were based on the district, once again the Ambeere had to wait until 1996 when Mbeere District was granted to them by President Moi. The municipal council and the county council had their headquarters in Embu West Sub-County until 2009. Tarmac road network needed to be increased in some parts of Embu West Sub-County just as the same was urgently required in the three sub-counties of Mbeere north, Mbeere south and Mwea. The CGE and national government were required to collaborate and repair roads that led to bricks and sand harvesting source areas in all the 3 Ambere resident sub-counties of Mbeere north, Mbeere south and Mwea. Afforestation and LOP needed to be enhanced in the 3 ASAL sub-counties of the Ambeere residence through collaboration between the CGE and the national government. Mango and Hass Avocado processing factories needed to be built in Mbeere south and Mbeere North Sub-County just as this had already been done in Embu East Sub-County and Embu West Sub-County. The CGE needed to establish public transport vehicles and petrol station services so as to give a sense of common identity and diffuse the strong passions of ethnic polarization between the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities in that regard.

The Aembu were clearly targeted by the Ambeere ethnic communities in the area of high land purchases, acquisition of business premises including savings SACCO through deliberate higher price tags and outright lock out. The concept of co-operative farming in honey harvesting, *Miraa*, Mango, Hass Avocado, and horticulture and beef products required urgent implementation in the sub-counties of Mbeere north, Mbeere south and Mwea.

An EPZ industrial complex to factor in crafts and tourism sector financial returns was urgently required at Machang'a area of Mbeere South Sub-County which was fairly accessible by all residents of Embu County. The initiative would deflate the passions of polarization among the Ambeere ethnic community.

At the same time, modern market stalls needed to be built in at least one sub-county of the Ambeere resident sub-counties particularly in a well-connected place like Kiritiri town in Mbeere South Sub-County. Recovery of stolen CGE equipment from various health institutions needed to be repossessed within legal and fidelity means. Corrupt allocations of the MSS land needed to be forwarded to the now vibrant EACC for investigation and booking of the culprits. The financial and management flaws exposed by the Auditor General's Reports between 2013 and 2022 in particular; mainly in corruption riddled procurement deals, payroll stuffing with ghost workers and mismatched terms of service had to urgently be subjected to all the legal and legitimacy validations to restore confidence of all the residents of Embu County in the CGE.

The Ambeere had been sidelined for long in the supply of adequate water resources. Irrigation water had to be provided by the CGE in partnership with other development institutions in this ASAL sub-counties.

Although donation of water tanks temporarily addressed water shortages in Mbeere north, Mbeere south and Mwea sub-counties; it was necessary to construct communities' manned water pans in order to boost agriculture and livestock farming and subsequently boost food security in this ASAL sub-counties.

Independent water reservoirs had to be put in place for the Ambeere ethnic community to stop the Aembu from induced water shortages for the Ambeere and their institutions at time of ethnic flare-ups. Water connectivity and sufficient supply for all the 3 sub-counties of the Ambeere ethnic community was an urgent priority so as to rationalize economic empowerment for this ASAL sub-counties.

The CGE had to organize how to build at least one modern games and athletics stadium either at Siakago town in Mbeere North Sub-County or Kiritiri town in Mbeere South Sub-County. The possibilities of separating the Catholic faithful between the Aembu and the Ambeere communities needed to be explored. There was need to develop more quality schools and possibly promote an old hospital like Ishiara in Mbeere North Sub-County from a level 4 hospital to a level 5 hospital. A firefighting engine had to be procured by the CGE with urgency for each of the 6 sub-counties of Embu County, electricity power grid connectivity and the BFA in housing, which the Aembu ethnic community residents in Embu west, Embu east and Embu north sufficiently enjoyed.

The national government should stop to micro-manage the CGE in any of the devolved functions and adhere to the 4th schedule of the COK, 2010 and other relevant article of the Constitution and statutes. The CGOE, DG, the CEC Members, the Chief Officers and the SPCA should adopt the technocrat ideals and values of running their offices as opposed to the kingpin syndrome if ethnic polarization were to end in Embu County.

Bloc voting had to be encouraged in order to bring about a semblance of ethnic co-existence in Embu County. This was because the voting pattern in 2013, 2017 and 2022 was dominated by JP and UDA respectively for the majority of the Aembu ethnic community. However, the same was dominated by MCC, BP and WP for the majority of the Ambeere voters. The inequity in the number of electoral wards that served the Aembu ethnic community and the Ambeere ethnic community had to be addressed since it stood at the ratio of 12:8 in the CAE respectively. In any case the number of constituencies and sub-counties were already at par.

However, it was necessary to note that politics was about wit and that gave an opportunity to the Governor to nominate MCAs who could be used to tilt volatile circumstances to the wish of the Governor at the CAE. The WDF should be legalized at 40% of the County Budget as requested by MCAs to stop the temptations of any frivolous incumbent CGOE sliding into favouring friendly MCAs by using the kitty for political expediency and gratification. Biased, deceptive, doctored, stage managed and premeditated concepts of public participation policy management should be a thing of the past in the CGE. Negotiated democracy as opposed to perfect democracy and the adoption of proportional representation in key CGE dockets needed to engender equity in order to soften the tides of ethnic polarization between the Aembu and the Ambeere in Embu County. Impeachment and court litigations in two electoral cycles of 2013 and 2017 whose determination went all the way to the Senate and SCOK had galvanized deep suspicion and mistrust in the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic community political combatants.

Alternative dispute resolution mechanisms on negotiation, mediation, MoU, arbitrations and out of court conciliations would mend the fragile peaceful co-existence between the Aembu and the Ambeere ethnic communities. At the very desperate reality, and within the confines of the Constitution and the rule of law, it would be logical for the Ambeere ethnic community to secede from Embu County and allow them to have their prophesied Mbeere County. From the foregoing, the recommendations and indeed the entire research was closely guided by the independent and dependent variables of the research topic.

7.5 Areas for Further Study

It was important to note that the areas for further study were premised on the research gaps, realities encountered during the field data collection and data analysis. Insightful logic was also applied in determining other areas of study that could be served by the theories used in this research. The two theories used in the theoretical framework of this research were relevantly versatile for application in the identified areas for further study.

In this regard, three areas of further study were identified:

1. The Political Stabilization of the Akamba Ethnic Community in Embu County, Kenya 1963-2030
2. The Kingpin Syndrome in Embu County: A Curse or Blessing to Devolution in Embu County, Kenya 2010-2030
3. The Intra-Ethnic Conflicts of the Ambeere Community of Embu County, Kenya: from Pre-Colonial to 2030

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APPENDICES

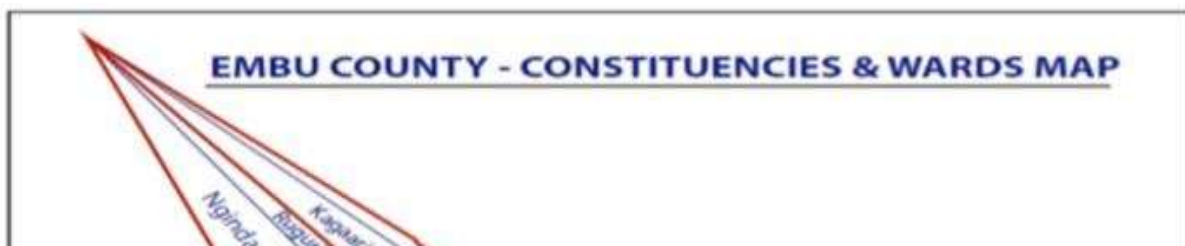
APPENDIX A1: BUDGET

Core Activities	Items Costing	Total-kshs
Consolidation of Literature	Library Research. Travel Expenses 3,000 x 60 days	180,000
Designing and Developing Research Instruments	Typing and Photocopying of Research Instruments 100 x 500 @	50,000
Research Induction and Training	Transport for Researcher and 05 Research Assistants (Tour Guides and Interpreter) 15,000 x 10 days	150,000
Area of Study-Piloting	Transport for Researcher and Research Assistants 8,000 x 10 days x 6	480,000
Finalizing of Research Instruments	250 Questionnaires x 100 @	25,000
Major Field Data Collection (2months)	Travel, Accommodation and Subsistence Researcher: 1 x 45 days x 6,000 Research Assistants: 5 x 45 days x 2,000	270,000 450,000
Data Processing, Analysis and Report Writing	01 Researcher and 05 Research Assistants 6 x 20 days x 1000	120,000
Necessary Purchases	01 Computer and Accessories Video Camera and Accessories Camera (Digital)	45,000 60,000 25,000
Contingency and Institutional Costs	5 % of Total Costs	92,750
Grand Total		1,947,750

APPENDIX A2: TIME-SCHEDULE

S/NO	Activity	Duration	Deadline	Remarks
1	Defense of PhD Concept Paper	1 Day	2 nd September, 2020	Done
2	Departmental Defense of PhD Proposal	1 Day	11 th February, 2021	Done
3	Submission, Registration and Approval of PhD Proposal by Graduate School/NACOSTI and 03 Others	15 Months	25 th July, 2022	Done
4	Piloting in 06 Sub- Counties of Embu County	10 Days	4 th August, 2022	Done
5	Collection of field data in Embu County	3 Months	15 th November, 2022	Done
6	Data Analysis	2 Months	24 th January, 2023	Done

**APPENDIX A3: MAP SHOWING THE 04 CONSTITUENCIES AND 20
WARDS OF EMBU COUNTY GOVERNMENT**



7	PhD Initial Draft Writing. Corrections of Initial PhD Draft 1 st Draft 2 nd Draft 3 rd Draft	4 Months 08 month	01/02/23-25/06/23 26/06/23-01/08/23 01/08/23-04/09/23 05/09/23-21/11/23 22/01/24-12/03/24	Done Done Done Done Done
8	Final PhD Thesis Defense (Department Level)	3 months to Thesis Submission (latest July, 2024)	30 th April, 2024	Done
9	PhD Thesis DPT Level Post Defense Corrections	2 Weeks	14 th May, 2024	Done

10	Notice of Submission of PhD Thesis to Graduate School via Department	1Week	4 th July, 2024	Done
11	PhD Thesis Submission to Graduate School (03 loosely bound copies and 01 soft copy), Defense Minutes, Nil Fee Statement for 02 Internal and 01 External Assessment	6 Months	5 th September, 2024	Done
12	PhD Thesis Final Faculty Defense (Graduate School)	1 Day	On 28 th May, 2025	Done-Passed
13	PhD Thesis Faculty Defense Corrections on Research Findings	4 Months	By 28 th September, 2025	Done on 13/07/25

14	Submission of Certification of Corrections to PhD Thesis	1 Week	By 5 th October, 2025	Signed by the Thesis Supervisors by 12/09/2025
15	Application for Graduation +Refund of Caution Levy Balance +Final Plagiarism Report	3 Months to Graduation	By 19 th September, 2025	Done on Monday: 15/09/2025; and 16/09/2025
16	Submission of 4 Hard Bound Maroon Cover Copies (4+2cds-PDF, 2 loosely bound publications on Thesis and 2cds on Thesis publication Given to the Graduate School	10 Days	By 25 th September, 2025	Thesis Printing Authorized by Executive Dean- Graduate School-17 th /09/2025

17	Faculty Seminars for Prospective Graduands	3-4 Days	Between 8 th and 11 th December, 2025	Done by 11 th /12/2025
18	Rehearsal and Graduation: Graduation Squire; Kenyatta University	1 Day	On Thursday & Friday: 18 th & 19 th December, 2025	Done on 19/12/2025

**APPENDIX A4: LETTER OF APPROVAL OF PhD RESEARCH PROPOSAL
BY KENYATTA UNIVERSITY**



KENYATTA UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL

E-mail: dean-graduate@ku.ac.ke

P.O. Box 43844, 00100

NAIROBI, KENYA

Tel. 810901 Ext. 57530

Website: www.ku.ac.ke

Internal Memo

FROM: Dean, Graduate School

DATE: 15th June, 2022

TO: Mr. Fredrick K. Warurii
C/o Department of Inter. Rel. conf. & str. Studies
KENYATTA UNIVERSITY

REF: C82/CE/28701/15

SUBJECT: APPROVAL OF RESEARCH PROPOSAL

We acknowledge the receipt of your revised Research Proposal entitled "The Influence of Ethnic Polarization on Governance of Embu County, Kenya (2010-2022)" as per recommendations raised by the Graduate School Board of 31st March, 2022.

You may now proceed with your Data collection, subject to clearance with the Director General, National Commission for Science Technology & Innovation.

As you embark on your data collection, please note that you will be required to submit to Graduate School completed supervision Tracking and Progress Report Forms. The Forms are available at the University's Website under Graduate School webpage downloads.

By copy of this letter, the Registrar (Academic) is hereby requested to grant you substantive registration for your Ph.D. studies.

Thank you.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Jackson Luvusi', is written over a circular stamp.

JACKSON LUVUSI

FOR DEAN, GRADUATE SCHOOL

c.c. Registrar (Academic) Att. Mr. Richard Chweya
Chairman, Department of Inter. Rel. conf. & str. Studies
Supervisor

1. Dr. Felistus Kinyanjui
C/o Dept of Inter. Rel. conf. & str. Studies
Kenyatta University
2. Dr. Lazarus Ngari
C/o Department of His, Arch. & Political Studies
Kenyatta University

JL/cao

**APPENDIX A5: LETTER OF AUTHORIZATION FOR PhD FIELD
RESEARCH BY KENYATTA UNIVERSITY**



**KENYATTA UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL**

E-mail: kubps@yahoo.com
dean-graduate@ku.ac.ke
Website: www.ku.ac.ke

P.O. Box 43844, 00100
NAIROBI, KENYA
Tel. 8710901 Ext. 57530

Our Ref: C82/CE/28701/15

Date: 15th June, 2022

The Director General,
National Commission for Science, Technology & Innovation,
P.O. Box 30623-00100,
NAIROBI

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION FOR MR.FREDRICK K. WARURII-REG. NO. C82/CE/28701/15

I write to introduce Mr. Warurii who is a Postgraduate Student of this University. He is registered for a Ph.D. degree programme in the **Department of International Relations, Conflict & Strategic Studies in the School of Security, Diplomacy & Peace Studies.**

Mr. Warurii intends to conduct research for Ph.D. thesis entitled, **“The Influence of Ethnic Polarization on Governance of Embu County, Kenya (2010–2022)”**

Any assistance given will be highly appreciated.

Yours faithfully,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'E. Kimani', written over a circular stamp or seal.

**PROF. ELISHIBA KIMANI
DEAN, GRADUATE SCHOOL**

JL/cas

APPENDIX A6: LICENSE OF PhD FIELD RESEARCH BY NACOSTI

 REPUBLIC OF KENYA	 NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION
Ref No: 357533	Date of Issue: 21/July/2022
RESEARCH LICENSE	
	
<p>This is to Certify that Mr. FREDRICK KARIUKI WARURI of Kenyatta University, has been licensed to conduct research in Embu on the topic: THE INFLUENCE OF ETHNIC POLARIZATION ON GOVERNANCE OF EMBU COUNTY KENYA for the period ending : 21/July/2023.</p>	
License No: NACOSTI/P/22/19043	
357533 Applicant Identification Number	 Director General NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION
	Verification QR Code 
<p>NOTE: This is a computer generated License. To verify the authenticity of this document, Scan the QR Code using QR scanner application.</p>	

**APPENDIX A7: AUTHORIZATION OF PhD FIELD RESEARCH BY THE
COUNTY COMMISSIONER, EMBU**



**APPENDIX A8: AUTHORIZATION OF PhD FIELD RESEARCH BY THE
COUNTY GOVERNOR, EMBU**

EMBU COUNTY GOVERNMENT



OFFICE OF THE COUNTY SECRETARY AND HEAD OF PUBLIC SERVICE

Mobile: +254 771 304 003/+254 703 192 924
Address: P. O. Box 36 – 40100 Embu Town House

Tel: 068-2231174/2231175
Email: csembucounty@gmail.com

Ref: EC/CS/GEN/VOL.III/144

Date: 25th July, 2022

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Reference is made to a letter from NACOSTI dated 16th March, 2022.

This is to acknowledge receipt of a request to conduct research on **"The Influence of Ethnic Polarization on Governance of Embu County, Kenya (2010- 2022)"** of **Fredrick Kariuki Warurii** from Kenyatta University. The request has been **approved**.

Kindly accord him the necessary assistance.

COUNTY SECRETARY
EMBU COUNTY GOVERNMENT
25 JUL 2022
JOHNSON N. NYAGA
COUNTY SECRETARY

**APPENDIX A9: AUTHORIZATION OF PhD FIELD RESEARCH BY THE
COUNTY DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION, EMBU**



MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

State Department of Early Learning and Basic Education

Telegrams: "Provedu", Embu
Telephone: Embu 31711
Fax: 30956
E-mail: cde.embu@yahoo.com
When replying please quote:

OFFICE OF THE
COUNTY DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION
EMBU COUNTY
P o Box 123-60100
EMBU

Ref: EBC/GA/32/1/Vol. V/71

Date: 25th July 2022

Fredrick Kariuki Warurii

Kenyatta University

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Reference is made to NACOSTI letter dated 21st July, 2022.

This office acknowledges receipt of your research authorization to carry out research on **The Influence of Ethnic Polarization on Governance of Embu County Kenya** for a period ending 21 July, 2023.

This office has no objection and therefore wishes you success in this undertaking and requests prospective participants/respondents to accord you cooperation or support you may require.

J. K. KAIRU
County Director of Education
EMBU COUNTY



Conv to:

The Principal Secretary, MOE-NAIROBI
The Secretary/CEO, NACOSTI – NAIROBI
The County Commissioner – **EMBU COUNTY**
The Sub-county Directors of Education – E



APPENDIX A10: LIST OF SAMPLE SIZE RESPONDENTS' PROBABILITY**SAMPLING****Embu West Sub-County**

Gender	Age	occupation	Identity	Ethnicity	Residence	Date of interview
1. M	52	Farmer	Johana Kiura	Aembu	Mbeere South	28/08/2022
2. M	56	Bus/man	Bernard Nyaga	Ambeere	Mbeere South	28/08/2022
3. F	39	Bus/lady	Leticia Mbogo	Aembu	Mbeere North	29/08/2022
4. F	43	Bus/lady	Vaseria Ngari	Ambeere	Mbeere North	29/08/2022
5. F	51	Teacher	Annastacia Mutio	Akamba	Mwea	30/08/2022
6. M	47	Engineer	Joseph Muthama	Akamba	Embu West	31/08/2022
7. M	61	Engineer	Johnson Njuguna	Agikuyu	Embu West	31/08/2022
8. M	45	Engineer	Vincent Mutugi	Aembu	Embu West	31/08/2022
9. M	57	Doctor	Peter Kariuki	Agikuyu	Embu West	31/08/2022
10. F	38	Bus/lady	Daisy Njue	Aembu	Embu West	31/08/2022
11. F	45	Bus/lady	Mary Mawia	Akamba	Embu West	31/08/2022
12. F	40	Bus/lady	Lucy Wanja	Aembu	Embu West	31/08/2022
13. F	41	Doctor	Stella Kagendo	Ameru	Embu West	31/08/2022
14. F	43	Teacher	Lydia Wanjira	Aembu	Embu West	31/08/2022
15. F	51	Bus/lady	Catherine Njue	Aembu	Embu West	31/08/2022
16. F	41	Vet.Doc.	Agata Nyaga	Ambeere	Embu West	31/08/2022
17. F	49	Teacher	Dina Thaara	Aembu	Embu West	31/08/2022
18. M	71	Bus/man	Raphael Muli	Akamba	Mwea	31/08/2022
19. F	41	Teacher	Grace Ngari	Ambeere	Embu East	31/08/2022

APPENDIX A11: PURPOSIVE SAMPLING

Embu West

Gender	Code identity	Date of Interview
1. M	PS/AC/ACC/01/22	12/09/2022
2. F	PS/AC/CHIEF/01/22	14/09/2022
3. M	PS/AC/CHIEF/02/22	14/09/2022
4. M	PS/AC/CEC/01/22	14/09/2022
5. M	PS/AD/MEDIA/01/22	14/09/2022
6. F	PS/AD/MEDIA/02/22	14/09/2022
7. M	PS/AE/CLERGY/01/22	14/09/2022
8. F	PS/AE/CLERGY/02/22	14/09/2022
9. M	PS/AB/MCA/01/22	09/10/2022
10. M	PS/AB/MCA/02/22	09/10/2022

APPENDIX A12: PROBABILITY SAMPLING

Embu East Sub-County

Gender	Age	occupation	Identity	Ethnicity	Residence	Date of interview
1. F	44	Bus/lady	Jane Nyaga	Aembu	Embu East	01/09/2022
2. F	41	Doctor	Catherine Njagi	Aembu	Embu East	01/09/2022
3. M	65	Tailor	Jacob Macharia	Ambeere	Embu East	01/09/2022
4. F	53	Doctor	Nancy Ngondi	Aembu	Embu East	01/09/2022
5. F	49	Teacher	Josphine Njeru	Aembu	Embu East	01/09/2022
6. F	39	Farmer	Nancy Njue	Aembu	Embu East	01/09/2022
7. F	35	Farmer	Jannifer Wairimu	Agikuyu	Embu East	01/09/2022
8. F	55	Bus/lady	Elizabeth Mwaniki	Aembu	Embu East	01/09/2022
9. M	53	Teacher	Humprey Wahome	Agikuyu	Embu East	05/09/2022
10. M	49	Teacher	Mugo Muchangi	Aembu	Embu East	05/09/2022
11. M	40	Bus/man	Njeru Kithaka	Aembu	Embu East	05/09/2022

APPENDIX A13: PURPOSIVE SAMPLING

Gender	Embu East Sub-County Code identity	Date of Interview
1. F	PS/AC/ACC/01/22	12/09/2022
2. M	PS/AC/CHIEF/01/22	12/09/2022
3. M	PS/AC/CHIEF/02/22	12/09/2022
4. M	PS/AC/SCA/01/22	12/09/2022
5. M	PS/AE/CLERGY/01/22	16/09/2022
6. M	PS/AE/CLERGY/02/22	16/09/2022
7. F	PS/AB/POL/01/22	02/10/2022
8. M	PS/AB/POL/02/22	02/10/2022
9. M	PS/AC/CCA/01/22	08/11/2022
10. F	PS/AB/CG/01/22	15/11/2022
11. M	PS/AC/CS/01/22	15/11/2022
12. M	PS/AC/CPSB/01/22	15/11/2022

APPENDIX A14: PROBABILITY SAMPLING

Embu North Sub-County

Gender	Age	occupation	Identity	Ethnicity	Residence	Date of interview
1. M	49	Teacher	John Njue	Aembu	Embu North	29/08/2022
2. M	53	Farmer	Sospeter Ngari	Aembu	Embu North	29/08/2022
3. F	51	Nurse	Esther Kinyua	Aembu	Embu North	05/09/2022
4. F	48	Farmer	Scholastica Rwamba	Aembu	Embu North	05/09/2022
5. F	43	Farmer	Florence Karimi	Aembu	Embu North	05/09/2022
6. F	43	Teacher	Mercy Wanja	Aembu	Embu North	05/09/2022
7. M	54	Bus/lady	Alfred Njiru	Aembu	Embu North	05/09/2022
8. M	43	Bus/man	James Njagi	Aembu	Embu North	05/09/2022
9. M	49	Policeman	Videsio Munyi	Aembu	Embu North	05/09/2022
10. F	45	Nurse	Niceta Njeru	Aembu	Embu North	05/09/2022

APPENDIX A15: PURPOSIVE SAMPLING

Embu North Sub-County

Gender	Code identity	Date of Interview
1. F	PS/AC/CHIEF/01/22	16/09/2022
2. M	PS/AC/CHIEF/02/22	16/09/2022
3. F	PS/AC/ACC/01/22	19/09/2022
4. M	PS/AE/CLERGY/01/22	20/09/2022
5. M	PS/AE/CLERGY/02/22	20/09/2022
6. M	PS/AB/POL/01/22	23/10/2022
7. M	PS/AB/MCA/01/22	10/11/2022
8. M	PS/AB/MCA/02/22	10/11/2022

APPENDIX A16: PROBABILITY SAMPLING

Mbeere North Sub-County

Gender	Age	occupation	Identity	Ethnicity	Residence	Date of interview
1. F	51	Nurse	Hanna Kigio	Agikuyu	Mbeere North	29/08/2022
2. F	55	Farmer	Naomi Ndugu	Ambeere	Mbeere North	29/08/2022
3. F	50	Bus/lady	Virginia Wangari	Ambeere	Mbeere North	29/08/2022
4. F	52	Farmer	Jemima Ileri	Ambeere	Mbeere North	29/08/2022
5. F	44	Farmer	Nancy Wanjagi	Ambeere	Mbeere North	29/08/2022
6. M	30	Bus/man	Mwenda Mugo	Ambeere	Mbeere North	29/08/2022
7. F	50	Teacher	Wawira Kithu	Ambeere	Mbeere North	29/08/2022
8. F	39	Teacher	Rose Gititu	Ambeere	Mbeere North	29/08/2022
9. F	47	Teacher	Mwangi Njuki	Ambeere	Mbeere North	29/08/2022
10. F	41	Bus/lady	Wereri Nyaga	Ambeere	Mbeere North	29/08/2022

APPENDIX A17: PURPOSIVE SAMPLING

Gender	Mbeere North Sub-County Code identity	Date of Interview
1. M	PS/AC/ACC/01/22	08/09/2022
2. F	PS/AC/CHIEF/01/22	08/09/2022
3. M	PS/AE/CLERGY/01/22	08/09/2022
4. F	PS/AE/CLERGY/02/22	08/09/2022
5. M	PS/AC/SCA/01/22	09/09/2022
6. M	PS/AC/CHIEF/02/22	14/09/2022
7. M	PS/AB/POL/03/22	02/10/2022
8. M	PS/AB/MCA/01/22	02/10/2022
9. M	PS/AB/MCA/02/22	02/10/2022
10. M	PS/AB/SPCA/01/22	13/11/2022

APPENDIX A18: PROBABILITY SAMPLING

Mbeere South Sub-County

Gender	Age	occupation	Identity	Ethnicity	Residence	Date of interview
1. F	43	Farmer	Abishag Ndaru	Ambeere	Mbeere South	28/08/2022
2. F	34	Bus/lady	Damaris Muthoni	Ambeere	Mbeere South	28/08/2022
3. M	39	Bus/man	James Nyaga	Ambeere	Mbeere South	28/08/2022
4. F	45	Bus/lady	Beth Mugo	Ambeere	Mbeere South	28/08/2022
5. F	41	Bus/lady	Margret Ngungi	Ambeere	Mbeere South	28/08/2022
6. F	53	Bus/lady	Joyce Mueni	Akamba	Mbeere South	28/08/2022
7. F	51	Bus/lady	Philomena Syomiti	Akamba	Mbeere South	28/08/2022
8. M	46	Bus/man	Dominic Njeru	Ambeere	Mbeere South	28/08/2022
9. M	48	Mason	Leonard Nyaga	Ambeere	Mbeere South	28/08/2022
10. M	46	Pastor	Samwel Munene	Agikuyu	Mbeere South	28/08/2022

APPENDIX A19: PURPOSIVE SAMPLING

Gender	Mbeere South Sub-County Code identity	Date of Interview
1. M	PS/AC/DCC/01/22	09/09/2022
2. M	PS/AC/ACC/01/22	09/09/2022
3. M	PS/AE/CLERGY/01/22	09/09/2022
4. F	PS/AE/CLERGY/02/22	09/09/2022
5. M	PS/AB/POL/01/22	02/10/2022
6. M	PS/AB/POL/04/22	02/10/2022
7. M	PS/AC/CHIEF/01/22	04/10/2022
8. F	PS/AC/CHIEF/02/22	04/10/2022
9. F	PS/AC/SCA/01/22	04/10/2022
10. M	PS/AB/MCA/01/22	08/11/2022
11. M	PS/AB/MCA/02/22	08/11/2022

APPENDIX A20: PROBABILITY SAMPLING

Mwea Sub-County

Gender	Age	occupation	Identity	Ethnicity	Residence	Date of interview
1. M	56	Pilot	Martin Julius	Agikuyu	Mwea	30/08/2022
2. M	58	Bus/man	Paul Maimba	Akamba	Mwea	30/08/2022
3. M	51	Bus/man	Isaac Njoka	Ambeere	Mwea	30/08/2022
4. M	52	Bus/man	Josphat Kaviku	Akamba	Mwea	30/08/2022
5. F	43	Bus/lady	Martha Mueni	Akamba	Mwea	30/08/2022
6. M	60	Farmer	Njiru Kang'oroti	Ambeere	Mwea	30/08/2022
7. F	45	Bus/lady	Benedeta Muthoki	Akamba	Mwea	30/08/2022
8. F	45	Farmer	Nduku Tavala	Akamba	Mwea	30/08/2022
9. F	51	Teacher	Annastacia Mutio	Akamba	Mwea	30/08/2022
10. F	56	Bus/lady	Wanza Muli	Akamba	Mwea	30/08/2022

APPENDIX A21: PURPOSIVE SAMPLING

Gender	Mwea Sub-County Code identity	Date of Interview
1. F	PS/AC/DCC/01/22	09/09/2022
2. M	PS/AC/ACC/01/22	09/09/2022
3. F	PS/AC/CHIEF/01/22	09/09/2022
4. M	PS/AC/CHIEF/02/22	09/09/2022
5. M	PS/AC/SCA/01/22	09/09/2022
6. M	PS/AE/CLERGY/01/22	09/09/2022
7. F	PS/AE/CLERGY/02/22	09/09/2022
8. M	PS/AB/MCA/01/22	10/11/2022
9. F	PS/AB/MCA/02/22	10/11/2022

APPENDIX A22: LETTER OF FIELD RESEARCH INTRODUCTION

School of Law, Arts and Social Sciences,
Department of Security, Diplomacy and Peace Studies,
Kenyatta University,
P.O Box 43844-00100,
Nairobi
Cell Phone - 0721429789

Dear respondent,

I am conducting PhD research in a topic entitled: **The Influence of Ethnic Polarization on Governance of Embu County, Kenya (1963-2023)**. The researcher aims at receiving voluntary and sincere responses on the effects of decentralization and devolution in Embu County, Kenya from pre-colonial period to 2023, challenges of ethnic polarization in Embu County, Kenya between 2010 and 2023, and modalities offered by devolution in resolving ethnic polarization in Embu County, Kenya between 2013 and 2023.

I assure you that the information sought is solely for the purpose of the academic research and will be treated with absolute confidentiality.

Thank you in advance for your contribution.

Yours Sincerely,

Fredrick Kariuki Warurii
Reg. No.C82/CE/28701/2015
Email: fredrick.kariuki@tharaka.ac.ke

APPENDIX A23: QUESTIONNAIRES

Probability Sampling

Part A: General Information

Name.....

Gender.....

Year of Birth.....

Ethnicity.....

Religious Affiliation.....

Education Level.....

Marital Status.....

Sub-County of Residence.....

Occupation.....

Name of Organization.....

Date of Interview.....

1. When did you settle in your current Sub-County?

2. Why did the citizens of Kenya get excited about political independence from foreign domination?

3. What do you think has been the purpose of voting during the General Elections in Kenya since 1963?

4. What local authorities existed in your area of residence between 1963 and 2010?

5. What differences were there between the governance structure of the former local authorities and the County Government of Embu?

6. On a scale of 0-100% how would you rate the benefits towards decentralization in Kenya under the following sub-headings:
 - Local Authorities

- District Focus for Rural Development

- Constituency Development Fund

- Devolution

7. What issues of leadership governance in Embu County strongly keep reminding you of your ethnicity?

8. To what extent did the following government initiatives fail to satisfy the social, economic and political aspirations of the residents in Embu County?

- Local Authority

- District Focus for Rural Development

- Constituency Development Fund

9. What major challenges face the county government of Embu in its effort to implement social, economic and political development?

10. What advice would you give to the following governance institutions as a roadmap to realize the fruits of devolution in Embu County?

- The Governorship

- The County Executive

- The County Public Service Board (CPSB)

- The County Assembly

11. How robustly could the media promote economic and welfare issues for the residents of Embu County?

12. Apart from the functions stipulated in part 2 of the 4th schedule of the COK (2010), which other functions would you wish were devolved to the County Governments of Embu?

13. Why do you think the Constitution of Kenya did not devolve the police and the judiciary arm of government to Embu County?

14. In what ways should the concept of autonomy in leadership governance be addressed in order to amicably resolve ethnic polarization in Embu County?

APPENDIX A24: INTERVIEW DISCUSSION GUIDE

Non-Probability Sampling

Part A: General Information

What is your name.....

What is your gender?

Male

Female

1. What is your age bracket?

18-25

26-35

36-45

46-55

55-60

60-65

65 and above

2. What is your religious affiliation?

Catholic

Protestant

Islam

Hindu

Atheist

3. What is your highest education level?

None

Primary

Secondary- 'O' level

Secondary- 'A' level

College- Certificate

College-Diploma

University-Bachelor's Degree

University-Master's Degree

University-PhD

4. What is your marital status?

Single

Married

Widow/Widower

Gay/Lesbian

Polyandrous

No response

5. Which is your sub-county of residence?

Embu-West

Embu-East

Embu-North

Mbeere-North

Mbeere-South

Mwea

6. How long have you been a resident of the above sub-county?

1day-10 years

11-25 years

26-40 years

41-56 years

56 and above years

7. What is your

formal/current/former/designation.....?

8. How many years have you served/did you serve in this position?

Less than 2 years

Between 3-10 years

Between 10-18 years

Between 18-25 years

Over 25 years

9. Which is your ethnicity?

Aembu

Ambeere

Akamba

Agikuyu

Others-please state.....

10. What date were you interviewed?

5. Why was the transition from the District Focus for Rural Development to the Constituency Development Fund/National Government Constituency Development Fund a political innovation?

6. What formal intervention mechanisms guarded Local Authorities against malpractices in Embu County before 2010?

7. Which major benefits could be associated with the devolution of executive powers in Embu County since 9/3/ 2013?

8. Which hardships faced the following government development initiatives in Embu County?
 - Local Authorities

- The National Government Constituency Development Fund

9. Which governance hardships has Embu County faced since 2013?

10. What advice would you give to the following governance institutions as a road map to leap the fruits of devolution in Embu County?

- The Governorship
- The County Executive
- The County Public Service Board

- The County Assembly

11. How best could the media promote economic and welfare issues for the residents of Embu County?

12. Apart from the functions stipulated in part 2 of the 4th schedule of the COK (2010), which other functions would you wish were devolved from the National to the County Government of Embu?

13. What needs to be done in order to resolve the current and future political challenges facing Embu County?

14. How effective has the affirmative action been accommodated in the Embu County Government service?

15. Which areas have affected effective governance to the extent of bringing about ethnic polarization in Embu County between 1980-2022?

16. Which constitutional mechanisms does your office embrace in governance to bring about ethnic cohesion in Embu County?

17. What operational mechanisms does your office employ in order to bring about ethnic cohesion in Embu County?

Part C: Public Servants/State officers (Deputy County Commissioner, Assistant County Commissioners, Chiefs, Speaker to the County Assembly, County Executive Committee Members, County Secretary, County Public Service Board, Clerk to the County Assembly, Sub-County Administrators)

1. What does/your duty entail?
2. How did the former provincial administration interface with the Local Authorities in order to bring about economic development in the sub-counties of Embu County?
3. Why do you think decentralization in governance for the former provincial administration took the bottom-up approach in 1997?
4. How has the transition to financial autonomy been enhanced in the County Government of Embu?

9. Which constitutional mechanisms does your office embrace in governance to bring about ethnic cohesion in Embu County?

10. What operational mechanisms does your office employ in order to enhance ethnic cohesion in Embu County?

Part D: Media

1. Which is your area of media coverage?
2. How has the transition from single to multiparty democracy empowered the media in identifying issues of ethnic polarization in Embu County?
3. How has free media contributed to democracy and good governance in Embu County?
4. How did local authorities promote the development of free media in Embu County between 1990 and 2010?

Part E: Clergy

1. What roles have the religious institutions played in improvement of the faithful's social and economic welfare in Embu County?
2. How did religious institutions from Embu County contribute to the process of the Constitution making in Kenya during their sermons/teachings up to 2010?
3. What issues of governance have the religious institutions provided oversight on during their sermons and other religious functions in Embu County?

4. Which specific interventions have the religious institutions mediated through their sermons and other congregational functions in order to solve issues of ethnic polarization in Embu County?

5. What intervention measures need to be put in place in order to bring about rapid and equitable economic development in Embu County?

6. Why do you think it would be necessary to devolve the judiciary arm of government to Embu County?

7. Which areas have affected effective governance to the extent of attracting ethnic polarization in Embu County, Kenya from 1980 to 2022?

8. What intervention modalities should be used to resolve ethnic polarization in Embu County?

APPENDIX A25: CERTIFICATION OF CORRECTION OF PhD THESIS

KU/GS/CCT/7



KENYATTA UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL

CERTIFICATION OF CORRECTION OF THESIS

NB: This certificate of Correction should be forwarded to the Dean,
Graduate School for clearance before Thesis can be hard bound)

PART I: RELEVANT DETAILS ON THE THESIS

Department: SECURITY, DIPLOMACY AND PEACE STUDIES
School: LAW, ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
Degree Title: PHD (PEACE AND CONFLICT MANAGEMENT)
Candidates' Name: FREDRICK KARIUKI WARURI
Registration No.: C82/CE/28701/2015 Signature: [Signature]
Date of Oral Defence: 28/05/2025
Title of Thesis: INFLUENCE OF ETHNIC POLARIZATION ON DECENTRALIZED AND DEVELOPED GOVERNANCE IN EMBU COUNTY, KENYA 1963-2023

PART II: DECLARATION BY SUPERVISOR(S) OVERSEEING CORRECTIONS

I / we, the undersigned Supervisor(s) of Corrections do hereby confirm that I / we have closely looked at the corrections as instructed by the candidate's Board of Examiners and I / we do hereby certify that ALL the corrections have been effected as agreed.

NAME: DR BONIFACE MWOKA SIGN: [Signature] DATE: 12/9/2025
(CORRECTIONS SUPERVISOR I)
NAME: Ang. Karame Ngari SIGN: [Signature] DATE: 28.8.2025
(CORRECTIONS SUPERVISOR II)
NAME: Dr. F. Kimani SIGN: [Signature] DATE: 28.8.2025
(CORRECTIONS SUPERVISOR III)

PART III: CONFIRMATION BY DEAN OF THE SCHOOL

Confirmed that the Supervisor(s) appointed to oversee the corrections have done so as per the instructions of the Board of Examiners

NAME: _____ SIGN _____ DATE: _____
DEAN

PART IV: AUTHORITY FOR FINAL BINDING OF THESIS

Authority for final binding of thesis is hereby granted.

NAME _____ DATE & STAMP _____
DEAN, GRADUATE SCHOOL