

**PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY AND CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION IN  
DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO: A CASE STUDY  
OF ITURI PROVINCE**

**BY**

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UNIVERSITY**

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## DECLARATION

I, BIARWENDA IRENE declare that this research dissertation is my original work and to the best of my knowledge, has not been submitted for any award at any academic institution.

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05/11/2022

## APPROVAL

This is to certify that this dissertation entitled “**Participatory Democracy and Conflict Transformation in Democratic Republic of Congo: A Case Study of Ituri Province**” has been completed under my supervision, and has been submitted for examination and approval as required by the College of Humanities and Social Sciences, Kampala International University.

Signature: .....

Date: 05/11/2022.....

**SUPERVISOR: DR. OLUSOLA MATTHEW OJO**

## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this research to my dear beloved parents my father Mr. Nyabongo Okello and my Mother Mrs. Sylvia Nyabongo for their both moral and financial support in my academic career. May the Almighty God Bless You.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Firstly, I do thank the Almighty God for everything he has done for me throughout my whole academic career. I also acknowledge my supervisor for the guidance and support during my research.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
MONUSCO	United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
M23	March 23 Movement
UN	United Nations
UN-OCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

## ABSTRACT

The study sought to participatory democracy and conflict transformation in Democratic Republic of Congo: A case study of Ituri Province. The study objectives were to; examine the effect of Deliberative Polling on conflict transformation in Ituri Province, DRC, determine the effect of Referendums on conflict transformation in Ituri Province, DRC and establish the effect of Participatory Budgeting on conflict transformation in Ituri Province, DRC. This study employed a correlational research design. This research design was used in the course of the study. Quantitative approaches were used in the study. Quantitative approach which was classified in two broad categories, that is; experimental and general survey design examined the effect of participatory democracy on conflict transformation as an independent variable whereas qualitative design involved the use of questions to obtain views from the respondents. The population of the study used a total population of conflict region of Ituri Province, DRC which was 1,025,756 as indicated in by National Institute of Statistics (2015). However the researcher randomly targeted a population of 187 respondents. The total sample size was 127 respondents. In this study, the target population of 187 involved; Local Authorities, Selected politicians in conflict region of Ituri Province, DRC, Community Leaders in conflict region of Ituri Province, DRC, Officials from MONUSCO and Residents in conflict region of Ituri Province, DRC. The study found out that the males were 89(57.8%) and female 65(42.2%) with regard to gender, this implies that the number of men was higher than that of women since it was believed men are more effective in dealing in participatory democracy than their female counterparts. With regard to education level, 15(9.7%) were at primary school level, 78(50.6%) were at secondary school level, 17(11%) were certificate holders, 26(16.9%) of the respondents were diploma holders, 12(7.8%) were bachelor's degree and the remaining 6(3.9%) were master's degree holders. This implies that most of the respondents were not relatively educated and thus were informed about the participatory democracy and conflict transformation. The study concluded that a deliberative democratic approach may also involve polling and town hall meetings, but the goal extends beyond informing the public and aggregating the views of average citizens. The study recommends that it is clear that DRC is a country deeply wounded by injustice, fear, war, prejudice, hatred, and deliberate falsification of its history by successive regimes; however in order to enhance deliberative polling.

## **CHAPTER ONE:**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.0 Introduction**

This chapter presents the background to the study, statement of the problem, the purpose of the study, objectives of the study, research questions and assumptions, scope of the study, significance of the study, the justification of the study and the operational definitions of terms and concepts as applied to suit the context of the study.

#### **1.1 Background to the study**

##### **1.1.1 Historical Perspective**

Globally, participatory democracy and conflict transformation practices are a pressing concern across the global community (Abdullah, C., Karpowitz, C. F., & Raphael, C.2016). Since the introduction of the Marshall Plan following World War II, attempts to build peace in post-conflict contexts have been pursued largely by international actors in partnership with national-level governments and elites. Though the Marshall Plan is certainly considered a successful endeavor, having sowed the seeds of the European Union created mere decades after devastating war, the nature of conflict today has changed (Adepoji, 2013).

In the past three decades, African states that emerged from deadly conflicts have been unable to make the transition from quasi-military dictatorship to transparent and accountable civilian democratic governance (Afako, 2012). In spite of massive support, the UN system, western democracies and international donors have given to countries like North Sudan, Uganda, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Angola, Democratic Republic of Congo and Rwanda, they have not been able to establish effective democracies. Most still lack an independent judiciary, media, and political space. Their regimes have regularly been accused of electoral fraud, human rights abuses, widespread corruption and disregard for the rule of law (Afonso, 2015). The central question is why participatory democracy has been elusive for most post-conflict African countries to establish sustainable democratic institutions at all levels of political and corporate governance.

The Democratic Republic of Congo (formerly Zaire) has a long history of conflict, but its recent crises can be traced to the aftermath of the 1994 Rwandan genocide (Aguilera, A. I., Stanley, V., Zhang, M., & Ijjasz-Vasquez, E. J. 2017.) In response to violence carried out by exiled Rwandan Hutu genocidaires, Rwandan and Ugandan forces invaded the East of Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) in 1996. In what came to be known as the First Congo War, Mobutu SeseSeko was overthrown and replaced by Laurent-Desire Kabila. Beginning in 1998, Kabila accused Rwanda of exploiting the DRC's minerals, and was aided by Angola, Namibia, and Zimbabwe in a successful effort to push Rwandan and Ugandan forces out of the country (Al Qurtuby, 2013). The Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement of July 1999 attempted to end hostilities between nations, and was signed by Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Rwanda, and Uganda, as well as the DRC.

### **1.1.2 Theoretical Perspective**

The study was based on the theory of participatory democracy which was developed by Jean-Jacques Rousseau in 1941 and later promoted by J.S. Mill and G. D. H. Cole, who argued that participatory democracy is indispensable for the realization of a just society. Nevertheless, the sudden invigoration and popularity on this topic in the academic literature only began in mid-19th century (Al Ramiah, & Hewstone, 2013). One conjecture is that the revival of participatory democracy's significance was a natural progression from the growing assessment that representative models of democracy were in decline; increasingly inorganic relations between the elected elites and the public, diminishing electoral turnouts, and ceaseless political corruptions are often considered as the rationales behind its alleged crisis. Another, as argued by David Plotke, is that the proponents of participatory democracy were originally the critics of 'minimal democracy', a theory popularly established by Joseph Schumpeter (Bachtiger et al., 2010). Regardless of its origin, the recent resurgence of participatory democracy has led to various institutional reforms such as participatory budgeting, steadily challenging the traditionally predominant form of liberal democracy



### **1.1.3 Conceptual Perspective**

Participatory democracy or participative democracy is a model of democracy in which citizens are provided power to make political decisions (Barber, 2011). Etymological roots of democracy imply that the people are in power, making all democracies participatory to some degree. However, participatory democracy tends to advocate greater citizen participation and more direct representation than traditional representative democracy. For example, the creation of governing bodies through a system of sortition, rather than election of representatives, is thought to produce a more participatory body by allowing citizens to hold positions of power themselves (BBC News Online, 2013).

Conflict transformation is the process by which two or more parties engaged in a disagreement, dispute or debate reach an agreement resolving it. Conflict transformation is a way for two or more parties to find a peaceful solution to a disagreement among them (Behrend, 2014). The disagreement may be personal, financial, political, or emotional. When a dispute arises, often the best course of action is negotiation to resolve the disagreement. The goals of negotiation are: To produce a solution that all parties can agree to work as quickly as possible to find this solution, to improve, not hurt, the relationship between the groups in conflict (Black, 2012). Conflict transformation through negotiation can be good for all parties involved.

### **1.1.4 Contextual perspective**

Despite dilemmas of justice and democracy, participatory democracy in DRC continues to evolve at both state and grassroots levels through processes based on indigenous knowledge and practices like Eastern parts of the country to achieve effective conflict transformation (Bland, 2011). In this sense, participatory democracy can be better described as pragmatic liberalism. Or putting it another way, pragmatic realism where procedural democracy (in this instance, the distribution of power) is occasionally sacrificed to produce the ‘greater good’.

## **1.2. Statement of the Problem**

Over the last decades of the twentieth century, most African states witnessed important advances in representative democracy and individual freedom (Bland, 2017). The forces for freedom have revealed in the collapse of the dictatorships of the past; working hard to see them transformed into representative democracies that are increasingly stable, inclusive, and respectful of rule of law and the basic rights of their people.

Tragically, the democratic status quo in Ituri Province has not been preserved. The province is again being menaced by two important forces that threaten the democratic stability and wellbeing of the citizens of the Province: the emergence of a reactionary bloc of states that seek to upend the recent democratic transformation and the rising influence of non-state actors that threaten to plunge the Province into chaos (Boulding, & Wampler, 2010). If these two forces are not successfully counteracted, decades of progress on political and civil rights will be lost. Seeking to address the above issues, requires a well-designed study to contribute towards making the young people more relevant in these processes by increasing their meaningful participation, beyond just taking part in the electoral process, to seeking accountability, getting their voices heard, benefiting from government province level programs and informed participation in decision making, thus, building meaningful local participatory democracy, better understanding of decentralization system of governance, and strengthening decision – making capacity of young men and women in Ituri Province, DRC

As a result, Ituri Province continues to face endless conflict despite efforts to initiate participatory democracy and implies that mechanisms of accommodating, avoiding and compromising has not been effective enough to transform the conflict in the Province. Deliberative Polling, referendums and participatory Budgeting were intended to engage all the community members to participate in democracy; however, this has not been achieved. Therefore it is in this aspect that the researcher aims at examining the impact of participatory democracy on conflict transformation in DRC particularly Ituri Province

### **1.3 Purpose of the study**

To examine the impact of participatory democracy on conflict transformation in DRC particularly Ituri Province

### **1.4 Objectives of the Study**

#### **1.4.1 General Objective**

The general objective of the study is to examine the impact of participatory democracy on conflict transformation in Ituri Province, DRC.

#### **1.4.2 Specific Objectives**

The specific objectives are to:

- i. Examine the effect of Deliberative Polling on conflict transformation in Ituri Province, DRC
- ii. Determine the effect of Referendums on conflict transformation in Ituri Province, DRC
- iii. Interrogate the effect of Participatory Budgeting on conflict transformation in Ituri Province, DRC

### **1.5 Research Questions**

The study sought to address the following research questions:

- i. What is the effect of Deliberative Polling on conflict transformation in Ituri Province, DRC?
- ii. What is the effect of Referendums on conflict transformation in Ituri Province, DRC?
- iii. What is the effect of Participatory Budgeting on conflict transformation in Ituri Province, DRC?

## **1.6 Scope of the Study**

### **1.6.1 Geographical Scope**

The study was carried out in conflict region of Ituri Province, DRC particularly in Ituri Province. Ituri is one of the 21 new provinces of the Democratic Republic of the Congo created in the 2015 repartitioning. Ituri, Bas-Uele, Haut-Uele, and Tshopo provinces are the result of the dismemberment of the former Orientale province. This study covered conflict region of Ituri Province, DRC because of the recent conflict of M23 rebels that lasted for a year. The study was carried out from Ituri Province since the province had been experiencing conflict inflicted by M23 militias despite having participatory democracy.

### **1.6.2 Content Scope**

This study addressed the effect of Deliberative Polling on conflict transformation in Ituri Province, DRC, effect of Referendums on conflict transformation in Ituri Province, DRC and effect of Participatory Budgeting on conflict transformation in Ituri Province, DRC

### **1.6.3 Time Scope**

The study focused on the period between 2012 -2020 since it was during this time period when conflict region of Ituri Province, DRC were under siege with M23 rebels and this study covered a period of four months due to the nature of activities that were carried out. The study took place from January to May 2022 because the process involves data gathering and editing.

## **1.7 Significance of the Study**

This study is expected to be of considerable contribution to the awareness of the effects of participatory democracy in order to provide vital information to concerned bodies and the Ministry of local government, on issues concerning participatory and good governance.

The study will enable researchers gather more information regarding participatory democracy and conflict transformation. In addition, this study will contribute to the growing body of knowledge in effects of conflicts on participatory democracy as it looks at the concept from a

different angle.

The study will enable the researcher to complete her Masters of arts in conflict resolution and peace building from Kampala International University.

The study if accomplished will provide a foundation for future research by narrowing down the existing gaps in the participatory democracy strategy.

## **1.8 Operational definition of Key terms**

### **Participatory democracy**

A participatory democracy is a model of democracy in which citizens have the power to make policy decisions. Participatory democracy is any activity that shapes, affects, or involves the political sphere. Participatory democracy ranges from voting to attending a rally to committing an act of terrorism to sending a letter to a representative (Cammett, & Malesky, 2012).

### **Conflict transformation**

Conflict transformation is a concept designed to reframe the way in which peacebuilding initiatives are discussed and pursued, particularly in contexts of ethnic conflict. Conflict transformation is a way for two or more parties to find a peaceful solution to a disagreement among them. The disagreement may be personal, financial, political, or emotional (Chandler, 2010). When a dispute arises, often the best course of action is negotiation to resolve and transform the disagreement.

### **Deliberative Polling**

Deliberative Polling is an attempt to use public opinion research in a new and constructive way. Deliberative Polling is a theory of politics and civil engagement in which discourse among representatives and among citizens is structured to lead to recommendations, and ultimately decisions, that are either in the “public interest” or structure conflict in a way that illuminates the issues more clearly to facilitate a fair solution (Cini, & Felicetti, 2018).

## **Referendum**

A referendum is a direct vote by the electorate on a proposal, law, or political issue. This is in contrast to an issue being voted on by a representative (Adepoji, 2013). This may result in the adoption of a new policy or specific law, or the referendum may be only advisory. In some countries, it is synonymous with or commonly known by other names including plebiscite, popular consultation, ballot question, ballot measure, or proposition.

## **Participatory budgeting**

Participatory budgeting (PB) is a type of citizen sourcing in which ordinary people decide how to allocate part of a municipal or public budget through a process of democratic deliberation and decision-making (Afonso, 2015). Participatory budgeting allows citizens or residents of a locality to identify, discuss, and prioritize public spending projects, and gives them the power to make real decisions about how money is spent

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.0 Introduction**

This chapter presents the analysis of existing literature relating to the subject of the study and was structured according to the research objectives. This is a very wide aspect and the information given would help the researcher during the research study.

#### **2.1 Theoretical Review**

##### **2.1.1 Theory of participatory democracy**

The study was based on the theory of participatory democracy which was developed by Jean-Jacques Rousseau in 1941 and later promoted by J.S. Mill and G. D. H. Cole, who argued that participatory democracy is indispensable for the realization of a just society. Nevertheless, the sudden invigoration and popularity on this topic in the academic literature only began in mid-19th century (Coelho, & Waisbich, 2016). Participatory democracy is a process of collective decision making that combines elements from both direct and representative democracy: Citizens have the power to decide on policy dissertations and politicians assume the role of policy implementation. Participatory democracy is primarily concerned with ensuring that citizens have the opportunity to be involved in decision-making on matters that affect their lives. It is not a new concept and has existed in various forms since the Athenian democracy.

The researcher used this theory because it was relevant to the study since it stipulates that participatory democracy may also have an educational effect. Greater political participation can lead to the public to seeking to also make it higher quality in efficacy and depth: "the more individuals participate the better able they become to do so. Theory of participatory democracy was relevant to this study because it provides a real alternative, or complement, to elected power: a distinct and organised public sphere in which the demands of the people can be articulated, developed and negotiated between each other, and finally negotiated with the local or other relevant state institutions.

### **2.1.2 Conflict Transformation Theory**

According to Berghof Foundation, conflict transformation means: A generic, comprehensive term referring to actions and processes seeking to alter the various characteristics and manifestations of violent conflict by addressing the root causes of a particular conflict over the long term. The theory aims to transform negative destructive conflict into positive constructive conflict and deals with structural, behavioural and attitudinal aspects of conflict (Delaney et al., 2017). The term refers to both the process and the completion of the process. As such, it incorporates the activities of processes such as conflict prevention and conflict resolution and goes farther than conflict settlement or conflict management.

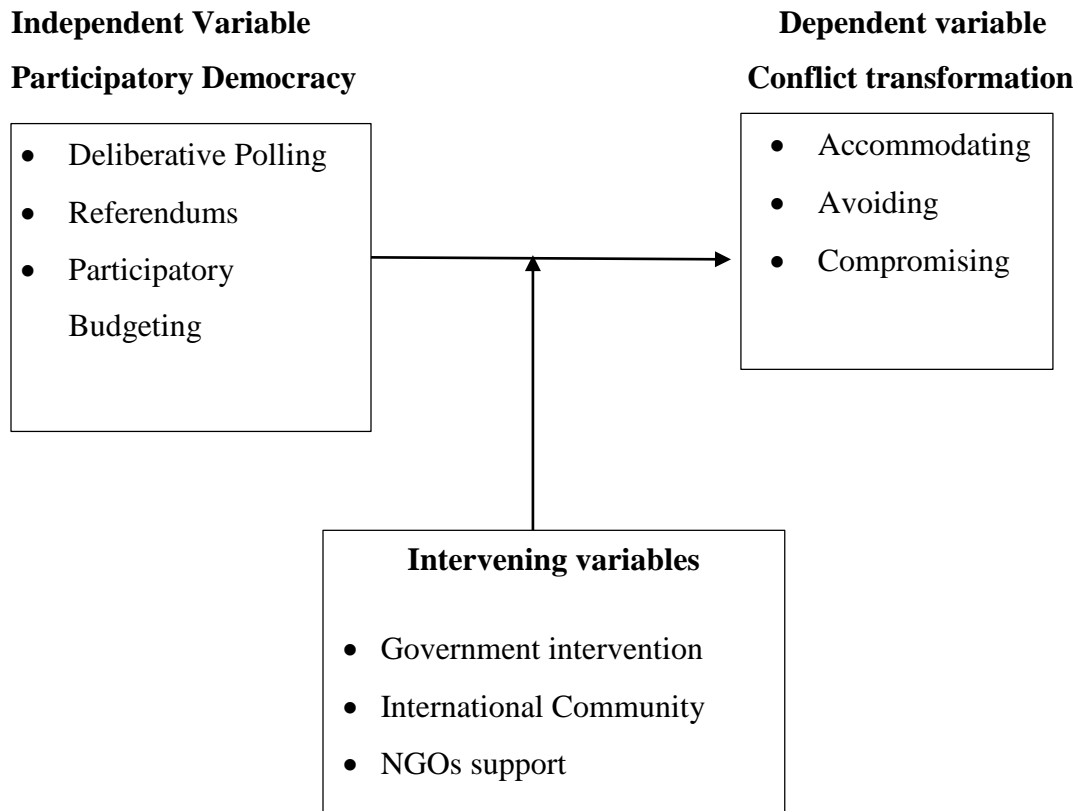
The theorists of conflict transformation draw on a wide variety of conceptual building blocks, some of which are borrowed from other schools, some are old and yet some others are recent (Delaney et al., 2017). The theories of conflict transformation reflect both differing paradigms and different types of intervenors (state and non-state, internal and external). The functionalist school of thought represented by Georg Simmel and Lewis Coser are one intellectual source that informs the field of conflict transformation. Both these thinkers had stressed on the positive social function of conflict. Simmel (in his extended essay, *Conflict*, published in 1955) articulated that conflict has an integrative nature as it brings together disparate and contending influences. He saw it as a source of social cohesion and creativity

This theory was relevant to the study because it stresses that at a prescriptive level, transformation represents efforts to provide insight into underlying causes and social conditions that create and foster violent expressions of conflict, and to promote nonviolent mechanisms that reduce adversarial interaction and minimize violence. This theory was therefore vital to the study since it does not only seek to resolve the contradiction in a conflict setting. It also aims at addressing structural and social root causes by challenging injustices and restoring human relations and it deals with ethnical and value-based dimensions. Furthermore, this theory was relevant to the study since it seeks to make space for understanding how power functions within conflict and how larger systems must be addressed before individual relationships can be mended or improved.



## 2.2 Conceptual framework

Figure 2.1 : Showing the Conceptual Framework



The conceptual framework above indicates that the independent variable is participatory democracy measured by; Deliberative Polling, Referendums and Participatory Budgeting whereas the dependent variable is conflict transformation and it consists of; Accommodating, Avoiding and Compromising. The intervening variables are; Government intervention, International Community and NGOs support.

## 2.3 Review of related studies

### 2.3.1 Effect of Deliberative Polling on conflict transformation

A deliberative democratic approach may also involve polling and town hall meetings, but the goal extends beyond informing the public and aggregating the views of average citizens. A technique called Deliberative Polling, devised by political scientist James Fishkin, involves drawing a random sample of citizens, polling them on their initial views, and giving them

“balanced” information packages, access to experts, and a chance to deliberate (DeCuir-Gunby & Schutz, 2017). Ultimately, these “informed” citizens are polled a second time and both the final poll results and the differences between pre- and post-deliberation results are passed along to all the elected and appointed officials involved prior to official voting. In the end, the final decision remains in the hands of elected and appointed officials who, in some cases have given a prior commitment to implementing the outcome but, in most cases, simply take account of the Deliberative Polling results before making a decision (Delaney et al., 2017).

Deliberative Polling is a theory of politics and civil engagement in which discourse among representatives and among citizens is structured to lead to recommendations, and ultimately decisions, that are either in the “public interest” or structure conflict in a way that illuminates the issues more clearly to facilitate a fair solution (Dixon et al., 2010). The success of democratic decision-making should be measured in terms of meeting the desires of every citizen through deliberation. Early Deliberative Polling advocates measure success in terms of the quality of the discourse they can achieve. If ideas are well debated, dialogue is open (not unfairly manipulated), and social learning occurs, they are content (Dolan, 2016).

Deliberative Polling and conflict transformation have the same goal—to inform and determine the public interest—but they involve different skills and practices (Doom, and Koen, 2012). This article considers the ways in which deliberative democratic approaches to policy related decision-making can be supplemented with tools used in conflict transformation —specifically, the use of an independent mediator, the well-developed technique of stakeholder assessment, and a new strategy called joint fact-finding, where stakeholders with different interests work together with outside experts to identify common assumptions, gather information together, and formulate and clarify opinions. All are designed to achieve fairer, wiser, more stable and more efficient outcomes.

Deliberative polling, independently of Conflict transformation, can “deepen” democracy by adding to the legitimacy (and perhaps the quality) of whatever is decided. But in most of its current legislative and citizen forms, deliberative polling usually forgoes the added value that collaborative problem-solving can generate (Everett, 2013). Conflict transformation can yield results that are fairer (in the eyes of the parties), more efficient (in the eyes of an independent

analyst), more stable (in retrospect), and wiser if the right parties are at the table, have a hand in generating the agenda and choosing their own spokespeople, and engage in joint fact-finding (Gersony, 2014). Such efforts should be managed by an independent mediator, and the parties should take responsibility for meeting not only their own interests but also the interests of others (through value creation). While elected and appointed officials retain the final say in a representative democratic context, experience has shown that such officials are eager to find out how they can deal with controversial issues in a way that will generate a positive response (and political support) from all stakeholders. Such an approach calls for facilitative, rather than top-down, leadership.

### **2.3.2 Effect of Referendums on conflict transformation**

The use of referendums to forge, ratify and enact peace agreements is on the rise. In growing numbers, peacemakers have organized referendums in order to aid peace talks and ameliorate post-settlement peacebuilding (MONUSCO, 2013). Despite this increasingly common practice, there is little consensus on whether referendums help or hurt peace. Such votes can be uniquely powerful tools for addressing sovereignty incompatibilities driving armed conflict. However, dangerous outcomes include mass violence, intensified polarization, and the undermining peace agreement implementation.

Regarding the referendums' impact on democratisation, in Eritrea and South Sudan, the transition period leading up to the referendum (two and six years respectively) was used by the dominant political groups to consolidate their exclusive power over the territory concerned. After the referendum, neither entity democratised, though this failure to democratise cannot be directly attributed to the referendum (IRIN, 2013). In contrast, East Timor, which had no transition period before the referendum but benefited from the UN transition period after it, has become the most democratic country in Southeast Asia. It has been recognised that the experience of casting a vote on the fundamental question of self-determination has led to a higher voter turnout at subsequent elections and more generally contributed to a participatory democracy in East Timor.

Across all three cases, the referendum experience led to excessive optimism among international actors (Khadiagala, 2014). They wrongly assumed that the unity of pro-independence leaders and

citizens would continue after independence, that this unity indicated no tensions existed within the pro-independence movements, and that it meant democratisation would not be difficult. Failure to understand the local dynamics had real consequences. In East Timor, the UN peacekeeping forces withdrew hastily based on this misplaced optimism, making it impossible for the UN mission to effectively deal with the 2006 crisis. In South Sudan, the international actors focused more on development than politics after independence, limiting their ability to prevent the 2013 civil war (Kiefer, 2015).

### **2.3.3 Effect of Participatory Budgeting on conflict transformation**

Every individual has the inalienable right to life, liberty and the security of person. Insecurity has a disproportionate impact in further marginalizing poor communities. Cities must strive to avoid human conflicts and natural disasters by involving all stakeholders in crime and conflict prevention and disaster preparedness (Leonardsson, & Rudd, 2015). Security also implies freedom from persecution, forced evictions and provides for security of tenure. Cities should also work with social mediation and conflict reduction agencies and encourage the cooperation between enforcement agencies and other social service providers (health, education and housing).

What participatory budgeting does as a good urban governance tool is to contribute to the resolution of conflicts through a process of consensus building, which is by way of promoting open discussions that defines the criteria for priority setting priorities and resource allocation (Lukermoi, 2015). By advocating inclusiveness participatory budgeting also contributes to a reduction in violence against the economically weak and other disadvantaged groups as well as nurturing a culture of peace and a multicultural and multiethnic governance

Democracy gives citizens a say in matters that concern them (Nadarajah, & Rampton, 2015). Participatory budgeting is an effective tool for improving and strengthening decentralized and democratized governance. It is likely to improve accessibility of councils to citizens and to have their problems attended to in a timely manner. It further enhances accountability and transparency in public finance management (Nakagawa, 2018). The municipal authorities also need to have a commitment to accept conflict fueled mainly by different political ideologies. At

the same time, a successful participatory budgeting process requires the political will and democratic processes that take initiatives to reduce the exclusion of those who are less likely to participate. The aim here will be to make special efforts to reduce internal inequalities and to avoid concentration of knowledge and the perpetuation of power in the hands of a few local politicians, municipal practitioners and local elites.

The end of armed conflict and demonstration of political will to decentralize have enhanced civic participation in local decision-making and the budgeting process. The municipality set up bairro or ward development committees composed of profiled locally-based civic society organizations like churches, youth and women's organizations (Obita, 2012). The local authority spear-headed this process through assembling civic groups in meetings for awareness-raising, needs identification and project formulation. The local authority arranged for meetings at ward level for budgets of the ensuing years. The local authority acted as the secretariat and ensured that the projects the community identified became the authority's projects.

## **2.4 Empirical Studies**

Behrend, Heike, (2014) noted that one of the major reasons why conflict is inevitable in Africa is because of competition over resources. This is evidenced by the ever-increasing interstate wars and conflicts in Africa. This is mostly due to competition over the limited resources for instance some states tend to fight over their resources at their borders. Dolan, Chris. (2016) suggested that due to intermarriages over neighboring countries, a number of conflicts and wars have escalated at the borders of different states or countries and this is why conflict is inevitable in Africa. However, this needs to be effectively addressed in order to maintain peace and harmony in society.

This is why conflict is inevitable in Africa This is because most current states do not effectively recognize the aspirations for cultural identity, autonomy, economic democracy and self-determination of different nationalities co-existing with the contemporary states (Dolan, Chris., 2016) Dolan, Chris. (2016) argued that most scholars also do argue that ethnicity is why conflict is inevitable in Africa. For instance, the tendency of creation of new nation-states at the time of independence was accompanied urgent calls for nation-building by the new African

leaders who were well aware of the difficulty in transcending African ethnic and regional loyalties.

Doom et al., (2012) noted that this has also made most states to believe that they are stronger than other states and thus tend to interfere in other states' issues or matters that leading to interstate conflict or even wars and this are why conflict is inevitable in Africa. This is usually in form of inter-state aggression, annexation, intervention or hostility; for example, support for the rebels of other states, or for separatist movements. This has been characterized by various forms of ideological or political campaigns, territorial claims, and religious expansionism against other states, regional rivalries, terrorism, coercion or discrimination respecting the trade or economies of other states and this is why conflict is inevitable in Africa (Okumu, 2013).

Gersony & Robert, (2014) noted that Political / Domestic; power struggles, hostile groups, over-population, economic or religious disparities, oppression, and demands for democracy, communal or ethnic violence related to economic, social, religious, cultural or ethnic issues. This has led to interstate wars and conflict in contemporary international relations and this is why conflict is inevitable in Africa Gersony, Robert (2014) further noted that this has been evidenced in a number of states or countries where there is various forms of violations of human rights, mass movements of refugees, poverty or instability caused by the mismanagement or ineptitude of the government, including evident and perceived levels of corruption by the government beyond any acceptable limits of traditional toleration and this is why conflict is inevitable in Africa

IRIN (2013) noted that most scholars argue that due to poor governance such as dictatorship is also one of the reasons for interstate wars and conflicts in the contemporary international relations. For instance, dictatorship tendencies have also been a root cause of conflict with states that later spreads to the neighboring states that try to intervene in the situations.

Elite conflicts within the political leadership are among the most common form of political strife and this is why conflict is inevitable in Africa (Khadiagala & Gilbert, 2014). They have occurred in almost every African country throughout the post-independence period. Elite conflict is normally of a low intensity but it does significantly impact on the polity. The key means of

dealing with elite demands have often been through the manipulation of appointments and policy shifts often, distribution of bureaucratic posts is used as a means of appeasement, which partly accounts for the rapid growth of state machinery, such as the creation of numerous states within DRC (Lukermoi, 2015).

Lukermoi, A., (2015) noted that revolutionary conflicts pose a basic threat to the validity of state power as constituted and offer alternative political visions guided by a clearly defined set of organizing principles and this is why conflict is inevitable in Africa. But many African countries have not been able to suppress mass discontent. From available indices, DRC has the potential for this type of conflict, given the high graduate unemployment, poor standard of living, marginalisation of the peasants, emasculation of labour and many other unresolved social ills.

Evidence suggests that when women are elected to political positions, they can make a difference for girls and women and strongly impact legislation (Lukermoi, 2015). Additionally, women tend to push for positive change around health, community wellbeing, poverty reduction, and family welfare, and are more likely to strive to reach a consensus on policies. When well-designed, quotas can be effective, temporary measures to increase women's participatory democracy while transitioning to the point where a gender balance in political decision-making can be achieved and sustained; this is particularly crucial within electoral systems that are not conducive to equal participation. In the 41 countries where women represented 30% of elected legislators, 34 countries had some form of quota system. Specifically, 17 of those countries used candidate quotas, 11 used voluntary quotas, and six used reserve seat quotas (Rubin, 2016).

Positions of political power must be accessible to all women, and not restrictive based on age, education, socio-economic status, geographical origin, or any other demographic characteristic (UN-OCHA, 2013). Youth are more traditionally represented in civil society movements, yet they remain underrepresented in formal positions of power despite their capacity to serve as agents of change. In one-third of countries, the minimum age to serve in parliament is 25, yet only 1.65% of parliamentarians are under 30 (Lukermoi, 2015). At the same time, young women are more likely to engage in political volunteer work compared to their male peers.

Parliamentary representation of women from indigenous populations can also benefit society by creating space for new insights regarding national issues.

Obita, James Alfred, (2012) noted that globally, parliamentary participation by indigenous populations remains low. Research conducted by the Inter-Parliamentary Union shows that indigenous people are proportionally underrepresented in 12 parliaments and absent from 9 parliaments, and there are a lack of data available on indigenous populations' roles in decision-making bodies. Women from marginalized groups often face even greater barriers to participation, facing a double dose of discrimination.

Offering women political leadership and skills-based training provides them with the foundation they need to actively participate in politics. Many groups and organizations around the world have carried out programs focused on overcoming major political barriers for women candidates, legislators, and influencers (Weeks, 2014). These barriers include lack of financial resources and educational opportunities, as well as unaccommodating governments and geographic restrictions. By fostering opportunities in political engagement training, women may increasingly take action at local, national, and international levels to yield lasting results.

Women's participation in local government is essential to inform policy and deliver change (Okumu, Hon. Ronald Reagan, 2013). Women's engagement in leadership positions at the grassroots level has been shown to have positive correlations to a higher quality of education, health, and infrastructure projects, as well as a boost to women's empowerment and standards of liv (Rubin, Elizabeth, 2016). Yet empowerment starts in the home and in the community. A recent study found that admiration, respect, and affection in father-daughter relationships is a vital component of successful women (Young, 2015).

Participatory democracy has its roots in many centuries of democratic thought and practice. Its modern meaning came into focus towards the end of the twentieth century through initial experiences with direct democracy – using voting mechanisms to provide limited citizen engagement in policy making – and more ambitious participatory reforms implemented with significant inauthenticity (Abdullah et al., 2016). From the 1950s, public participation gradually became accepted in Western societies. Pertinent to the case studies in this book, the British



Ministry of Housing and Local Government launched Community Development Projects in 1969 to regenerate deprived urban areas, involving excluded, disadvantaged groups in the process.

At the same time, many Italian municipalities established neighbourhood councils to provide links between the local population and the city councils (Adepoji, 2013), and a similar institution was granted legal status in the Dutch Municipal Law of 1964. While these democratic innovations cannot yet be counted as manifestations of participatory democracy, their often disappointing outcomes stimulated its emergence. Public authorities and private stakeholders typically used participation in instrumental or symbolic ways to further their own interests rather than increase the influence of citizens on public policy (Afako, 2012).

However, failures were not ascribed to the notion of participation itself but to undemocratic tendencies deeply embedded in the system of representative democracy. In response, citizens developed a deeply felt resentment of the misappropriation of public decision-making powers and the lack of genuine inclusion of citizens in the process (Afonso, 2015). This led to the development of normative principles intended to guide reform toward authentic participatory practices.

In the *first generation* of debate, therefore, participatory democracy was developed as an antithesis to the masquerade that was passing for democracy (Aguilera et al., 2017). This literature argued that the aggregation of preferences through indirect representation, direct voting mechanisms, and inauthentic attempts at citizen involvement sustained an individualistic society ruled by power-hungry elites. It was argued that a ‘thin democracy’ like this needed to be replaced by a ‘strong democracy’, a self-governing community in which consensual and fair decisions are taken jointly by all citizens affected by the issue at hand. It was thought that democracy could only reach its full potential when the realisation of this participatory ideal supplanted the representative system as the dominant model of democracy (Al Qurtuby, 2013). Thus, a fundamental change in the meaning of democracy was at stake in these theoretical arguments.

Whereas democracy traditionally meant that the authority to take and enact binding public decisions was reserved for elected politicians and mandated professionals, the influence of non-

elected individuals was no longer seen as undemocratic but rather as a key requirement for democracy (Al Ramiah, & Hewstone, 2013). However, public encounters did not feature in this citizen-centred conception of participatory democracy.

Key to the emergence and functioning of a strong democracy was the ‘deliberative turn’: ‘a critical orientation to established power structures [which] requires that communication must induce reflection upon preferences in a non-coercive fashion’ (Barber, 2011). Decisions were no longer to be taken based on hierarchy or debate in which power inequalities distort the communicative process, but through a fair process of deliberation defined as the rational exchange of ideas, information and arguments among free and equal citizens.

According to Barber, (2011), the quality of democracy should be evaluated by analysing the circumstances under which individuals communicate their preferences, judgements and justifications. Decision making about public or collective affairs could only be truly legitimate under ideal speech conditions in which individual preferences are transformed into a collective agreement based solely on the power of the best argument. Taken together, then, a new normative framework for democracy was born: collective decision making through deliberative processes in which all affected citizens could participate freely and equally.

This framework was further developed during the *second generation* of debate. Having accepted the primacy of participatory democracy over representative democracy, scholars started to explore how this ideal could be achieved in a world defined by difference, intractable problems and a flawed institutional architecture (Behrend, 2014). Initially, criticisms were lodged against the view that ideal procedures alone were sufficient to enable fair public reasoning and collective choice. Citizens would first need to hold certain values to enable them to judge whether the procedures were actually legitimate. Moreover, these values were also required to guide them in evaluating the arguments.

Advocates of this more substantive view argued that values such as inclusion, equality and liberty were needed to guarantee that diverse people would accept both the procedures for deliberating and the substance and outcomes of the decision-making process. In turn, advocates

of the procedural view replied that without prior procedures it would be difficult to come to an agreement about the exact substance of these guiding values (Behrend, 2014)

Some found the debate about this philosophical dilemma too narrow to buttress strong democracy in practice. Several political philosophers developed a ‘thicker’ definition of participatory democracy constituted by value pluralism. In their view our society is defined by differences, often negotiated across deep divides (Bland, 2011), between ‘competing languages, discourses, worldviews and truths’. In contrast to the framework of the first generation, which assumed, or strived for, shared understandings and unity, participatory democracy needs to accommodate pluralism and bridge divisions.

According to Bland, (2017) theory of radical pluralism, for example, contestation and power inequality cannot be avoided because dealing with differences is inevitably a political struggle between competing values. However, antagonism can and should be turned into ‘agonism’ by recognising each party as legitimate adversaries. It is at this point that participatory democracy was first conceptualised in terms of public encounters. Most famously, Young wrote of ‘democracy as a process of communication among citizens and public officials’ which facilitates differences in modes of expression and listening to those differently situated.

Encounters between public professionals and citizens became even more central to participatory democracy during the *third generation* of debate. Around 2000, a massive increase in the number of participatory policies and initiatives caused attention to shift from normative debate to daily practice. Around the globe, participatory policies with more far-reaching ambitions became widespread (Chandler, 2010).

To illustrate, the then incumbent New Labour government developed a new governance philosophy in which participation was a central element (Chandler, 2010) and launched a great number of policies aimed at a ‘joined up’ approach to democratic renewal, public participation, neighbourhood regeneration, social cohesion and inclusion, environmental sustainability, and economic competitiveness. At the heart of these policies, citizens were depicted as ‘an *integral* part of the governance process and their active involvement is considered *essential* in the substantive decisions facing a community’.

Public encounters thus became a key feature of public decision making at all levels of government, as citizens and public professionals started to meet in areas as diverse as water management, environmental policy, health care, food regulation and spatial planning. Citizens and professionals were now encountering each other for longer and with greater intensity than before (Coelho, & Waisbich, 2016). This required them to develop new skills, behaviour, organisational formats and mindsets about what to say and do, going beyond existing practices of ordinary political participation, technical bureaucratic decision making, or adversarial civic activism. In other words, the realisation of participatory ideals now depended ‘upon sustained and deep cooperation between diverse parties such as police officers and minority residents, parents and educators, workers and managers, and environmentalists and developers’ about concrete everyday problems.

The focus of research in this third generation has been to investigate ‘how to achieve ... deliberative theory in practice’. Driven by first and second generation participatory ideals, the goal is to explore their practical feasibility in different sociopolitical contexts. Studies of deliberative and participatory innovations such as mini-publics, deliberative polls, citizen juries, participatory budgeting and neighbourhood councils (Dolan, 2016) has expanded our understanding of the circumstances under which public professionals and citizens meet, the institutions and practices shaping their encounters, and the many factors contributing to the success or failure of their efforts.

Moreover, it has led to ever more sophisticated theories and models as well as a deeper understanding of the design, skills, dilemmas and complexities involved in facilitating ‘authentic’ participation and ‘genuine’ deliberation (Everett, 2013). Nevertheless, ‘there are serious concerns about an emerging gap between the rhetoric of hoped for or taken-for-granted benefits and their materialisation in reality’. Case studies typically report ‘a story of struggles with mixed results, while participatory outcomes are often disappointing (for example, Gersony, (2014). Public professionals and citizens face a number of recurring practical dilemmas and structural problems which in many cases prevent participatory democracy from becoming more than an add-on to representative democracy.

Ironically, participatory democracy is being implemented and hampered by the very system it was intended to replace. Moreover, the practical skills needed to effectively organise and manage participatory processes are not that widespread or easily acquired (Gersony, 2014). Thus, the actual ways in which participatory ideals take shape depend to a large extent on what public professionals and citizens *do* in participatory practice.

However, the literature is far from conclusive about what public professionals and citizens should actually do when they get together to resolve concrete problems. Comprehensive reviews struggle to provide more than ‘partial and mixed answers, as the dynamics and outcomes of participatory processes strongly depend on contextual factors (Gersony, 2014). Obviously, there are too many factors to take into account and handle well within the scope of participatory encounters. Whether public professionals and citizens live up to the ideals of participatory democracy, then, seems highly contingent on what they do when they encounter each other in practice.

The notion of the ‘political citizen’, and the equivalent terms refer to the idea of a constitutional contribution accessible to everyone. Two variants can then be distinguished, which designate rather different dynamics in regards to the justification of the citizens participation in the decision-making processes. The first regards the application of political power as a mobilized notion, while the second regards carrying out transformations that follow the logic of the society and its internal changes in the functioning of the political administration (IRIN, 2013). Having these means makes it possible to adapt and improve the offer of public policies so that it corresponds more to the needs of those to whom it is addressed. Participation at this level goes hand in hand with more accessible public services, and open communication between decision-makers and users.

Despite important nuances, the primary intention is the same: it is a question of completing the institutional regulation of representative democracy in places where the deployment of this broader democratic deliberation is possible, and where the participation of the greatest number of collective choices is encouraged (Kiefer, 2015). The effects of rigorous approaches towards greater participation by the people in decision-making can be significant, as it is on the way to becoming one of the dominant currents of contemporary political thought.

Participatory democracy, under some of these modalities, enshrines a new political role to the ordinary citizen, whereby the citizen becomes required to pronounce himself, and is supposed to be able to position himself politically when the share of initiative left to participants is reduced to a minimum (Leonardsson, & Rudd, 2015). This is often the case with the various participatory sittings or public debates that the political authorities set up, but which are in no way part of genuine participation. In other cases, discussions with citizens are part of pre-regulated arrangements that, like conferences or juries of citizens, are the subject of standard procedures.

In this case, the citizen is often placed in a passive, experimental situation, with a minimal room for negotiation. In these conditions, the forms of socially assisted democracies do not instrumentalize those who agree to participate (Lukermoi, 2015). But by questioning the capacity of these procedures to influence the decision-making process, they point to their main limit: their lack of effectiveness. Indeed, under certain conditions, these procedural innovations can sometimes trigger a virtuous political change process and compensate for the effect of structural inequalities on political participation, but in many cases, this type of decision-making approach contributes to polarizing rather than reconciling the different points of view.

The institutionalization of participation, its inclusion in the law and in administrative routines arguably offer more advantages than disadvantages. But this institutionalization of participation can only be achieved on one condition: the emergence and recognition of an intermediary actor, or a neutral power that guarantees the progress of the dialogue, and imposes obligations on all those involved (Nadarajah, & Rampton, 2015). The establishment of a procedure for participation with the public is likely to produce effects, regardless of the political context. These effects are often indirect and unexpected, and may concern the organizations, the actors involved, but also the decision itself. The expected effects, which are sought to be verified, can be extremely varied. They can relate to the actors at the individual level, their capacity to act, their opinions, their level of information, or acceptance of the other (Nakagawa, 2018). They can relate to the power relations between groups, situations of domination or injustice or the social representations of a phenomenon. They can finally deal with the decision in a democracy, whose causal relationships, taken separately or as a whole, the participation is supposed to validate or invalidate.

The participation of political citizens can then be a means of gaining advantage against organized civil society, suspected of having special counter interests. To be deployed, collective powers of reasoning require sufficient information, pluralistic debates allowing the exchange of arguments, and moments of personal introspection (Nakagawa, 2018). Consequently, the very notion of democracy, the idea that everyone has the right to participate in the definition of common affairs, if only through the vote of representatives, would be meaningless.

Induced by participatory approaches or, more broadly, by commitment to the problems of society, the idea of participation in the most radical experiments refers to a participative democracy in the strict sense, that is to say a combination between the institutions of representative democracy and the dimensions of democracy direct (Obita, 2012). An important part of the decision is not a purely technical definition and implies cultural, social or political choices which ordinary citizens can reasonably be associated with when an adequate procedure allows them to have information and to deliberate properly on the matter. The reason behind this is that participation is at best only a small minority of citizens, it is very socially unequal, as every interest, every social institution, is transformed into general, collective interest.

Participatory democracy contributes to politicizing certain populations, as it is always possible to contest the very modalities of the organization of the debate which challenges the organizers in the name of the democratic principles they claim to be, for example, is a common modality of major social operations (Okumu, 2013). More generally, everything indicates that organized groups still have the choice to practice when faced with these participatory mechanisms. While for some of them, the most fragile, these instances of participation constitute places where their real representativeness and strength are put to the test, most have a vested interest in their multiplication. Whatever the approach adopted, and where their intervention is permitted, organized groups retain the possibility of acting simultaneously in other settings.

This idea of participatory democracy is very often detached from any reference to social justice, as it is a question of bringing citizens closer to political power, of informing the population and introducing effective movements, but not of helping to improve the lot of the most disadvantaged populations. In other words, existing schemes contribute more to the learning of the actors already in place, and to redefining their relations than to transforming citizens into genuine

actors in public decision-making (Rubin, 2016). Ideally, participative power is expected to produce citizens more interested in public affairs, more informed, more empathetic, more concerned with the general interest, and to transform their opinions. These approaches call for attention to citizens' education, civic engagement and empowerment processes. As such, in order to make it more effective there must be an effort to communicate systematically, with the populations furthest from the political sphere through selective incentives for participation, or by a constant search for representativeness.

Because public participation does not spread homogeneously on a national scale in various sectors, including the public policy sector, in the same way, depending on the country, the analysis of the effects requires broadening the dimensions taken into account in the evaluation of participatory processes. There are more comparative approaches between public action contexts in order to analyze their differentiated capabilities (UN-OCHA, 2013). This is done in order to produce a range of participation and how whole areas of public action evade or convert into the new system of political participation. Namely, the influence of participatory schemes are created often to seek out the explanation of this result elsewhere, other than in the devices themselves. As such, a question of the effects on the decision is a question about the relatively low impact of the participatory protocols put in place, contrary to the expectations of the proponents of embedding them in larger systems of action and longer temporalities.

Consequently, the failure of most participatory processes is to transform public action serves in order to inform the ordinary processes of decision-making in our democracies (Weeks, 2014). This reasoning can be used as an argument that democratization of the decision-making process is hardly possible, due to the asymmetries of power and knowledge between the actors corresponding to strong initial normative changes. The first of these refers to the fact that the invalidation of the supposed and expected effects of participation constitutes in itself a significant result or decision. To note that, under certain conditions, the participation of the public in a democracy strengthens the power of the representatives, reinforces injustice and domination or produces strictly no effect can disappoint, it nevertheless constitutes a fact that deserves to be established.



In view of the initial assessments made in this issue and the questions they raise, it can be concluded that this deliberate turn in contemporary political thought and the rise of this participatory imperative in public action are a reflection on the limits of proven operation of current representative democracies (Weeks, 2014). A deviation from the participatory ideal is not only a risk, but a reality that is seen today in many municipalities where consultation councils have neither the means nor the recognition sufficient to make themselves heard. At the same time, it can be concluded that the reference to an ideal of direct democracy or self-management is absent from most of these initiatives. Whether they are as diverse as neighbourhood councils, citizens' conferences or the public debate, all present themselves as places where an informed public judgment can be built, where conflicting opinions can be made, and where arguments can be exchanged, but where decision-making power is not directly at stake (Young, 2015).

The part of the world where fledgling experiments in participatory democracy have had a chance to mature, combining direct and delegated forms of democracy with an opening up of representative forms, is the South, most notably Brazil. Others will discuss the Brazilian experience in more depth. My opinion is that the experiment nurtured but now faltering in cities in Brazil is vital to everyone desiring real democracy. The essence of that experiment is this: when the Brazilian Workers Party (Young, 2015) first won elected office in municipal councils, it almost instinctively committed itself 'to share power with the movements from which it came' in the words of one its first mayors, Celso Daniel. Since power lay with finance, the first participatory experiment began with the setting of the budget, specifically the allocation of new investment (participatory budgeting, PB).

Two features of the PT's origins shape or underpin PB. First, PT was born out of the struggle against a dictatorship and as a result recognised the value of liberal democratic institutions. At the same time it had roots in popular mass movements of the factories, cities and countryside who had experienced the need for stronger more participatory forms of democracy. It also had working examples of institutional frameworks for such participatory forms, for example in CUT and the MST . Second, it was strongly influenced by liberation theology and the educational theory and practice of Paolo Freire (Adepoji, 2013). This meant that fundamental to PT culture was a belief not simply in 'the masses' but in the capacities of each individual and the

possibilities of people fulfilling that potential through collective social change. It flowed from the PT's culture, it was part of why they were seeking office - it was why alongside the campaigning for office went support for occupations by the landless, industrial action in the factories, squatting in the cities.

Public institutions independent of the municipal government (Afako, 2012). The government, or at least special departments, facilitate these institutions and report back to them but do not take part in their decisions. These institutions are open to all in the first phase of the decision-making cycle and then based on recallable delegates. The institutions' processes are transparent, rule-governed and constantly evolving in the light of experience, trial and error.

In Porto Alegre, a much described exemplar of participatory processes, fifteen years of trial and error has produced at least four consequences that have wide relevance, fully justifying the international attention that this unassuming little city has attracted (Afonso, 2015). One of the key features of the crisis facing democracy is the way in which powerful private interests (corrupt local businesses or powerful multinational corporations with their extensive lobbying power) have inveigled themselves into the hidden areas between elected politicians and the state apparatus. In Porto Alegre in the late 1980s corruption was rife. By opening up the process of implementation to citizens PB effectively smoked out many hidden alliances of this kind.

Parliamentary democracy wasn't invented to monitor a large state apparatus. It has developed means of doing so, through special committees of various kinds, but all these mechanisms - Select Committees, Special Investigations, Inquiries and so on - work from the outside, often after implementation (Al Qurtuby, 2013). Participatory process, on the other hand, involves opening up policy implementation process at all stages to the day to day involvement by the people affected by the policies. The political process at all levels of government in Brazil, is being captured by the large multinationals through massive lobbying and assiduous, well-financed networking. In the face of this, participatory processes at many different levels could make a real difference. For example, workers (and local communities in the surrounding area) could have rights of monitoring or, at least consulting, on works in hand by corporations in receipt of public funds or carrying out public contracts (Al Qurtuby, 2013).

In Brazil the search for stronger forms of democracy has made most headway at a municipal level - at least as far as new lasting institutions are concerned. Many have argued, unsuccessfully for now, for developing and applying the same basic principles at a national level. The story of this attempt is for another day (Al Ramiah, & Hewstone, 2013). The important point is that extending popular participation to a national level is not simply a matter of good government - exposing corruption, challenging bureaucratic empires, keeping close to the real needs of the people - it is also, in the words of Olívio Dutra when he was governor of the state of Rio Grande Do Sul, about 'raising political consciousness about economic power at every level'.

The sharing of power by elected government and popular participatory processes challenges the orthodox perception that when economic decisions are made by federal government or international bodies like the IMF, they are always, and always bound to be, immutably constrained (Barber, 2011). Such power sharing creates a democratic but autonomous counter power to elected leaders who otherwise become prisoners of established, experienced and sometimes hostile state institutions. At its best, the counter power of participatory democracy can keep politicians' electoral mandate alive as a sustained presence within day to day government. In that sense it supports leaders to carry out their election promises, since they are backed by more vigorous democratic connections than simply an election victory, which in any case the institutions of the corporate market treat with contempt (Behrend, 2014).

Popular participation is less easy to dismiss because it carries possibilities of mobilisation and action which politicians cannot ignore, and which could damage the legitimacy of the international institutions which undermine socialist governments' electoral mandates (Behrend, 2014). In fact it is possible that in the world of the global market place, participatory democracy has become a necessary condition of electoral democracy. An extension of participatory democracy would not, by any means, have provided the whole answer for the Lula government but it would have created fertile soil for solutions and strategies. It would also have provided a basis for the mobilisation of international pressure in support of Lula's struggle with the IMF.

The first view of participation draws our attention to the power that the mass of people, conventionally defined as 'powerless', possess by virtue of the need that the existing social order

has for their complicity. This gives them a power of refusal; refusal to reproduce the status quo and with it the power collectively to transform social relationships (Behrend, 2014). This approach emphasizes our creative power to make alternatives, however precarious, within the present society, alternatives that illustrate or exemplify the values we are struggling to realize in the future. The second, state-led approach to participation de-emphasises struggles for control of public resources, and against privatisation. These struggles raise many issues of popular autonomy and the creation of alternatives which would involve democratic control over public resources and therefore imply a transformation of the state - both its internal hierarchies and its relation to struggles within society.

There is never a clear dividing line between what could be called 'state controlled participation' and open participatory process (Black, 2012). This came home to me sharply at a conference on participatory democracy in Buenos Aires in 2004. It was in the main hall of one of the city's most prestigious secondary schools. There are many reminders of the unfinished business of making Argentina a democracy. At the entrance, there is a plaque in memory of the students who resisted the dictatorship and the night on which they were taken by the military and never seen again. Their fate has never been uncovered (Bland, 2011).

On the platform, the mothers and grandmothers of the disappeared describe their fight to find out what happened to their children and grandchildren. They see their cause as a struggle to participate in the decisions of the state (Bland, 2011). They have taken direct action, using the widespread support they receive, conducted their own investigations and already made contact with 79 children of the disappeared. The conference is organised by the Observatory on Participatory Democracy, a growing and open-minded network of municipalities committed to develop the theory and practice of participatory government. In an earlier session we heard the mayor of Buenos Aires and a senior official proudly describing the city's new system of participatory democracy. In the audience were residents, some of them members of what remains of the neighbourhood assemblies created during the crisis of 2002 - 2003.

Here is an example of good intentions but no recognition of the need for a fundamental change of mentality of those at the centre of the municipal decision-making - a recognition that local

citizens and their organisations could potentially enhance the ability of the municipality to meet the needs of the people (Bland, 2017). Such recognition on the part of the political parties would involve a huge mental leap because it would mean taking the risk of sharing power, albeit within a negotiated framework, with people and processes over which the state did not have complete control. But without that leap, claims to participatory democracy are little more than (temporarily) good public relations.

## **2.5 Gaps Identified**

While in theory, letting everyone have a say is a great thing, in reality it may not be so beneficial. A large majority of the population does not have the education or skills needed to make major decisions on how a country is ran. This could the true intentions of things to be skewed and the wrong decisions to be made. A couple different things happen during a voting time. The first is that designated voting polls are set up, and all of the necessary equipment must be provided. If every small thing is voted on in a wide scale way, these voting polls would have to be put up many different times a year. Along with these costs, the costs for employers to allow their employees to go vote would also be incurred. Another thing is that all information regarding every issue would have to be published and made available to voters prior to voting.

A study conducted by Lukermoi, 2015 revealed that, the particular innovation of the Congolese law was legally to create citizens' oversight or Vigilance committees in each municipality, which are empowered to freeze municipal budgets if actual expenditures vary too far from the planning processes. Again, the actual implementation of these laws varies greatly, due to differences in understandings, power relations, citizens' awareness, etc. in differing localities.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.0 Introduction**

This chapter presents the methodology that was used in the research. The justification for the use of the research approach was explained. The chapter further provides a description of research design, nature of the study, sources of data collection, sources of information, sample size, the methods employed in data collection and limitations of the study.

#### **3.1 Research design**

This study employed a correlational research design. This research design was used in the course of the study. Quantitative approaches were used in the study. Quantitative approach which was classified in two broad categories, that is; experimental and general survey design examined the effect of participatory democracy on conflict transformation as an independent variable whereas qualitative design involved the use of questions to obtain views from the respondents.

#### **3.2 Study area and population**

The study was carried from conflict region of Ituri Province, DRC particularly Ituri Province. Ituri is one of the 21 new provinces of the Democratic Republic of the Congo created in the 2015 repartitioning. Ituri, Bas-Uele, Haut-Uele, and Tshopo provinces are the result of the dismemberment of the former Orientale province. The population of the study used a total population of conflict region of Ituri Province, DRC which was 1,025,756 as indicated in by National Institute of Statistics (2015). However the researcher randomly targeted a population of 187 respondents.

#### **3.3 Sample Size and sample selection**

The total sample size was 127 respondents. In this study, the target population of 187 involved; Local Authorities, Selected politicians in conflict region of Ituri Province, DRC, Community

Leaders in conflict region of Ituri Province, DRC, Officials from MONUSCO and Residents in conflict region of Ituri Province, DRC

**Slovene’s formula is applied as follows,**

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + Ne^2} = n = \frac{270}{1 + 270(0.05)^2} = 161 \text{ respondents}$$

n= 161 respondents

n = sample size

N = the population size

e = level of significance, fixed at 0.05

**Table 3.1: Showing Research Population and sample size**

<b>Category of respondents</b>	<b>Population</b>	<b>Sample size</b>	<b>Sampling method</b>
Local Authorities of Ituri Province, DRC	11	9	Random sampling
Selected politicians in conflict region of Ituri Province, DRC	16	12	Purposive sampling
Community Leaders in conflict region of Ituri Province, DRC	32	24	Purposive sampling
Officials from MONUSCO	5	2	Purposive sampling
Residents in conflict region of Ituri Province, DRC	206	114	Random sampling
<b>Total</b>	<b>270</b>	<b>161</b>	

*Source: Primary Data (2022)*

### **3.4 Sampling Techniques**

#### **3.4.1 Purposive sampling**

Purposive sampling involved selecting a certain number of respondents based on the nature of their work. Local Authorities, Selected politicians in conflict region of Ituri Province, DRC, Community Leaders in conflict region of Ituri Province, DRC and Officials from MONUSCO were purposely selected because they resided in conflict region of Ituri Province, DRC and thus had knowledge about the study topic. This method was appropriate because the sample selected comprised of informed persons who would provide data that was comprehensive enough to gain better insight into the problem

#### **3.4.2 Random sampling**

Random sampling involved selecting respondents from the population listing by chance. In this way, every member had an equal chance to be selected. The main disadvantage of this method was with the bias which it could diminish the integrity of random selection but this was overcome since the population listing involved only members with relevant information. Residents in conflict region of Ituri Province, DRC were randomly selected to give each an equal chance of representation. All respondents were assumed to have vital information on the subject matter of the research. Respondents who were willing to participate were approached.

### **3.5 Sources of Data**

#### **3.5.1 Primary Data**

This was obtained through use of self-administered questionnaires and interview guide to the respondents.

#### **3.5.2 Secondary Data**

This was acquired from text books and other related works of outstanding scholars such as published magazines, written data sources including published and unpublished documents,



company reports and internet sources which were all referred to, to provide more information on participatory democracy and conflict transformation.

### **3.6 Data collection methods**

The researcher used the following methods to collect data.

#### **3.6.1 Questionnaires**

The researcher constructed questionnaires containing items in line with the stud objectives. The questionnaires were self-administered to study respondents to fill and later be collected. The items on the questionnaire were structured in a closed ended format to ease response. One of the major advantages of using questionnaires was that many responses could be collected in a short time. The questionnaire was sectioned according to the objectives of the study.

#### **3.6.2 Interview Guide**

The researcher used interview guide to gather additional information from the 7 respondents and these were Local Authorities. Interview guide is a set of questions with structured answers to guide an observer interviewer, researcher or investigator. The researcher used this method because it helps to obtain detailed information about personal feelings, perceptions and opinions and it also allows more detailed questions to be asked.

### **3.7 Validity and Reliability of the Instruments**

#### **3.7.1 Validity**

This instrument was mainly ensured through expert judgment and the researcher made sure the coefficient of validity to be at least 70%. After the assessment of the questionnaire, the necessary adjustments were made bearing in mind of the objectives of the study. The researcher used the following formula to calculate the validity of the instrument was

$$CVI = \frac{\text{no of items declared valid}}{\text{total no of items}}$$

$$CVI = \frac{15}{18} = 0.833$$

Therefore the instrument was valid since the CVI was greater than 0.70

### 3.7.2 Reliability

This is also another critical instrument that the researcher used as a measure of the degree to which a research instrument yields consistent results or data after repeated trials (Amin, 2005). In addition, at least an interview schedule and numerous questions were tested with the use of the respondents in the other branches of areas that were conflict hit in nature.

Reliability Statistics	
Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.856	18

Therefore, the instrument was reliable since the Cronbach Alpha's value was 0.856 which is above 0.75.

### 3.8 Data Processing

The processing of data was done after the collection of data for verification of the information that was gathered and for attainment of completeness, accuracy and uniformity. Data editing involved checking the information for errors, which was an added advantage because it enabled the researcher to delete and eliminate possible errors that was traced which in the end would have manipulated the results of the study. Data was analyzed concurrently to avoid duplication thereby guiding the entire study for balanced and critical analysis. The researcher used hypothesis based on the questionnaire and for other items, tabulation and percentage and simple statistical methods were used for data presentation, analysis and qualification.

### 3.9 Data Analysis and presentation

The study explained, described, and presented the findings basing on the specific objectives of the study and research questions, where data analysis was initially done through sketchy and generalized summaries of the findings from observation and conclusions in the process of data collection. Data

analysis was done using simple statistical percentages and frequencies and thereafter was presented in form of tables.

### **3.10 Ethical Consideration**

The researcher carried out the study with full knowledge and authorisation of Ituri Province, DRC. The researcher first of all acquired an introductory letter from the University which she would use to eliminate suspicion. The researcher thereafter went ahead to select respondents, and arrange for dates upon which she would deliver questionnaires as well as pick them. The researcher was charged with a task of ensuring that she would assure the respondents of their confidentiality as this was paramount to research.

### **3.11 Limitations of study**

Time constraint was addressed through careful planning, devoting more time on the research work by reducing on leisure time.

Some of the targeted respondents were not willing to set aside time to respond to the investigator's questions thus somehow end up frustrating the researcher's efforts to collect substantial data.

Some respondents were too busy with their daily schedule and might fail to spare time for the questionnaire. In such circumstances the researcher would give ample time to those respondents. This would make it possible by serving them the questionnaires in time.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### DATA PRESENTATION, INTERPRETATION AND ANALYSIS

#### 4.0 Introduction

This chapter contains detailed descriptive of results obtained from the data analysis. It also focuses on the data presentation, interpretation and analysis in form of tables and figures.

#### 4.1 Response rate

Out of 161 questionnaires that were distributed, only 154 of them were returned and this implies that the response rate was 95.6% as illustrated below;

$$\frac{154}{161} * 100\% = 95.6\%$$

#### 4.2 Demographic characteristics of the respondents

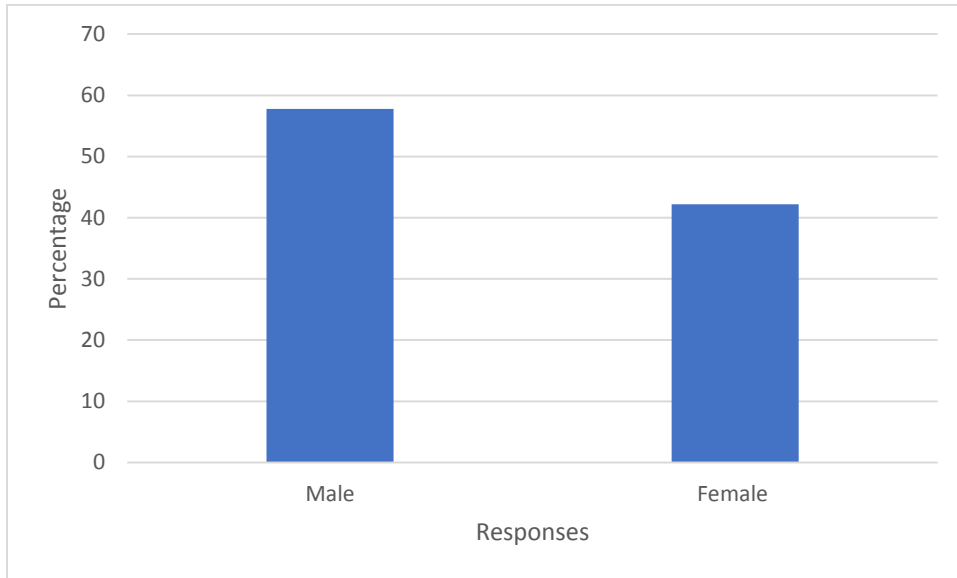
This part presents the background information of the respondents who participated in the study. The purpose of presenting the background information was to find out the demographic characteristics of the respondents.

**Table 4.1: Demographic characteristics of respondents**

<b>MAIN CATEGORY</b>	<b>SUB-CATEGORY</b>	<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE</b>
Gender	Male	89	57.8
	Female	65	42.2
	<b>Total</b>	<b>154</b>	100.0
Education level	Primary	15	9.7
	Secondary	78	50.6
	Certificate	17	11.0
	Diploma	26	16.9
	Bachelor Degree	12	7.8
	Higher Degree	6	3.9
	<b>Total</b>	<b>154</b>	100.0
Age of respondents	20-35 years	18	11.7
	36-51 years	70	45.5
	Above 51 years	66	42.9
	<b>Total</b>	<b>154</b>	100.0

**Source: Primary Data (2022)**

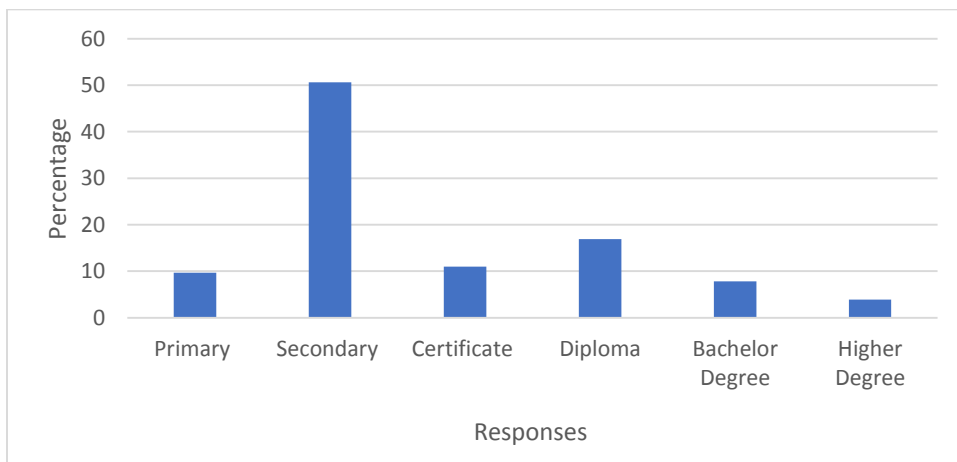
**Figure 4.1: Gender of respondents**



**Source: Primary Data (2022)**

Table 4.1 above and Figure 4.1 both illustrate that in respect to gender, the males were 89(57.8%) and female 65(42.2%), this implies that the number of men was higher than that of women since it was believed men were the ones mostly involved in participatory democracy and conflict transformation in Ituri Province

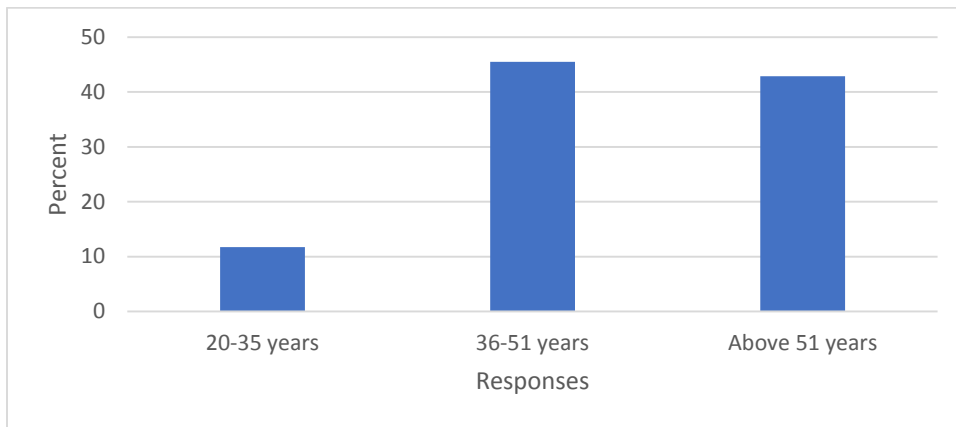
**Figure 4.2: Education level of respondents**



**Source: Primary Data (2022)**

With regard to education level, 15(9.7%) were at primary school level, 78(50.6%) were at secondary school level, 17(11%) were certificate holders, 26(16.9%) of the respondents were diploma holders, 12(7.8%) were bachelor’s degree and the remaining 6(3.9%) were master’s degree holders. This implies that most of the respondents were not relatively educated and thus were informed about the participatory democracy and conflict transformation.

**Figure 4.3:**Age of the respondents



**Source: Primary Data (2022)**

In the aspect of age of respondents, 18(11.7%) were between that category of age 20-35 years, 70(45.5%) were between 36-51 years and lastly 66(42.9%) were above 51 years. This implies that the majority of the respondents were in the age bracket of 36-51 years who are middle aged adults who are old enough to engage different stakeholders in participatory democracy and conflict transformation of Ituri Province.

## 4.2 Findings on the effect of Deliberative Polling on conflict transformation in Ituri Province, DRC

This section mainly concerns the effect of Deliberative Polling on conflict transformation in Ituri Province, DRC. The study results are presented in the table 4.2;

**Table 4.2: Effect of Deliberative Polling on conflict transformation in Ituri Province, DRC**

INDICATORS	MEAN	S. D	INTERPRETATION	RANK
A deliberative democratic approach may also involve polling and town hall meetings	4.09	1.023	High	4
Deliberative polling aims at extending beyond informing the public and aggregating the views of average citizens	4.14	0.984	High	1
Deliberative polling usually forgoes the added value that collaborative problem-solving can generate	4.12	1.017	High	2
Deliberative Polling involves drawing a random sample of citizens, polling them on their initial views	4.10	1.008	High	3
Deliberative Polling is structured to lead to recommendations, and ultimately decisions, that illuminate the issues more clearly to facilitate a fair solution	3.04	1.060	None	5
Average Mean	3.9	1.018	High	

**Source: Primary Data (2022)**



## Legend

Range	Mean Range	Response Mode	Interpretation
5	1 – 1.8	Strongly Disagree	Very Low
4	1.8– 2.6	Disagree	Low
3	2.6 – 3.4	Neutral	None
2	3.4 – 4.2	Agree	High
1	4.2 – 5	Strongly Agree	Very High

As indicated in the Table 4.2 above, the mean of the indicator that A deliberative democratic approach may also involve polling and town hall meetings was 4.09 with a standard deviation of 1.023 that equivalent to low on the Likert Scale. Deliberative polling aims at extending beyond informing the public and aggregating the views of average citizens had a mean of 4.14 and standard deviation of 0.984 which is also equivalent to high on the Likert Scale. Further, the mean of the indicator that Deliberative polling usually forgoes the added value that collaborative problem-solving can generate was 4.12 and standard deviation of 1.017 which is also high.

Deliberative Polling involves drawing a random sample of citizens, polling them on their initial views had a mean of 4.10 and standard deviation of 1.008 equivalent to high on the Likert Scale. In the fifth rank, it was the indicator that Deliberative Polling is structured to lead to recommendations, and ultimately decisions, that illuminate the issues more clearly to facilitate a fair solution which had a mean of 3.04 and a standard deviation of 1.060 that is equivalent to none on the Likert Scale. Lastly, the average mean was 3.9 which was also high on the scale and this implies that Deliberative Polling plays an essential role in the conflict transformation in Ituri Province, DRC.

### 4.3 Findings on the effect of Referendums on conflict transformation in Ituri Province, DRC

This section mainly concerns effect of Referendums on conflict transformation in Ituri Province, DRC. The study results are presented in the table below;

**Table 4.3: Effect of Referendums on conflict transformation in Ituri Province, DRC**

INDICATORS	MEAN	S. D	INTERPRETATION	RANK
The use of referendums to forge, ratify and enact peace agreements is on the rise	4.14	1.005	High	2
There is little consensus on whether referendums help or hurt peace	4.12	0.996	High	3
Peacemakers have organized referendums in order to aid peace talks and ameliorate post-settlement peacebuilding	3.07	1.116	None	5
Referendum experience often leads to excessive optimism among international actors	4.09	1.023	High	4
Dangerous outcomes of Referendum include mass violence, intensified polarization, and the undermining peace agreement implementation	4.47	0.643	Very High	1
Average Mean	3.98	0.998	Very High	

**Source: Primary Data (2022)**

## Legend

Range	Mean Range	Response Mode	Interpretation
5	1 – 1.8	Strongly Disagree	Very Low
4	1.8– 2.6	Disagree	Low
3	2.6 – 3.4	Neutral	None
2	3.4 – 4.2	Agree	High
1	4.2 – 5	Strongly Agree	Very High

The study results illustrated in the Table 4.3 above illustrates the effect of Referendums on conflict transformation in Ituri Province, DRC .

It was evident that the first indicator that The use of referendums to forge, ratify and enact peace agreements is on the rise had a mean of 4.14 and standard deviation of 1.005 which is equivalent to Low on the Likert Scale. Another indicator that There is little consensus on whether referendums help or hurt peace had a mean of 4.12 and standard deviation of 0.996 equivalent to Low on the Likert Scale.

Peacemakers have organized referendums in order to aid peace talks and ameliorate post-settlement peacebuilding had a mean of 3.07 and standard deviation of 1.116 equivalent to None on the Likert Scale. Another indicator that Referendum experience often leads to excessive optimism among international actors had 4.09 and standard deviation of 1.023 which was equivalent to high. Dangerous outcomes of Referendum include mass violence, intensified polarization, and the undermining peace agreement implementation had a mean of 4.47 and standard deviation of 0.643 equivalent to very high.

Lastly, the average mean was 3.98 equivalent to high. This implies that Referendums play an important role in transforming the region economically.

#### 4.4 Findings on the effect of Participatory Budgeting on conflict transformation in Ituri Province, DRC

This section mainly concerns the effect of Participatory Budgeting on conflict transformation in Ituri Province, DRC. The study results are presented in the table below;

**Table 4. 4: Effect of Participatory Budgeting on conflict transformation in Ituri Province, DRC**

INDICATORS	MEAN	S. D	INTERPRETATION	RANK
Participatory budgeting contributes to the resolution of conflicts through a process of consensus building	4.09	1.023	Very high	4
Participatory budgeting promotes open discussions that define the criteria for priority setting priorities and resource allocation	4.13	0.982	Very high	2
By advocating inclusiveness participatory budgeting contributes to a reduction in violence against the economically weak and other disadvantaged groups	4.11	1.010	Very high	3
At the same time, a successful participatory budgeting process requires the political will and democratic processes	3.04	1.069	None	5
Participatory budgeting is an effective tool for improving and strengthening decentralized and democratized governance	4.14	0.865	Very high	1
Average Mean	3.9	0.99	Very high	2

**Source: Primary Data (2022)**

## Legend

Range	Mean Range	Response Mode	Interpretation
5	1 – 1.8	Strongly Disagree	Very Low
4	1.8– 2.6	Disagree	Low
3	2.6 – 3.4	Neutral	None
2	3.4 – 4.2	Agree	High
1	4.2 – 5	Strongly Agree	Very High

The study results indicated in the table 4.4, the first indicator used that Participatory budgeting contributes to the resolution of conflicts through a process of consensus building that had a mean of 4.09 and standard deviation of 1.023 which is equivalent to high on Likert Scale. Participatory budgeting promotes open discussions that define the criteria for priority setting priorities and resource allocation had a mean of 4.13 and standard deviation of 0.982 which is equivalent to high on the Likert Scale.

In the fifth rank, it was the indicator that By advocating inclusiveness participatory budgeting contributes to a reduction in violence against the economically weak and other disadvantaged groups had a mean of 4.11 and standard deviation 1.010 which is equivalent to high. At the same time, a successful participatory budgeting process requires the political will and democratic processes had a mean of 3.04 and a standard deviation of 1.069. Participatory budgeting is an effective tool for improving and strengthening decentralized and democratized governance had a mean of 4.14 and standard deviation of 0.865.

Lastly the average mean was 3.9 which is equivalent to very high. The implication is that collaboration as a participatory democracy strategy plays a vital role towards conflict transformation of Ituri Province as a whole.

### Interview responses;

*One of the local authorities who were interviewed revealed that he was aware of deliberative polling. He furthermore elaborated this focused on the typical deliberative opinion poll takes a random, representative sample of citizens and engages them in*

*deliberation on current issues or proposed policy changes through small-group discussions and conversations with competing experts to create more informed and reflective public opinion. [KII, 2022]*

*Another member of local authorities who was interviewed revealed that he was aware of the effect of deliberative polling on conflict transformation in Ituri Province. He also furthermore narrated that deliberative Polling and conflict transformation have the same goal—to inform and determine the public interest—but they involve different skills and practices. For example specifically, the use of an independent mediator, the well-developed technique of stakeholder assessment, and a new strategy called joint fact-finding, where stakeholders with different interests work together with. [KII, 2022]*

#### **Interview responses;**

*Most of the local authorities who were interviewed were of the view that a referendum simply means a vote on a question. A referendum can be started by a citizen or by the government. One of the local authorities argued that a referendum may be useful to ensure a broad base of political support for a controversial decision, and ‘lock in’ a choice that will necessitate riding out unpopular consequences during the implementation. [KII, 2022]*

*One of the local authorities who were interviewed revealed that despite this increasingly common practice, there is little consensus on whether referendums help or hurt peace. Such votes can be uniquely powerful tools for addressing sovereignty incompatibilities driving armed conflict. However, dangerous outcomes include mass violence, intensified polarization, and the undermining peace agreement implementation. [KII, 2022]*

#### **Interview responses;**

*Another member of local authorities who were interviewed revealed that the meaning of Participatory Budgeting as a method of democratic decision-making whereby participants engage in deliberation regarding how public resources ought to be allocated and distributed. [KII, 2022]*

*Most of the local authorities who were interviewed noted that by advocating inclusiveness participatory budgeting also contributes to a reduction in violence against the economically weak and other disadvantaged groups as well as nurturing a culture of peace and a multicultural and multiethnic governance. [KII, 2022]*

## CHAPTER FIVE

### DISCUSSIONS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses, concludes and recommends reflecting on the study findings presented in the previous chapter.

#### 5.1 Discussions of findings

##### 5.1.1 Demographic characteristics of the respondents

The study found out that the males were 89(57.8%) and female 65(42.2%) with regard to gender, this implies that the number of men was higher than that of women since it was believed men are more effective in dealing in participatory democracy than their female counterparts. With regard to education level, 15(9.7%) were at primary school level, 78(50.6%) were at secondary school level, 17(11%) were certificate holders, 26(16.9%) of the respondents were diploma holders, 12(7.8%) were bachelor's degree and the remaining 6(3.9%) were master's degree holders. This implies that most of the respondents were not relatively educated and thus were informed about the participatory democracy and conflict transformation. In the aspect of age of respondents, 18(11.7%) were between that category of age 20-35 years, 70(45.5%) were between 36-51 years and lastly 66(42.9%) were above 51 years. This implies that the majority of the respondents were in the age bracket of 36-51 years who are middle aged adults who are old enough to engage different stakeholders in participatory democracy and conflict transformation of Ituri Province.

##### 5.1.2 Effect of Deliberative Polling on conflict transformation in Ituri Province, DRC

The study revealed that the average mean of effect of Deliberative Polling on conflict transformation in Ituri Province, DRC was 3.9 which was also high on the scale and this implies that Deliberative Polling plays an essential role in the conflict transformation in Ituri Province, DRC. This is in line with Adam et al., (2008) who noted that the success of autonomy arrangements can be assessed in terms of the purposes of granting autonomy, such as to acknowledge a group's identity, to facilitate harmonious relations with other communities and



the central government, to end a dispute, and to maintain the integrity of the state. Similarly, Doom, and Koen, 2012 noted that deliberative polling and conflict transformation have the same goal—to inform and determine the public interest but they involve different skills and practices. This study considers the ways in which deliberative democratic approaches to policy related decision-making can be supplemented with tools used in conflict transformation.

### **5.1.3 Effect of Referendums on conflict transformation in Ituri Province, DRC**

It was discovered that the average mean of effect of Referendums on conflict transformation in Ituri Province, DRC was 3.98 equivalent to high. This implies that Referendums plays an important role in transforming the region economically. This is in line with Buchanan-Smith & Fadul, (2008) who noted that compromises in conflicts are grasped through balancing the interests of parties and bargaining in give-and-take positions to come to agreeable solutions. All parties gain something and also give up something and this has helped in solving a number of conflicts and hence boosting the country's conflict transformation. Similarly, IRIN, 2013 reported that regarding the referendums' impact on democratisation, in Eritrea and South Sudan, the transition period leading up to the referendum (two and six years respectively) was used by the dominant political groups to consolidate their exclusive power over the territory concerned. After the referendum, neither entity democratised, though this failure to democratise cannot be directly attributed to the referendum.

### **5.1.4 Effect of Participatory Budgeting on conflict transformation in Ituri Province, DRC**

It was found out that the average mean of effect of Participatory Budgeting on conflict transformation in Ituri Province, DRC was 3.9 which is equivalent to very high. The implication is that collaboration as a participatory democracy strategy plays a vital role towards conflict transformation of Ituri Province as a whole. This is in line with Goodhand, (2004) who noted that the government had to collaborate with its rebels in terms of participatory democracy. The key, therefore, was to determine the extent to which each party in the conflict was willing to compromise. Similarly, Lukermoi, 2015 noted that what participatory budgeting does as a good urban governance tool is to contribute to the resolution of conflicts through a process of

consensus building, which is by way of promoting open discussions that defines the criteria for priority setting priorities and resource allocation.

## **5.2 Conclusions**

### **5.2.1 Effect of Deliberative Polling on conflict transformation**

The study concluded that a deliberative democratic approach may also involve polling and town hall meetings, but the goal extends beyond informing the public and aggregating the views of average citizens.

It was also concluded that the success of democratic decision-making should be measured in terms of meeting the desires of every citizen through deliberation.

Early Deliberative Polling advocates measure success in terms of the quality of the discourse they can achieve. If ideas are well debated, dialogue is open (not unfairly manipulated), and social learning occurs, they are content

### **5.2.2 Effect of Referendums on conflict transformation**

The study concluded that the use of referendums to forge, ratify and enact peace agreements is on the rise. In growing numbers, peacemakers have organized referendums in order to aid peace talks and ameliorate post-settlement peacebuilding

After the referendum, neither entity democratised, though this failure to democratise cannot be directly attributed to the referendum

### **5.2.3 Effect of Participatory Budgeting on conflict transformation**

The study concluded that every individual has the inalienable right to life, liberty and the security of person. Insecurity has a disproportionate impact in further marginalizing poor communities. Cities must strive to avoid human conflicts and natural disasters by involving all stakeholders in crime and conflict prevention and disaster preparedness

It was concluded that by advocating inclusiveness participatory budgeting also contributes to a reduction in violence against the economically weak and other disadvantaged groups as well as nurturing a culture of peace and a multicultural and multiethnic governance

## **5.3 Recommendations**

### **5.3.1 Effect of Deliberative Polling on conflict transformation**

It is clear that DRC is a country deeply wounded by injustice, fear, war, prejudice, hatred, and deliberate falsification of its history by successive regimes; however in order to enhance deliberative polling, it is recommended that it sets out criteria that Deliberative Polling, as well as other designs, should satisfy if policy recommendations based on the data generated by these public consultations are to be credible.

### **5.3.2 Effect of Referendums on conflict transformation**

In order to have successful referendums, rather than approaching negotiation by demanding lists of grievances, it is recommended that a more open-ended approach be adopted, one that allows a better understanding of M23s worldview to emerge. In particular, it is vital that he is approached with a desire to understanding him (which is not the same as endorsing his actions) rather than destroying him.

### **5.3.3 Effect of Participatory Budgeting on conflict transformation**

Therefore it is recommended that the Government of DRC strategically alter its focus from one of seeking to destroy M23 to one of defending communities and maximizing the protection of civilians. Such a change in military strategy, acknowledging that it is a state's legal responsibility to defend communities within its borders, would support rather than work against the possibility for negotiations with M23. This shift in strategy may serve to open the political and social space needed to address the wider unresolved conflicts and perceived injustices that lie at the root of the historic eastern conflict.

## **5. Contribution to knowledge**

In a nutshell, the contribution of the study can be summarized as follows: First, it strengthens the link between rather unconnected fields of research, i.e. the social studies of knowledge and democratic theory, which are usually kept apart by disciplinary boundaries and seemingly distinct empirical subjects. Second, in the course of conceptualizing expertise and participation in integrative, relational ways, the study moves the notions closer together, yet keeps them distinct, spotlights overlaps and thus to some extent dissolves the epistemic-democratic tension. Third, the study identifies quality criteria of expertise and participation and, fourth, spells out conditions of realizing them in empirical contexts.

Many of the theoretical arguments and conclusions drawn in this study of course point beyond the specific phenomena under scrutiny here and are transferable to other forms of participatory or collaborative governance, and certainly also to interest group politics, social movement, civil society and civic action studies. They are also not limited to the specific problems that the epistemic-democratic tension brings about. In fact, many findings are just as relevant for more specific democratic legitimacy debates with a focus on the norms of representation, accountability, public engagement, deliberation, consensus and inclusion, while the knowledge- and expertise-related insights of the study link up to research on the co-production of knowledge, science-society relations, knowledge societies as well as on non-majoritarian institutions, technocracy, epistemic communities and policy advisory systems. Finally, the findings on how to practically integrate a range of voices into policy-making closely relate to debates on institutional design, collective decision-making and political organization.

### **5.5 Areas of further research**

More research needs to be done on the following;

- Impact of international organizations towards conflict transformation in DRC
- Effect of CSOs on conflict transformation in DRC

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**SECTION B:**

Please indicate your response mode by writing only the score in the blank provided for each of the items or statement stated below.

**KEY**

<b>Response mode</b>	<b>Score</b>
Strongly agree (agree with no doubt at all)	<b>5</b>
Agree (agree with minor doubt)	<b>4</b>
Not sure (Neither agree nor disagree)	<b>3</b>
Disagree (disagree with minor doubt)	<b>2</b>
Strongly disagree (disagree with no doubt at all)	<b>1</b>

**PART 1**

<b>Construct</b>	<b>Effect of Deliberative Polling on conflict transformation</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
1	A deliberative democratic approach may also involve polling and town hall meetings					
2	Deliberative polling aims at extending beyond informing the public and aggregating the views of average citizens					
3	Deliberative polling usually forgoes the added value that collaborative problem-solving can generate					
4	Deliberative Polling involves drawing a random sample of citizens, polling them on their initial views					
5	Deliberative Polling is structured to lead to recommendations, and ultimately decisions, that illuminate the issues more clearly to facilitate a fair solution					

<b>Construct</b>	<b>Effect of Referendums on conflict transformation</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
1	The use of referendums to forge, ratify and enact peace agreements is on the rise					
2	There is little consensus on whether referendums help or hurt peace					
3	Peacemakers have organized referendums in order to aid peace talks and ameliorate post-settlement peacebuilding					
4	Referendum experience often leads to excessive optimism among international actors					
5	Dangerous outcomes of Referendum include mass violence, intensified polarization, and the undermining peace agreement implementation					

<b>Construct</b>	<b>Effect of Participatory Budgeting on conflict transformation</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
1	Participatory budgeting contributes to the resolution of conflicts through a process of consensus building					
2	Participatory budgeting promotes open discussions that define the criteria for priority setting priorities and resource allocation					
3	By advocating inclusiveness participatory budgeting contributes to a reduction in violence against the economically weak and other disadvantaged groups					
4	At the same time, a successful participatory budgeting process requires the political will and democratic processes					
5	Participatory budgeting is an effective tool for improving and strengthening decentralized and democratized governance					

**Thank for your cooperation**

**END**

## **APPENDIX II: INTERVIEW GUIDE**

Are you aware of deliberative polling?

If yes, are you aware of its effect on on conflict transformation in Ituri Province?

Do you know the meaning of Referendums?

If yes, what effect do Referendums have on conflict transformation in Ituri Province?

Do you understand the meaning of Participatory Budgeting?

If yes, what effect does Participatory Budgeting have on conflict transformation in Ituri Province?

### APPENDIX III: TIME FRAME

<b>ACTIVITY</b>	<b>Mar 2022</b>	<b>Apr 2022</b>	<b>May 2022</b>	<b>Jun 2022</b>	<b>Jul 2022</b>
Topic formulation					
Introduction writing					
Literature review writing					
Methodology					
Typing and correction					
Reviewing					
Final copy formulation					

**APPENDIX IV: STUDY BUDGET**

<b>ITEM</b>	<b>PARTICULARS</b>	<b>UNIT</b>	<b>COST PER UNIT (UG SHS)</b>	<b>TOTAL (UG SHS)</b>
Equipments	Ream of papers	1	15,000	15,000
	Pens	1 Box	15600	15,600
Field work and collection of data	Communication	Airtime cards	3 x 5000	15,000
	Transport to and from	10 days	10,000	10,000
	Library fees			10,000
Data analysis	Data entry	70	2000	14,000
Research report	Type setting and	600 @page	Approx 60	36,000
	Printing master copy	Next 2 copies	pages 60 3	12,000
	Binding			24,000
Miscellaneous				60,000
<b>Total</b>				<b>216,600</b>

APPENDIX V: MAP OF ITURI PROVINCE

