

Rural Democracy - Empirical Investigation of the Local Effects of Democracy Promotion

Documentation and evaluation of the democratization process in Marafa Ward
since 2017 until today

on the basis of qualitative data (ProDoc)

On behalf of KAS Nairobi

executed by QMR - Qualitative Mind Research

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Introduction

This report, "ProDoc", traces the grassroots-initiated process of democratization in Marafa Ward, which is located in the rural region of Kilifi County, Kenya.

The period under review covers the past four years: from the beginning of 2017 with the primaries for the 2017 general elections to the end of 2020. Particular attention is paid to the actors and factors in this process that have a particularly strong and ongoing influence on the changes. The citizens' initiative "Peace from the Soil", which was founded immediately after the 2017 general elections, plays a central role here, as it is an important driver of the participatory democratization process in the Ward.

The documentation is oriented towards the guiding research question "What is needed, or what seems particularly helpful, to promote the exercise of democratic rights and duties and to accompany efforts in the sense of democratization in a rural community whose members live under conditions of extreme poverty and low formal education?"

The per se complex undertaking of describing a democratization process with the most diverse facets and players offers countless perspectives and variants of interpretation, each with different legitimacy. The authors describe the democratization process in Marafa Ward as they perceived it and according to the feedback they received from interviewees - and invite discussion about it. In doing so, they consciously and in many places also unconsciously adopt a rather rational White Western perspective, which is closely oriented to processes and patterns of normative democracy. At the same time, there are other explanatory patterns on the ground in Marafa Ward, which can be described as holistic, communitarian and spiritual.

To complete the observation of democratization told here from a Western perspective, it would certainly be informative to contrast it with a version from a local perspective. In the sense of a dialogue approach, however, the attempt was made to integrate the perspective of the local population as far as possible by involving local participants in the research process as well as in the analysis process.

This report was also written because the documentation was explicitly requested by representatives of the citizens' initiative "Peace from the Soil", which is the focus of this report, with the intention of sharing the learning experiences gained in the democratization process and providing input into the international interaction of political education work and democracy promotion.

Such principles, impulses and interventions within the change process are crystalized, which also appear to be meaningfully transferable to aspired democratization and transformation processes in other Wards.

In addition to documenting the central persons, institutions, groups, events, and external influences within the democratization process, the authors also attempt to describe internal "worlds" and processes that have an external impact. In this way, certain cultural and individual abilities and acquired skills are outlined, which contributed to the progress of the process, but also the synchronously developing self-perception of the citizens' initiative "Peace from the Soil" and its participants, which has an impact on the process of change.

The democratization process described should be understood as a model from which it is possible to deduce which internal preconditions and influences can be helpful for democratization. And it becomes apparent with the help of which external impulses and interventions existing democratization tendencies can be strengthened, which is of particular interest for political foundation work.

The documentation is supplemented by an evaluation of the overall process by actors from the community. Within the framework of qualitative online interviews, a total of 21 citizens were asked about their personal perception and evaluation of the change process in the past four years and their assessment of the activities initiated by Peace from the Soil.

Method description

Marafa Ward is an exemplary ward in rural Kenya, which does not necessarily represent a representative microcosm within Kenya. Therefore, a quantitative measurement of democracy factors, as is often applied in classical research on the level of democratization, does not lend itself to this research object. The time for quantitative measurement would also be premature, as the decisive factors for democracy in this context are only just developing as "tender shoots". Accordingly, this report focuses on using qualitative methods at the micro level to analyse how the conditions for the emergence of such "first stirrings of democratization" look, how a democratization process is set in motion and how it can be promoted.

To date, there are only a few documented experiences and comparative evaluations of strategies, processes and effects of external democracy promotion (Merkel 2010)¹. This research report highlights a section of possible democracy promotion, namely the support of a civil society group or initiative with bottom-up activities that focus on securing human rights, balancing socio-economic inequality, emancipating women and protecting nature. Initially, external support for democratization was provided by private actors, but more recently it has been funded by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

The qualitative methods used to collect the underlying data for the report include:

- Participant observation in the field
- Minutes of the PFTS meetings
- Transcripts and notes of regular online meetings QMR - PFTS
- Information from informal conversations with people from Marafa Ward
- Qualitative interviews

These qualitative survey methods were used within the framework of action research as a participatory research method, which is oriented towards researching the effects of social intervention and social change. Participating actors in the field are not only observed and interviewed in the research process but are also involved in the analysis of all results, which promotes an intercultural perspective on the object of research. Shared knowledge is created that can be used by all (Reason & Bradbury 2013).

The analytical framework is provided by the descriptive-empirical approach of actor theory, which seeks to identify processes at the level of individual and collective actors involved in the emergence of a macro-phenomenon (in this case "democracy") (cf. Schimank 2000² ; Mayntz 2004³ ; Kern 2007⁴), but focuses fundamentally on the consideration of internal actors.

In the present analytical approach, the spectrum of individual and collective actors is expanded to include external actors who participate in the field.

On this basis, it should be possible to "look at the process character of social reality and consider the actions, cognitions, reflections and strategies of decisive actors" (Merkel 2010)⁵.

¹ W. Merkel, Systemtransformation, 2nd edition, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, ISBN 3-532-14559-2, 2010.

² Schimank, Uwe 2000: Handeln und Strukturen. Introduction to actor-theoretical sociology. Weinheim: Juventa

³ Mayntz, Renate 2004: "Mechanism in the Analysis of Social Macro-Phenomena". Philosophy of the Social Sciences 34 (2), 237-259

⁴ Kern, Thomas 2007 "Modernisation and Democratization. The explanatory potential of new difference-theoretical approaches." Cologne Journal of Sociology and Social Psychology 59 (1), 30-58.

⁵ Merkel, Wolfgang (2010) Systemtransformation, 2nd edition, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, ISBN 3-532-14559-2.

For the evaluation of the democratization process and associated social interventions, a total of 21 qualitative online interviews were conducted with people from Marafa Ward in November 2020 using an open interview guide. Each interview lasted about 60 minutes.

Seven women and 14 men between the ages of 28 and 65 were interviewed, including six farmers, two teachers, one retired teacher, three priests, one chief and two sub-chiefs, one student, one engineer, one bricklayer, one tailor, one school headmaster and one farm manager. Half of the respondents know Peace from the Soil or are members, the other half have no connection to Peace from the Soil but have at least heard of the initiative. The content analysis (Mayring 2010) of ⁶these interviews was based on video recordings and transcripts.

⁶ Mayring, Philipp (2015): Qualitative Content Analysis. Fundamentals and Techniques. 12th edition, Weinheim/Basel: Beltz

Results

1 Initial situation - General information on Marafa Ward

Marafa Ward is located about 40 km from Malindi in the rural hinterland of Kenya's north coast. Together with seven other wards, Marafa Ward is part of the Magarini Constituency, which in turn is part of Kilifi County. Voters in Marafa Ward send one of the 35 Members of County Assembly (MCA) to the Malindi-based Kilifi County Assembly.

The 2,233.5 square kilometer area of the Ward is sparsely populated. Only the village of Marafa, with its small market and commercial street, has a population density of 59 inhabitants per square kilometer, according to the Kenya Population and Housing Census of 2019. In the other two locations, Bungale and Chamari, there are on average 8-11 people per square kilometer.

Marafa Ward is characterized by a semi-arid climate with long dry seasons and rainy months in March (long rains) and November (short rains). In recent years, however, there have been both prolonged droughts and unusually wet summers, which have made it difficult for the inhabitants, who live mainly from subsistence farming, to obtain good yields.

Smaller agricultural areas around the settlements alternate with vast areas of uncultivated scrubland. Occasional baobabs can be seen, but coherent forest patches have become rare due to massive clearing, resulting in erosion and soil degradation. Very sporadically, timber is grown for economic use.

In the 5 sub-locations of Marafa Ward (Madina, Wakala, Mambasa, Dakatcha and Chamari), the people live in small village structures, which are only poorly connected by mostly unpaved roads. Only recently, the tarred road from Malindi to Marafa Village was completed, which cuts the travel time to the 120,000-inhabitant town, which is dominated by tourism, by half. The road from Marafa Village to Chamari has also been paved to the extent that it is now faster to drive on.

According to official figures, the total population of Marafa Ward is 34,278 (Census 2019). However, this figure is de facto estimated to be higher, as some of the children living in the Ward do not have birth certificates and are accordingly not registered. According to the statistics, the ratio of male (16,901) and female (17,377) residents* registered in Marafa Ward appears relatively balanced and may also be true for children and young people, while among adults, women clearly outnumber men. Many men, especially the better educated and young ones, have left the rural region to earn a living for their families elsewhere, or rarely come home, as some of them have started other families elsewhere.

Ethnic groups and language

Marafa Ward is home to a variety of different ethnic groups, most of which live together without conflict. The majority of people in Marafa Ward belong to the Giriama, one of the nine Bantu-speaking ethnic groups of the Mijikenda culture. Their language Kigiriama is similar to Swahili, which is spoken alternatively at gatherings and whenever people of different ethnicities are together. Other tribal groups living in Marafa Ward are the Kamba and Gikuyu, who also belong to the Bantu, Watha (Cushite tribe) and Abaluja (Nilote tribe).

School children learn English from pre-school onwards, so that many children and young people can

communicate fluently in this language. Many adults either do not speak English or feel unsure about using their English skills. In conversations with foreigners, members of the "educated elite" such as pastors, administrators or teachers also prefer to involve an interpreter if possible. As trust grows and the interlocutors adjust to each other's communication habits, more in-depth conversations in English become possible.

Spirituality and religiosity

Spirituality and religiosity are especially important to most people in Marafa Ward - this applies to the organization of individual everyday life with prayers and rituals, as well as to social life in church communities or faith communities. The transitions from Christian faith, to which about two-thirds of the people profess, to natural religions (about 25%) and Muslim faith are surprisingly fluid when viewed from the outside. For example, speakers and priests of different faiths can speak and practice at funerals or weddings, and it is quite common for elements from one religion, such as songs and dances, to be adopted in modified form in the other.

Employment situation

Most of the population in Marafa Ward is engaged in several gainful activities at the same time. They secure part of their livelihood by cultivating their shambas (arable land of about 4 hectares each), on which they mainly grow maize, peas, beans, and tomatoes for their own use and only a small part for sale on the surrounding markets. The cultivation of pineapples, mangos and other fruits in the area has so far served as additional income - at the same time, there are reports of activities by a food company that wants to professionalize fruit cultivation for juice production in the area.

Animal husbandry, both traditionally practiced by herders roaming around with their cows or goats, and as a supplementary occupation and by a few larger professional livestock farms, is another source of agricultural income. The combination of agriculture and animal husbandry is relatively new, as traditionally a distinction was made between agriculture and animal husbandry and these two activities were assigned to different ethnic groups.

In the few village centres, small entrepreneurs try to generate a modest income through sewing shops, clothes sales, shops for food and daily necessities, hairdressers and internet cafés. Some of the population find work in the education sector as teachers in state or public schools or on a project basis in adult education or project management for NGOs. Priests are financed by their parishioners. There are small handicraft businesses such as carpenters, metal workers and skilled workers for traditional clay construction as well as bricklayers, roofers and unskilled workers for preparatory tasks.

Estimates of the unemployment rate among young people in Kenya vary depending on the source and definition of unemployment. What is certain is that of the 800,000 young people who enter the labour market each year, only a small fraction find employment in line with their education and the expectations raised during their education. Especially in rural areas - including Marafa Ward - it is almost impossible to find a qualified job or to start one's own business without start-up financing, networks and targeted support. Those who can, try their luck in the bigger cities or abroad. In rural areas, young men work mainly in the transport sector as drivers of shared taxis, motorbikes or private vehicles, or support the organization of weddings, funerals or fundraisers as technicians and DJs. Young women take care of family chores, manage the shambas and try to earn extra money for school fees through the petty trade described above.

Due to the proximity to the tourist metropolis of Malindi, many residents of Marafa Ward try to earn income there, for example by selling at the market or on the beach, as security guards or service staff.

In times of the Corona pandemic, external livelihood opportunities have largely disappeared - this has led to a stronger focus on agriculture. In this exceptional year 2020, weather conditions were relatively favourable with sufficient days of rain and sunshine, after both droughts and excessively long rainy seasons had led to significant crop losses in previous years.



Marafa Ward Everyday Life

Infrastructure

Despite some positive developments, especially in the villages, a large part of the population still describes their living conditions as a daily struggle for survival. This is most difficult for the many households without access to electricity and water. Depending on the time of year and water availability, up to 7 kilometers of walking must be done to fill water canisters and carry them back home. Organizing water, which is not even of drinking quality, is then a task that takes up many hours and energy every day, mainly for the women and children.

Nevertheless, NGOs such as World Vision and the Red Cross have been able to install additional water points and boreholes in recent years. Some of the larger overland roads now have water and electricity. However, in this case, the village community or the families living together in larger contexts have the task of laying pipes and lines from the road to their homes on their own. This can fail because the community does not raise the money for the materials or does not organize itself jointly. In addition, money that is not available is then needed to pay for electricity and water, and quite a few fear that leaking pipes will unwittingly accumulate debts that cannot be paid.

Opportunities for medical care are also very unevenly distributed across the Ward. This is particularly painful when people in the very rural areas die from illnesses or the consequences of accidents that could have been treated in a health clinic or when an ambulance reached the hospital. The same applies to the care of pregnant women and birth assistance - for many women, better medical care or the fulfilment of election promises already made is the most important political demand, along with support for their children's school attendance.

Educational level

Kilifi County has one of the highest rates of illiteracy in Kenya. Even though the illiteracy problem is now being addressed by government efforts to provide comprehensive schooling from kindergarten age onwards, there is a gap between plan and reality, especially in the remote areas of Marafa Ward. In some cases, ECD centres and schools are too far away or there is no money for transport to them. On the other hand, parents cannot afford the fees for books, school uniforms, school meals or accommodation at school, so children are sent home again and again until the parents settle the fees. Access to scholarships is limited and often linked to the children's school performance, so that weaker students fall out of the system.

Traditionally, when resources were scarce, boys were the first to be given the opportunity to attend school and continue their education. Currently, there are strong efforts by NGOs and the state to redress this imbalance in school attendance for boys and girls. This is an endeavor that is also being addressed by the local administration.

For older women, however, there are no educational offers, such as reading and writing training, which would be specially tailored to their needs. Yet they are the ones who have to organize a lot for the families and the village and, due to the classical understanding of their roles, could only attend school for a few years.

With regard to the fundamental livelihood security for the family - i.e. food, school fees, clothing, cultivation of the land and running the household - the women in the community in particular have a special burden and responsibility. They are responsible for the basic security and food security of the family, while the men work on the outside and take care of the political interests and basic questions of property and ownership. If the men cannot pay for school fees, this task also falls to the women. Men traditionally hold the rights to the piece of land on which the family house stands and which is then cultivated jointly or by the women.

In Marafa Ward, it is reported that conflicts between the middle generation and the old people occur again and again when it comes to the handing over of land rights to the next generation and the distribution among the heirs. Elderly people run the risk of being accused of witchcraft and murdered for this reason, while a generational and distributional conflict smoulders in the background.



Household activities and school buildings

Social organisation

The social organization is interwoven with a close-meshed network of family, neighbourly, religious and administrative relationships. (cf. CoDirK study).

The district is administratively managed by three chiefs, who are assigned to Chamari, Marafa and Bungale, and five sub-chiefs. The tasks attributed to the chief and sub-chief are remarkably diverse and range from conflict resolution in family disputes to facilitating school scholarships, issuing certificates and permits. In general terms, the Chief and Sub-Chief are responsible for keeping order in all local affairs.

The Chief's counterparts at eye level are the Elders of the families, villages and faith communities. The Chief in turn must answer to the Deputy County Commissioner (DCC).

Just as the clan elder looks after the affairs of the family, the village elder takes responsibility for the welfare of the village and its community. Village elders are deserving and respected individuals (often, but not necessarily, seniors) who work as intermediaries to the administration, as mediators for conflicts and as contact persons for concerns of individuals that they cannot deal with on their own.

They are elected by the village assembly and one of their tasks is to convene village assemblies and to moderate them.

The administration has an even deeper impact on village structures and families through the Nyumba Kumi. Launched in 2013 by an administrative act of the central government, the "10 houses" initiative was originally intended to complement police work and prevent terrorism but has since undergone an interesting evolution. In Marafa Ward, the Nyumba Kumi system is very much alive in many places and has since taken on other functions. These include: monitoring compliance with compulsory school attendance, setting rules for living together in the community (e.g. how long is music allowed to be played at weddings? How long are the children allowed to play outside in the evening?), the dissemination of information top-down (e.g. invitations or announcements from the chief) and the forwarding of applications and submissions to the administration bottom-up (cf. CoDirK study)⁷.

Nyumba Kumi work on a voluntary basis; they are requested by the chief and confirmed by the households. The selection criterion is on the one hand the willingness to take on the post and to act in the Chief's interest and on the other hand the acceptance by the households.

While the previously listed systems are all hierarchical, each household is also informally and horizontally networked in many ways within the village structure via school, women's groups, savings groups, youth clubs, football clubs and circles of friends.

Voting behaviour and voter turnout

To be able to vote, registration in the electoral register of the IEBC, the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission, is required in advance, which is already a hurdle for many people. For the 2017 General Elections, 7889 people registered to vote at 19 polling stations in the sprawling Ward. Not all potential voters have the ID card required for registration and are therefore deterred from

⁷ CoDirK - Concepts of Democracy in Rural Kenya (2020): unpublished research report commissioned by KAS Nairobi, submitted by QMR.

going through the procedure. Others shy away from the long queues in the scorching sun on mass registration days. And a third group of potential voters stays away from the elections because they do not see voting as a relevant way of exerting political influence. (Quantitative data on the distribution among these groups is unfortunately not available).

For Marafa Ward, there are numerous accounts from voters and agents at the polling stations that, on the one hand, there was manipulation before the election with the distribution of bribes at night. There were also reports of manipulation and at least subjective threats to voters at and in the polling station, as well as attempts to influence clumsy voters in a certain direction or to fill out their ballot papers in a certain direction. (cf. CoDiRK study). Whether there was also manipulation in the counting and forwarding of votes to the IEBC, as is partly assumed in Marafa Ward, remains unproven.

At the national level, the re-election of President Uhuru Kenyatta was challenged by his challenger Raila Odinga in the Supreme Court on allegations of systematic election rigging. The Supreme Court, after sifting through some election documents, declared the presidential election invalid and ordered new elections for the office of president within 60 days. Whether there were also irregularities in the counting of votes for the other positions up for election in the Senate, House of Representatives, as governors, women's representatives and for the local MCAs remained open.

Court cases concerning election rigging were also filed in Kilifi County <http://kenyalaw.org/caselaw/cases/view/152170/>. However, due to the high costs and workload involved and little prospect of success, many losing candidates chose not to contest the election, even though this would have been welcomed by voters and opposition parties.

2 Definition of democratization and local indigenous understanding of democracy

In this paper, reference is made to a three-dimensional understanding of democracy, which covers the dimensions of political freedom based on individual autonomy, political equality in the sense of participation (Dahl 1971⁸) and political and legal control (governance). The control criteria include the aspects of horizontal accountability and the rule of law (Merkel et al. 2006⁹; Lauth 2004¹⁰), which imply the political control possibilities of parliament and other political organizations and actors. Political and legal control is not limited to the electoral process alone but encompasses the entire functioning of democratic institutions (Lauth/Kauff 2012)¹¹.

The term democratization describes on the one hand the goal, democracy, and on the other hand the process of changing social subsystems. "It is both a determination of action and a determination of the goal of social action." (Vilmar, 1973¹²).

Democracy promotion, in turn, "includes non-threatening, largely concessional, i.e. grant-funded transfers to support (materially, technically, financially) pro-democracy initiatives [...]: election monitoring, improving election management skills, capacity building in civil society, strengthening legislation, even helping to build political parties" (Burnell 2007¹³).

The scientific concept of democracy is expanded to include a philosophical understanding of democracy. Such a perspective appears important in the context of this report because the democratization process under investigation is embedded in a cultural environment in which a special communitarian-indigenous understanding of democracy is anchored.

As part of a survey of six elders in Marafa Ward - three women and three men aged 75 to about 120 - they reported on how "democracy" in the sense of power distribution, social organization and cooperation for the common good was organized in earlier times.

The central factor was the perception that democracy was everywhere, i.e. a basic attitude generally oriented towards the well-being of the entire community prevailed. Furthermore, there was a strong meritocratic understanding of leadership: Leaders - mostly men - were not elected, but their role emerged quasi organically from their charisma, way of life and the tasks they had already taken on in the community. At the same time, a strong esteem for those who worked in the second row for the leaders and the community - mostly women - also shaped the common understanding. The communal

⁸ Dahl, Robert A. 1971: *Polyarchy. Participation and Opposition*. New Haven / London: Yale University Press

⁹ Merkel, Wolfgang Hans-Jürgen Puhle, Claudia Aicher and Peter Thiery. 2006. *Defective Democracies, Vol. 2: Defective Democracies in Eastern Europe, East Asia and Latin America*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag for Social Sciences.

¹⁰ Lauth, Hans-Joachim. 2004. *democracy and democracy measurement. A conceptual foundation for intercultural comparison*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

¹¹ H.-J. Lauth u. O. Kauf, *Measuring Democracy: The KID as an Aggregate Measure for Comparative Research. Empirical Findings of Regime Development from 1996 to 2010*. Würzburg Working Papers on Political Science and Social Research, No. 2, Würzburg: University of Würzburg, 2012.

¹² Fritz Vilmar: *Strategies of Democratization*. 1973, Volume I, p. 102

¹³ Burnell, Peter (2007): *Does International Democracy Promotion Work?*, Bonn: German Development Institute, 17.

cultivation of fields and the common keeping of animals - in addition to their own farms - represented an important point of identification for the community (Baya 2020)¹⁴.

Parts of this traditional understanding of democracy still shape the social culture in Marafa Ward today, which is reflected, for example, in the "election" of political candidates by the community's council of elders. The high level of emotion in the election campaign and the need to "tune in" to a candidate together, not only to hear his arguments but also to "feel" him as a leader, could be interpreted as a reawakening of the holistic understanding of democracy that encompasses the whole community.

Also, the high willingness of individuals to commit to a candidate's campaign and to continue working on the issue of democratization beyond the time of the election within the framework of a citizens' initiative is reminiscent of the original understanding of cooperative working together for the common good - which implicitly entails the expectation that the candidate must henceforth look after the welfare of the team members and their families.

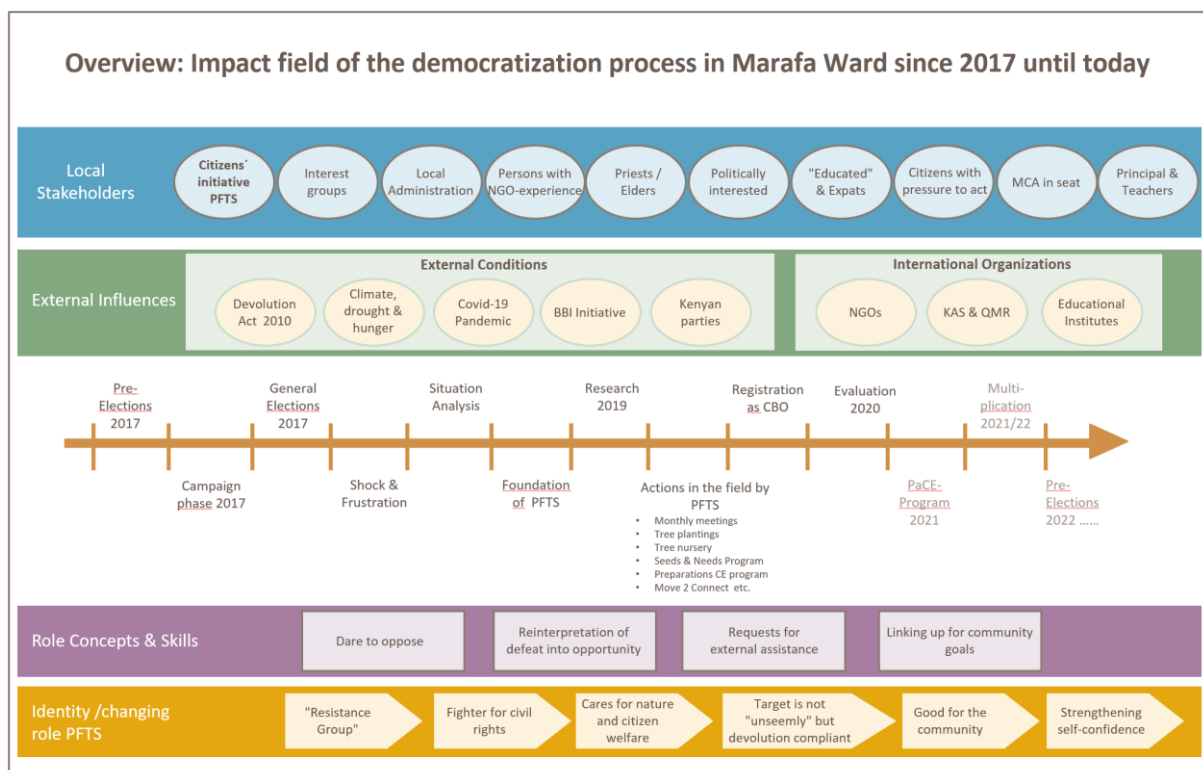
Nevertheless, the call for the normative foundations of liberal democracies (rights of participation, rights of freedom, control of powers, etc.) has awakened in the Ward and the PFTS citizens' initiative has set itself the goal of sensitizing the population to this issue and at the same time - where possible - to tie in with the traditional understanding of democracy.

¹⁴ Baya, Emmanuel Karisa (2020): unpublished research paper under the DDI Diploma, Nairobi.

3 Central events of the democratization process on the timeline

Democratization as social action oriented towards the goal of democracy presents itself as a complex interaction of different actors who act as individuals, groups or organizations. In addition, special framework conditions and external influences have an impact on this process. And last but not least, there are internal processes and reflections of involved actors that strongly influence the changes. This multidimensional interaction, which we refer to as the field of action, is to be illuminated here for the changes in Marafa Ward within the past 4 years.

Figure 1: Active field model



Source: Own representation.

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First, the description is made from a chronological process perspective, outlining so-called stages in terms of democratization.

In each case, in addition to the situation description of the relevant point in time or period of time, what was done in the situation and which of the aspects contained therein appear to be relevant for the democratization process are explained. In a separate sub-chapter, each visually marked by a black frame, the external influences, impulses and interventions are highlighted which - as far as this can be grasped - worked in this phase in the sense of promoting democracy. This classification is based on notes, minutes and working materials of QMR, on field observations, feedback during the evaluation

interviews and the joint reflection of the process with the PFTS Core Team. In some cases, quotes from these sources about the interventions or their impact are included.

The aim is to explore the question of how the initial impulse of an individual to want to be an active player in a democratic Kenya can develop into collective social action to achieve the dreamed goal and "enable the people of Marafa Ward to make informed decisions instead of - as before - following polarised positions for money", as Baya put it.

The starting point for this analysis is the point in time when the opposition politician Baya made the initial decision to become active in local politics. From his support group, the PFTS citizens' initiative was later formed, which is the focus here as the supporting group for democratization.

Farmer Emmanuel Karisa Baya (hereafter abbreviated as EKB) hails from Kilifi district. Born in 1973 and raised in the framework of structural poverty without parents, EKB feels deeply rooted in his community and his work projects in Marafa village and surrounding areas. At the same time, he is an international fellow of training programs and communities focusing on organic agriculture, community development, diversity and peacebuilding (Asian Rural Institute, Deep Democracy Institute, Rotary Peace Fellowship).

In addition to his responsibility for his family as a husband, father and farmer, he has always felt a strong sense of responsibility for the community as a whole. This basic attitude has resulted in several political and social initiatives (e.g. working in a government-initiated project for the advancement of women), voluntary work for NGOs and, since 2008, the founding of a children's centre with an organic demonstration farm, which trains more than 250 children and teaches sustainable methods of agriculture in times of increasingly unpredictable climate conditions. (www.magarini-centre.org).

When EKB experienced the strong political influence of the Kenyan state in connection with the school project he initiated, which, for example, prescribes the curriculum and rigidly prescribes the conditions for employing teachers and equipping the school buildings, but without financing the financial means for running the school in the remote rural area, he decided to become active in the political arena as well.

"It is not right that the money that the state of Kenya can provide does not reach the most vulnerable people in our area so that children can receive education and farmers can learn to adapt traditional farming methods to the challenges of climate change that is hitting our area with droughts, heavy rains and unpredictable planting seasons."

Through working on the farm and dealing with the challenges of the area, he developed the guiding idea, which he called "Peace from the Soil". This name "Peace from the Soil" and the implicit idea later also became the eponym for the citizens' initiative "Peace from the Soil". It describes the vision of restoring soil quality and with it a more favourable microclimate through organic farming and reforestation, while encouraging and empowering people to lead more self-determined lives through education, the empowerment of women's rights and the creation of income opportunities.

From the beginning of his political career, EKB distanced himself from the role of the classical Kenyan politician and defined politics alternatively as a "means in the fight against poverty". The reason for this oppositional stance not only towards the incumbent rulers, but also towards the political system, is his assessment that too little has been achieved since Kenya's independence:

"I don't consider myself a politician because I have reservations about politicians in general. Since Kenya's independence, not much has happened in terms of poverty - and there are resources that could be used for that. That's why you need someone who will put all their energy into tackling these problems in the rural population."

Despite or because of this critical stance, EKB decided to run for political office in order to be able to effectively fight poverty and the progressive destruction of the local environment in the role of an elected politician with a budget that can be applied for.

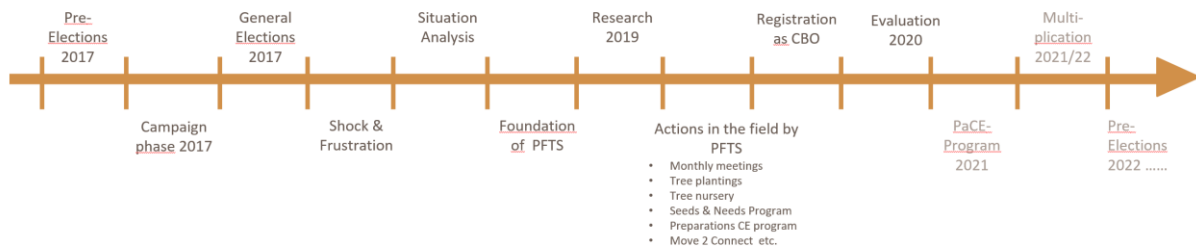
Decision to run for office:

External influences / democracy-promoting impulses and interventions

- The possibility to apply for external funding supported the dream of having one's own political career even under conditions of dispossession and lack of political contacts (in the classical sense of paternalism or tribalism).
What had previously seemed utopian became "conceivable" through the possibility of financial support. EKB had already experienced that asking for financial support from outside is basically feasible in his role as founder of a children's centre. He was able to experience that one can ask for help for an idea and "invite others to become part of one's dream".
 - It was helpful here that EKB had good and long-term contacts at the international level through previous stays abroad. Through these contacts, EKB received financial support from which a car and PA (= Sound System Public Address) were purchased as a kind of "starter set" for the campaign.
 - In January-March 17, EKB studied outside the regular academic curriculum in Bangkok on a Rotary Peace Fellow scholarship. This stay abroad had a strong influence on his perception in the Ward. His hitherto low status as a farmer was, so to speak, "ennobled" by the scholarship: the fact that EKB apparently "represented something" abroad, that he appeared as a speaker at Rotary meetings in shirt and suit (photos of which soon circulated in the Ward), influenced his image among the population as a "serious political personality".
- Enable "utopian thinking" through financial support and backing for the political project and provide the tools to get started.
- Attention and appreciation of his work and person from outside as a strengthening image factor

The individual stages in the process of change initiated in this way and the social action taking place in it will now be described in chronological order and the aspects considered relevant for democratization in them will be explicitly highlighted.

Figure 2: Stages in the democratization process on the time axis



Source: Own representation.

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Primaries 2017

Situation description:

In preparation for general elections, potential candidates must first be nominated for this candidacy via an internal party list, which can certainly be described as an undemocratic hurdle. In order to get on this list of candidates for the office of MCA and to the party-internal primary election, it is not so much political experience or acceptance in the grassroots that is required, but rather, as can be deduced from the experience of EKB, the payment of a sensitively high fee that the party demands from its candidates. Less well-off candidates - or those who are unwilling to meet this financial requirement - are thus likely to be denied a place on the list of candidates.

"Action taken":

EKB rejected this option, perceiving it as a form of bribery that would put him in dependencies as an independent candidate and make him untrustworthy in his fight against corruption.

When the opportunity arose at the last minute to switch to the FORD Kenya party and be nominated as a non-primary candidate, EKB took that step. He thus received his certificate as a nominated candidate in May 2017, marking the official phase of the campaign.

Conclusion: Even the nomination of candidates is based on expectations of monetary payments and favours. This makes it likely that candidates, even though they have strong popular support, cannot even run if they do not want to be captured by the corrupt system. Candidates who go along with the party's deal, on the other hand, cannot credibly criticize the corrupt system because they themselves had to become part of it in order to gain a place on the list in the first place.

The aspect that candidates for political office buy into a party without having to (or being able to) identify with any party goals will be discussed in more detail later in Chapter 8.

Relevant aspects related to democratization:

EKB was able to stay true to his anti-corruption principles, maintain his credibility and still run as a candidate for MCA. By running as a candidate, he gained insight into those corrupt structures that are linked to the political system. These experiences strengthened his intention to run against corruption - and he addressed this form of entanglement in his campaign.

Primaries:

External influences / democracy-promoting impulses and interventions

- Reflecting on his experiences in telephone conversations with international supporters reinforced EKB's perception that this approach to candidate selection was undemocratic.
 - Reinforcement of the idea from outside motivates to continue
"Their opinion motivated a lot. They said: you have great ideas and ambition - go for it".
 - The idea of a campaign Facebook page was developed to a) keep external supporters informed and b) critically examine supposed normality and put this into words.
 - External support for the development of a communication strategy for running for political office was offered by external supporters.
-
- ➔ Reflecting on one's own experiences with the help of an external perspective from outside the system strengthens one's own understanding of democratic structures and processes.
 - ➔ Reinforcement of the idea motivates to continue even in moments of crisis
 - ➔ Support in the development of a communication strategy

Campaign phase 2017

Situation description:

During the campaign period, numerous election meetings were held in the 5 sub-locations of Marafa Ward, where the 6 candidates for the office of MCA (Member of County Assembly) presented their election manifestos and tried to win over the voters for themselves and their plans. Among the citizens who followed these events with great interest, the positions and assessments of the candidates changed frequently. Politics in the sense of "election campaign" was suddenly the topic everywhere, it was sometimes handled confrontationally and the atmosphere in the Ward was heated. Each candidate visited the sub-locations up to 5 times until election day - depending on how often they were approached by the local organizers, what chance they thought they had in the area and how committed they were. With a total of 6 candidates for the office of MCA and additional election events of candidates for higher offices, there were a considerable number of up to 30 meetings per sub-location within the campaign period.

- *"There were so many promotional activities...in one day there were sometimes three meetings. You could observe it: there were so many changes in people's positions." (Farmer, 40, CoDiRK interview)*

In retrospect, few voters can remember the specific positions of the individual candidates. The election promises of the candidates addressed similar issues in principle: above all, the expansion of roads, schools and sports facilities for the youth, the improvement of medical care and the expansion of the water supply in the villages - and thus actually the greatest concerns of the population. Besides the election promises, the citizens try to get an idea of the candidate's "character" and his or her "suitability" for the office sought.

The suitability for political office is determined by the majority of citizens by how well a politician can lead and inspire with his ideas. Another important aspect is the credibility of his or her promises and his or her honorability, since people want an alternative to the incumbent, who is perceived as dishonest. And finally, how wealthy a candidate is and appears plays a role, consciously for some and unconsciously for others. For, according to the widespread view, only a politician who is wealthy can implement and pay for the necessary projects. There is no widespread understanding of the concept of "public money" to which an elected politician has access for the implementation of e.g. infrastructure projects - according to the budget planning. Thus, the ostentatiously displayed wealth of a politician by means of big cars, golden watches and generous "expense allowances" (appreciation) to voters during election rallies functions as insignia of his suitability. In addition, candidates are asked to provide personal assistance in the run-up to the election to prove their suitability and good heart.

As proof of the candidate's will for change and ability to act, he or she is expected to initiate public projects even before the election. However, for a new candidate without access to project budgets, unlike the incumbent, this expectation can hardly be fulfilled.

"Action taken":

From the beginning of the campaign, Emmanuel Karisa Baya and his team clearly communicated that they wanted a free and fair election and therefore - contrary to the usual practice - explicitly refrained

from expensive election gifts and especially from paying bribes on election day ("Don't buy votes, sell good ideas for the community"). Their campaign strategy was based on public spirit and honesty, and they hoped to convince voters solely on the basis of their declared intention to fight corruption and electoral fraud. In addition, they pointed to the voluntary services for the common good that EKB has already provided for the good of the community, for example, in the Magarini Children Centre that he founded and the Organic Farming Demonstration Farm that is connected to the centre - as proof that he wants to improve the living conditions in his own ward in an authentic and sustainable way.

The team pursued a double empowerment approach: based on his own career from early orphan to founder of a school and eco-farm, EKB encouraged the audience to become more active in shaping their own living conditions. His philosophical and spiritual approach "Peace from the Soil" became the guiding principle of the campaign: those who connect with their own land and their own potentials can work their own way out of dependence on food aid, for example, to achieve better yields with organic farming methods.

The same applies to the establishment of small businesses with the help of micro-credits, which he wanted to make available through an NGO in case of an election victory, and the monitoring of politicians - after all, it is the voters' money that politicians manage; therefore, it is also the voters' task to look after it.

In a three-month process, EKB and its team collected the concerns of the citizens in the respective villages at combined election events and community meetings. Again and again, representatives of marginalized groups were invited to speak and to contribute their own needs. The fact that EKB was able to reach even the most remote inhabitants of the wards by means of a car financed by donations facilitated the communication challenge. From the collected feedback, the team gradually developed the election manifesto.

EKB used the lion as a symbol in his public speeches; for two reasons: on the one hand, the lion is the party symbol of the FORD Kenya Party and this was to enable illiterate people to recognize the animal on the ballot paper and associate it with EKB. In addition, he conveyed it as a symbol of self-empowerment and made a connection in the communication between the "character" traits of a lion and its message: "Be like the lion, he is strong, he takes care of his family, he can take care of himself. He is not predatory against others, but takes as much as he needs. Only in the case that he is deprived of his rights does he become belligerent. The lion is not selfish, but proud. He hunts not to possess but to feed his family. "

The costs for the campaign were financed from the candidate's own few resources, loans were taken out. In addition, friends abroad were approached for support. Campaign team members and supporters contributed their time, cars, food as best they could.

Even during the campaign, however, the team was frustrated by the apparent impossibility of explaining to voters that a candidate from a poor background who has never held political office has no access to public or other funds and therefore cannot implement his political goals before the election.



Election events in the 2017 campaign period

Relevant aspects related to democratization:

The campaigners around EKB were fascinated by the fact that someone from their midst was appearing and speaking in a completely different way than they were used to from politicians. For them, it seems particularly important that EKB's political intention is about self-empowerment and a critical examination of the status quo of the political system. As agents for EKB, they hoped to convince the people of their candidate. In their perception, the candidate represents the ideal leader who truly has the common good in mind without aiming for personal gain. They are enthusiastic about their candidate, who announces that he wants to stand for peace and economic development, and they back this up with Baya's announcement that he wants to stand against corruption and election rigging. They want to do their utmost to encourage the people to elect as MCA who they consider the best leader for them.

The campaign strategy and content of EKB's team only became clearer over time. To this end, EKB used its early election events since March to ask the voters themselves to talk about their concerns and in this way to collect relevant starting points for the changes they wanted to see in the event of a victory. These were not only material investments, but also, for example, the plan to address the dilemma of illegal logging for coal extraction beyond (non-applicable) bans. For the first time, citizens were able to participate "in the manifesto". Some enthusiastically joined as supporters of "their campaign". Others doubted the seriousness of the approach and criticized incredulously that no one had ever listened to them.

Campaign phase:

External influences / democracy-promoting impulses and interventions

- Joint development of ideas for a participatory campaign / input on campaign strategy (e.g. use of the symbol "lion" as a recognition feature for illiterate people)
- Developing a relationship of trust through empathy, open-mindedness and simultaneous restraint.
 - "They came from outside, yes, but became part of the community."*
- 1 x weekly exchange (supervision at eye level)
 - o ... to address supposed setbacks and to bring "vision" into narrow situations by means of a change of perspective (e.g. the reproach that the Children Centre is not in Marafa Ward but in the neighbouring Magarini Ward could be changed into "It is a symbol for help for self-help, no matter whether it is in this Ward or in the neighbouring Ward").
 - o ... to transform resignation/fatigue and self-doubt into core issues (e.g. "We don't address all voters at all, but only the poorest and many illiterates" refer to analogies with the German party system / classify in "In other countries and democracies, too, it is common for parties to focus on a certain target group and represent their interests").
 - o ... to address "blind spots", e.g. what special requirement illiteracy means in one's own campaign.
- Follow-up funding for campaign equipment: T-shirts, posters, travel expenses, petrol

"The financial support did not just help financially. It made clear to me: Others believe in me; they see I can create impact. And they perceive change."

- Public appearances with international guests (image of the "internationally connected", advocacy by Western persons perceived as high-ranking partly replaces advocacy by tribe status or political friends)
- Linking candidacy and economic progress / entrepreneurial image: attracting donors and investors elsewhere (for a borehole to irrigate the demo farm) rubs off on the political campaign: "Anything is possible if you try, it's already happening. "

- ➔ Support in campaign and communication strategy
- ➔ Regular supervision, use of the outside perspective
- ➔ Financial support for the campaign
- ➔ Reputation

General Election 2017

Situation description:

On 8 August 2017, Kenya held the General Elections to elect the President, MPs and devolved leaderships. A total of six votes were to be cast for the Presidency, the Senate, the National Assembly, the Women's Representative, the County Governor and a local representative in the County Parliament, the MCA.

Registered voters were called to cast their votes in a total of 21 polling stations.

Although EKB was widely and enthusiastically supported by the population in Marafa Ward during the campaign period, the mood in the Ward seemed to change within the last two days before the actual election day. Despite the legal ban on campaigning during this time frame, according to retrospective reports, the opposing candidates or their agents aggressively solicited voters with bribes, drove from house to house in the evenings for payments and exerted manipulative pressure on voters in the immediate vicinity of the polling stations on election day itself (cf. "CoDiRK" study).

After rumours of irregularities circulated on the night of the election and on the day of the election, the tension and concern in the EKB team increased massively that the predicted election victory, based on the many election pledges formulated in advance by entire village communities, might not be achieved.

Some EKB campaigners reported that they had been expelled from the polling stations - although they were entitled to observe - sometimes by the military present there, while the agents of the opposing candidates were allowed to remain in the polling station. This triggered mistrust about the conformity with the rules in the polling stations, where - according to the fears of the EKB campaign team - voters might have been pushed to vote differently than originally intended under the appearance of support.

On the other hand, the vote counting process, which took place the same evening and into the night according to IEBC requirements, with many interested people present and supervising, was perceived as positive. The organization of the counting process and the immediate public posting of the results on the doors of the respective polling stations was seen as a clear effort towards transparency and a clear improvement compared to the 2012 elections.

In fact, the result was sobering for EKB and its team. Instead of the expected 2/3 share of the vote, only about 1/3 of the votes went to EKB (3,600 votes had been "promised" to EKB in advance. In fact, 1,964 voters voted for him, 2,744 votes were given to the winner of the election).

Of the total 6 candidates fielded for election in Marafa Ward, the existing incumbent prevailed for the local political office of MCA. EKB, on the other hand, scored 2nd place.

Reactions to the election results / shock & frustration

Situation description:

On the morning after election day, about 200 of EKB's supporters gathered at his home. The disappointment of losing the election was clearly in their bones, and the mood could be described as one of embarrassment and disappointment. But there was to be a double disappointment for the group: on the one hand, about the lost election. But also about the fact that "fraud in their own ranks" had taken place.

When questioning how such strong divergences could have occurred, the first doubts about the integrity of the own group members arose and the suspicion that many of those who had positioned themselves as supporters of EKB's campaign had made contrary election recommendations in their village at the last minute. As the search for causes continued, distrust among each other grew and accusations were made against individuals and village leaders present, and especially against "the women". Accusations were made. Contrite, quite a number of those present admitted their deviation. They tried to justify their behavior with their financial neediness or with the argument "I was beside myself, I don't know why I did it either".



Campaign team meeting the day after the election in August 2017

The chutzpah that those who had allowed themselves to be "bought" had nevertheless come to the sponsored meal and debriefing hit the disappointed twice.

At the same time, strong criticism and even accusations were formulated against EKB for seriously not paying bribes on election day. This was described by part of the group as reckless, naïve and risky. It

turned out that they had classified his announcement of not wanting to pay bribes as an election tactical maneuver and had also used it as such in their campaigning.

In addition, there were reports of massive provocations by the winners against opposition youth, which left them perplexed and angry.

"Action taken":

The day before and throughout the night, EKB's wife had already prepared plenty of food with many women from the area, either to celebrate the election victory or, in the event of defeat - as had already been announced by rumors - to be together, "save face" and evaluate the election together. No matter what the outcome of the election, they felt, they should celebrate a meal together. This is exactly what the inner circle around EKB decided to do, despite this double disappointment.



Food preparation on the day before the election in August 2017

The food was handed out and the approximately 200 people mostly sat together in small groups during the meal. Afterwards, 50-60 men, women and young people gathered in a circle in the middle and evaluated the election. This was about the strong emotions of disappointment, a catching up and building each other up.

In this heated atmosphere, EKB and the QMR staff member who was present as a guest also used methods from the Deep Democracy approach.



Perplexity and disappointment in the campaign team, August 2017

In a so-called "group process" following this approach, contrary positions are verbalized and instead of appeasing them are deepened to such an extent that it becomes clear why the speaker has to take the position. Through this special form of dialogue it becomes possible to also understand and take the perspective of the other person, so that a change of roles can take place. The feelings of disappointment and aggression that were prevalent in the group at that time could thus be brought up and a deeper understanding of the other position could be achieved.

It succeeded in getting back to the real message of the election campaign. In the lively discussion, those present emphasized that "peace for the community" had been an essential message - and that this was precisely what they should now try to build on. For the young people, this meant not to respond aggressively to the provocations of their political opponents, but to remain peaceful. For dealing with the "betrayal" in their own ranks, it meant not being aggressive, but recognizing the financial neediness - especially of the women responsible for securing the livelihood of their families - but striving as a common goal to fight extreme poverty in their community. Drawing on their spirituality, they tried to interpret and integrate the situation for themselves: "it goes on", "we don't understand why, but this way is God's will for us".



Group process with role change, August 2017

The group attempted a joint look into the future, asking how to continue together despite and in this situation. Since all the needs that had been collected in EKB's manifesto were still valid and there was little hope among those present that the elected MCA would actually realize his election promises, they discussed the option of a kind of "shadow cabinet". This could continue to work on the implementation of the issues in a practical way without a mandate. EKB was not the MCA in seat, but the MCA of action.

EKB supported this focus on practical projects in the Ward in principle, but made it clear how big a missed opportunity the sale of votes was in his eyes. With all the enthusiasm for change, there needs to be access to budgets, which is only available through the office of MCA. Therefore, the real goal must be to educate and empower citizens so that they recognize the value of their vote and are able to make informed decisions. He categorically rejected calls to try again in 2022, saying that without fundamental changes in the understanding and behavior of the electorate, a candidacy based on content and change would be impossible.

This long day, marked by complex and aversive emotions, thus crystalized as a kind of "key moment" for the group, in which a deeper, more conscious understanding of the previously already propagated political goals was achieved.

Relevant aspects related to democratization:

What seems relevant here is that despite the bitter realisation that parts of one's own group had fallen prey to the temptation of accepting bribes for their votes or for recommendations made to their own villagers against their own convictions, not only accusations remained in the room. Instead, the real issue was the recognition of the vulnerability and necessity of political education, even within the own ranks.

What seemed to be decisive for the democratization process here was that, despite initial disillusionment, understanding and forgiveness became possible, which the participants attributed to the change of perspective facilitated in the group process.

In the interaction with the population in Marafa Ward, this has the consequence that the actors from now on appear authentically not as superior lecturers who do it better, but as empathically knowing about the situation, the neediness and the necessity of education.

EKB said about this: *"Everyone knows where they want to go. Some have already made fair elections and are at peace with themselves. The others have not voted according to their idealistic convictions, but according to their financial needs or short-term financial advantage. These people have a particularly strong need for Civic Education to come to terms with themselves and strengthen their conviction that next time they "won't weaken" but can choose according to their conviction and understanding of the complexities between bribery and losing their political goals. "*

Shock and frustration after the election:

External influences / democracy-promoting impulses and interventions

- International persons present as election observers assumed three functions:
 - a) On the one hand, the electoral processes in the polling stations "controlled" by them seemed to be more in conformity with the rules, or the official election supervision intervened there when agents harassed the voters.
 - b) The fact that they reported on election manipulations at and in the polling stations as "neutral observers" confirmed the reports of local people present, which otherwise might have been dismissed as "tendentious".

"The neutral view of the election observers provided, let's say, mutual support. It confirmed our suspicion that something must have gone wrong".
 - The fact that the Supreme Court confirmed the massive occurrence of electoral manipulation at the national level and annulled the elections at the supra-regional level further vindicated them.

"Even the Supreme Court said so! That was an important confirmation. "
 - c) With their basic conviction and "democratic socialization" that bribery of voters is unacceptable and undemocratic, the external participants contrasted the "local customs" with a clear counter-design of normative democracy. They clearly questioned the powerless tolerance of electoral manipulation as a "common evil".
 - Reflection on the election defeat:
The presence of the international guests in a way provided a framework in which the group of supporters talked to each other instead of - as it otherwise threatened to do - diverging in aggression, hostility and bitterness without dialogue.

"It became clear: instead of fighting and struggling we have to talk! Dialogue was so important."
 - Role model function: coming to terms with what happened is already democracy(sation): critical thinking, analysis, understanding of electoral behaviour instead of interpreting this exclusively as personal defeat
 - Use of different forms of dialogue facilitates discussion in the community and links to local forms of communication
 - Deepening the self-understanding of opposition: a political loser is not a "loser one who has to disappear from the scene", but "opposition" and thus holds the important role of counter-position and representation of interests even beyond election day; fighting spirit instead of shame (externals report that in their country the "loser party" still appears on election night as a self-confident opposition party with demands against the prospective governing party).
- ➔ External persons and entities confirm the occurrence and injustice of electoral manipulation and bribery
 - ➔ External persons, by their presence alone, call for deliberation and debate, opening the space for dialogue instead of aggression and hostility.
 - ➔ Forms of dialogue used prove to be suitable for local forms of communication
 - ➔ Formation of the self-understanding as "opposition

Situation analysis after the election

Situation description:

Already during the campaign period, the team members around EKB met regularly for a joint analysis, for which the events of the day were discussed in the morning and in the evening. This analysis did not exclusively concern the day's events, but also included reflection on themselves, their goals and wishes in the group, and thus issues of self-knowledge and locating themselves in the field. This central feature in their interaction remained an integral part of the team around EKB even after the election defeat.

From the day of the defeat, when the first evaluation meeting took place, until the founding of PFTS in March 2018, members of the campaign team met regularly to talk to each other. This took place locally, initially in a smaller circle every Sunday in connection with a savings group, and flanked on an international level through exchange via Skype, which also served to process and classify the events. Based on the idea born on the day after the election that only by continuing can we learn from the defeat and that perhaps the path to more democracy once begun will be shown, the desire arose to first document what had happened and at the same time to gain an idea for the future direction of the group with the help of a further group process.

"Action taken":

In December 2017, a two-day workshop brought together nearly thirty people from across Marafa Ward who had been active in the campaign and remained interested in driving change in Marafa Ward. A staff member from QMR and EKB were jointly invited as facilitators and a film crew from Nairobi was commissioned to produce a 10-minute documentary. On the first day, the group discussed the events of the campaign period again and individual activists described their individual impressions in front of the camera. The second day began with a list of the most pressing issues in Marafa Ward (Sorting) and the group's decision to work on the topic of "Schooling for All". This showed that not only school fees are a heavy burden for parents, but also the decision to give one's child into a system that might alienate them from rural culture and "real life in the country" to the extent that they are academically educated, but - even if they are unemployed - cannot find access to work in the fields. In the ensuing discussion in smaller groups, the group's conviction, which still has an impact on the group identity today, developed that in addition to (political) education and democracy work, they should also become active through initiatives and practical projects on the ground that can secure the livelihood of the members or the community, such as planting forests or starting small businesses like a tree nursery. By the time the film was presented to the contributors in March 2018, the group's identity and direction had been solidified to the point where it was decided to expand the ideas further, form an organisation (CBO) and recruit more members at regular meetings.



Workshop in December 2017

Relevant aspects related to democratization:

The numerous analysis meetings after the election served two purposes. One was to regain balance and harmony with oneself and within the group after the sobering experience of defeat. In this way, the activists succeeded in moving from the feeling and reproach of individual failure to a meta-perspective from which it becomes visible which structural and cultural particularities have to be addressed in order to make democratic elections possible at all. Secondly, this phase was about developing concrete interim goals for further work and also finding allies and network partners with whom these can be realized. In a region where there are neither role models nor concepts or funding for "political education work", every step has to be fought hard for and the fear of falling by the wayside always resonates.

Situation analysis after the election:

External influences / democracy-promoting impulses and interventions

- Each time the foreign partners visited, this provided the former campaign team with the occasion and framework to meet again in order to "stay on topic".
- Acting as a "role model"
 - "She acted like a role model. People realized: ah, this is how people live and act in Germany: they talk and reflect. Let's check which parts are integrable."
- External partners held out the prospect of financial support via sponsors to enable further meetings of the former campaign team / "the opposition".
- External support in the workshop design, in the course of which the idea was generated to document the experience in the form of a short film.
 - "Through role switch and reflection within a group process we realized a hidden message: let's take this as a learning step! And let us learn to speak out, so we will get to the core of the problem. In this case of bribery poverty was core. So, how can we address poverty?"*
- Establishing contact with a Kenyan film team
- Support in identification with the demand for democratic rights and civic education.
- Promote the vision that oppositional work can continue and that one's actions are significant both locally and beyond.

- Continuing to work together despite "defeat"
- Financial support for the organisation of monthly meetings
- Moderation / support Identification
- Appreciation and reflection that local work of significance and scope
- Looking ahead

PFTS foundation and objective

Situation description:

Due to the grueling realization of the deep impact of systematic manipulation of voters in Marafa Ward and the fact that even in their own ranks the temptation of short-term financial rewards had not been resisted and that it was becoming apparent that another five-year legislative period would pass without the promised economic and infrastructural change, the local non-party alliance *Peace from the Soil* (PFTS) was founded in March 2018. Watching the film "My voice for Marafa Ward", which had been produced three months earlier, was a founding moment, highlighting the grievances and vividly summarizing the group's vision.

Film "My voice for Marafa Ward" <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q9ZlcMcZvEQ>

The founding members of PFTS were mainly recruited from the campaign team of the local MCA candidate EKB. The group of about 20 people decided to meet about once a month and to collect voices and impressions from the individual sub-locations at each meeting. The newly formed initiative wants to address the following recurring points of criticism:

- The MCA in charge is not present in the Ward, so there is no contact person to start some projects already planned during the campaign period, such as a promised project against youth unemployment or the water supply for a school in Vitunguni, where there has been no water for three months.
- Politicians neglect and disadvantage places like Kotajo where voters have chosen a different candidate.
- Politics should not be run like a business, but should serve the people in the area, which is why PFTS is pushing for a say in the awarding of contracts, for example for the laying of drinking water pipes.
- There should be a possibility (monitoring group) to check the budgets of school and road construction and the proper execution of contracts. Projects are not completed or are poorly executed.
- We need political leadership with vision and a transparent agenda.
- We elect the wrong politicians. What can be done to make voters make better choices? How can the goal of free and fair elections be achieved?
- Politicians take advantage of the ignorance and illiteracy of the voters in Marafa Ward. We want to do something about this, otherwise nothing will change.

As a possible solution, the desire for civic education is already being expressed, in order to come into exchange with each other, to benefit from different opinions in one's own opinion-making and finally to be able to make knowledge-based, more informed decisions.

At the same time, the group realises that they know very little about the motives and attitudes of voters in Marafa Ward and that it would be important to better understand the voting behaviour shown in order to have a basis for change processes.

"Action taken":

Still electrified by the idea and importance of citizens being able to make informed choices when electing their political leader, the founding members of PFTS decided to focus their work on civic education rather than on supporting an explicit candidate. The guiding principle is their conviction that political change in their country is only possible if voters better understand the contexts and grievances resulting from the electoral practices described. Accordingly, PFTS primarily wants to address people "at the grassroots" with its work and sets the active support of all citizens on their way to becoming aware of and exercising democratic rights and duties as a central goal.

Especially in a region characterized by extreme poverty and a low level of formal education, they see this accompaniment and support of the citizens as indispensable on the way to living democracy. Even now, accepting bribes is considered forbidden, but this is "circumvented", albeit sometimes with fear. The group sees the creation of understanding as more important than a ban.

Furthermore, it is the mission of PFTS to explore in and with the community possibilities and ways to take a more active role in the further development of Marafa Ward in terms of democratic participation that goes beyond mere electoral participation and enables participatory design and economic development.

Its name "Peace from the Soil" expresses the attitude that peace in the community can only be achieved in harmony with nature - and thus borrows from the lived philosophy of its former candidate. EKB joins the initiative as a member and takes on a guiding and identity-forming role, even though he is not formally the chair of the initiative.

Relevant aspects related to democratization:

A relevant aspect in terms of democratization here seems to be the development of a new identity, as the grouping has brought about with the founding of PFTS as a citizens' initiative. Formerly working as agents to help their candidate into the political office of the MCA, the group's goal is now completely reoriented: namely, to empower citizens to make informed and autonomous decisions.

Instead of fighting as paid agents exclusively "for the election victory of his candidate", their personal identification developed into advocacy for an idea that focuses on citizens and their democratic rights.

The former campaign team transforms itself into a group that wants to promote political education work ("civic education") for democracy development and thus takes on a new role and responsibility.



PFTS Founding Members in March 2018

Although there were already various interest groups in Marafa Ward before, none of these groups had so far been oriented towards an educational policy goal. Organized as self-help groups (Youth Group, Merry-go-round-Women group, Widows Group), they (used to) act with a focus on their own interests and empowerment. However, linking up as a group explicitly for community goals - and growing as a result - represents a new, very ambitious quality.

Foundation of "Peace from the Soil":

External influences / democracy-promoting impulses and interventions

- Encouraging the founding of an initiative and thus "institutionalising" the group
"Their presence made people feel save to share, have a group process...People spoke out loud. And they realized...with friends like this who support our project we can still achieve our ideas..."
 - Strengthening of goal setting and group identity: "We as PFTS want...": the group acts and agrees and not (only) individuals anymore
 - Prospect of attracting funding and donations as a CBO
 - Strengthening the intention to recruit more members
 - Raising the idea of a baseline survey
 - Procurement of further project partners, QMR as research and process partner
- ➔ Promotion of identification
 - ➔ Encourage institutionalization with the prospect of applying for funding.
 - ➔ Developing the idea for the baseline survey

Research

Situation description:

In order to achieve their objectives and to be able to approach the people in the Ward adequately, the members of PFTS felt it was necessary to know more about the range of attitudes and expectations regarding politics represented in the Ward. They realized that while they were roughly aware of the positions of people in their immediate environment, they were not aware of other opinions and attitudes in their Ward.

"Action taken":

As the PFTS members did not feel able to find out these aspects from people in the Ward themselves, they discussed who could take on such a baseline survey in their place and decided to ask the Munich social research institute QMR for support. They were familiar with QMR because a colleague from QMR had already been on site during the campaign period to observe events in the field, to facilitate group processes and with whom most members of the campaign team at the time had built up a good relationship of trust. This contact had originally come about through further training by EKB and this colleague at the DDI Institute (in Nairobi, among other places).

QMR pledged its support and accepted the assignment from PFTS to conduct a qualitative survey in Marafa Ward.

During a meeting between QMR and PFTS in December 2018, the expectations were clarified on the basis of which QMR drafted a research design including guidelines. In March 2019, the field phase for this research project took place, for which a total of 56 people from all over Marafa Ward were interviewed in 90-120 minute qualitative interviews.

Following the guiding question "What can democracy do for me and my life situation?", the interviews were conducted at five different locations in Marafa Ward. The interviewees were recruited with the aim of achieving the broadest possible distribution in terms of age, gender, level of education, occupations and political preferences.



Research Setting March 2019

What was striking about the interviews, in which projective techniques and systemic constellation figures were used in addition to open impulse questions, was the very open discussion atmosphere. Despite the setting, which was completely unfamiliar to them, the interviewees were open-minded, interested and eager to provide information and reported back that the fact that so much attention was paid to them and these topics made it possible to talk about issues that would otherwise not come up. Very few people had heard of PFTS before, but interest in their work grew strongly as a result of this research project.

The first results of this survey were presented to Peace from the Soil participants and people interested in the feedback from the field in March 2019, immediately after the survey, and discussed with each other. A more comprehensive analysis of the data collected can be found in the report "CoDiRK" (Concepts of Democracy in Rural Kenya) commissioned by KAS Nairobi.

The report includes a detailed description of the problems in rural Kenya. It also shows the potentials and possibilities for politically interested citizens to take a more active role in the further development of the region under the given contextual conditions.

Focused dimensions:

- Beliefs, subjective convictions and expectations of the respondents regarding politics, politicians and democracy
- Experiences, hopes and fears about political change and oppositional voting behavior
- Communicative and organizational structures as resources for democracy development in Marafa Ward
- Role, positions and potentials of women
- Role, positions and potentials of the "Elders"
- Role, positions and potentials of young people
- Culturally shaped positions on cooperative and participatory action

The research results were used as a basis for upcoming decisions on how the citizens' initiative should proceed.



Presentation and discussion of the research results March 2019

Relevant aspects related to democratization:

Within this process step, the following aspects appear to be particularly relevant:

- a) The realization on the part of the PFTS initiative that really all opinions and positions represented in the Ward are significant in order to be able to achieve a change "at the grassroots". Even unpopular or contrary positions must be included in the work in order to be able to really act bottom up instead of top down.
- b) The realization that it might be better to let someone else get the information you want if you yourself struggle to appear neutral in that context.
- c) The courage to ask for a service even if no budget can be made available for it.
- d) External and international contacts bring impulses for one's own work into the field. The discussion of new options in dialogue with external partners is inspiring. The interviewees said in the interviews that they had been given the opportunity to talk about topics that had never been part of everyday conversation before and that they had been able to adopt a new perspective. They were experienced as "eye-opener" for the possibilities of discourse, reflection of dialogue.
- e) The findings on respondents' implicit beliefs about politics clarified for PFTS which aspects they would need to address more strongly in their communication.
- f) The insights into organizational structures in the Ward, especially the interaction between chiefs and elders, made it clear to PFTS how important it is to close ranks with the local administration in order to achieve its own goals. The possibility of seeing the local administration not only as a gatekeeper, but as an enabler and door-opener, changed the communication with the local administration.
- g) The realization of how much the role of the Nyumba Kumi has changed in the past years from the original control function implemented by the government to the role of a confidant and multiplier led to the Nyumba Kumi being more involved in the communication between PFTS and citizens. They were consulted more and were involved earlier in activities and projects planned by PFTS.

Research:

External influences / democracy-promoting impulses and interventions

- External persons can "naively" ask different and different questions; facts are described to them that are implicitly assumed to be known by "locals". Through the description, topics and aspects are brought to consciousness that would otherwise not be addressed, that are repressed or tabooed (e.g. elections and reflection on events are also discussed by those who had long since "ticked them off").

- Talking to the foreign questioners was experienced as liberating. Voting behaviour and motives lose taboo and can become part of the public discourse.
- Qualitative questioning leads to reflection on local processes, resources and structures; encouragement to use this as a basis for further decisions
- The way in which results are directly fed back into the field "doubly" broadens the horizon
"The methodology of the community presentation was impressive. We immediately got feedback. Details about the election day and manipulation: how and why could this happen? But also: where are our needs - and where are hidden resources?"
- Attention and interest from external parties has an encouraging effect ("others find what happens here interesting, then it is also interesting"), hope for further support from large national and international team
- Transparent communication about money flows (→ Not the external persons present are rich and can privately manage the financial support. But they represent the interests of the group and look for sponsors for future work).
- Through the external survey and the subsequent presentation event, PFTS is perceived more strongly as an organisation in the Ward
- External interest brings even taboo topics into the public discourse.
- Grassroots survey reinforces the "grassroots idea" of PFTS
- Increased perception of PFTS as "fighters for civil rights

Activities in the field by PFTS

Since its foundation in March 2018, PFTS has been organising a series of projects and actions in which development work is combined with "political education work". (Political education is used here in quotation marks because the term "politics" is used in a very one-sided way in local language and is associated or equated with election campaigns or manipulation.

"When you marry a woman, you have to bring "little politics", even the priest makes politics in your favour." Teacher, 50, m

Instead, people use the term "civic education" (but often this term is also equated with a self-contained workshop programme).

- Monthly meetings
- Tree planting campaigns
- Tree nursery
- Seeds & Needs Action
- Participatory Civic Education Programme

Situation descriptions:

Monthly meetings

The tradition of the group getting together for regular exchanges has been and continues to be maintained even after the founding of PFTS. Initially, these meetings took place in Marafa Village. Since this meant that the time and financial effort of travelling always affected the same people living far away, it was decided to rotate the meeting places. Not only was this a significant step forward in terms of justice, but it also made it easier for newly interested people in the respective villages to overcome the hurdle of joining for the first time. Membership numbers increased as a result. In addition, as PFTS members reported back, this opened up the possibility of experiencing at first hand what it is like in other villages and what the problems are there ("thinking outside the box"). Without the occasion of a PFTS meeting, very few had ever been to the other villages belonging to the Ward, as mobility is often difficult and expensive due to the poor or non-existent roads. The personal exchange strengthens the feeling of togetherness and gives the opportunity to support each other in word and deed.

Usually, the person who issues an invitation to a public meeting is implicitly expected to pay the attendees a lump sum for transport and, if possible, also for lost daily income, i.e. food. If this "appreciation" is not handed over, one can apologize for it and refer to one's own financial situation, but must expect that those present will go home dissatisfied, some even not accepting a next invitation. Since many people live "from hand to mouth" day after day, not paying a flat fee is indeed an exclusion criterion for many to participate in events. So far, PFTS can neither have fixed sources of income nor regular sponsorship, so the financial situation and the search for support is a recurring topic at the meetings. If the group receives support, e.g. for the group meetings, or tree planting via private donations from abroad, this is passed on to the members.

In addition to the exchange in the group about the situation in the Ward, possible practical projects are discussed, planned and concrete steps for implementation are decided at the monthly meetings.

In addition, the group also found its "style" of working together: a chairperson, deputy, treasurer and secretary were elected - and thus offered the opportunity to reflect on issues such as opinion-forming and elections in their own actions. The intention to give women in the Ward a stronger voice was also given space in this circle. Moderation methods that encourage participation were tried out - the topic of equality and the cultural conventions of role attribution were thus discussed and direct opportunities to try out changed roles in a protected space.

Tree planting

Following the vision that planting trees and restoring forests in the region can break the vicious cycle of deforestation and poverty, PFTS members meet for regular tree planting campaigns.

At different locations in the Ward, tree seedlings of different tree varieties and species are planted in 1-day actions on previously barren areas, chosen to suit the changing climate. Interested people from the respective community are invited to participate in the planting. It has proven successful to choose areas adjacent to schools if possible, as sponsorships can be given by school children for the care of the seedlings. Without continuous care for the young trees, they would quickly dry out or be eaten by

grazing animals (as happened initially). In addition, the chosen areas are "attention-grabbing" - people talk about them in the village and thus the awareness of PFTS and the interest in their work grows.

Tree seedlings were initially paid for out of the Ward's own treasury, where membership fees are managed. After the first successful actions, individuals from the Ward offered to donate seedlings. Donations for the tree planting campaigns were also collected from abroad, where these activities are attracting increasing attention. Currently, an application for funding is underway with Ecosia (as an internet browser, Ecosia donates a certain amount per search request to a donation fund for ecological projects).



Tree planting and seedlings in November 2019

Tree nursery

As the need for tree seedlings is increasing due to the planting campaigns - and possibly tree planting will soon increase in interest beyond PFTS tree planting - PFTS has leased a plot of land to run a tree nursery on.

The aim is to promote economic independence - the tree nursery is an example of how an idea and community investment can be turned into a small business and generate income.

This project is also exemplary in that each of the members felt that joint investment and action also require trust. This hurdle was clearly perceptible in the group and offers the opportunity to reflect on this together in order to be able to accept and facilitate possible resistance from other citizens who shy away from the step of a joint investment.

Seeds & Needs Action

With the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic, the Kenyan government introduced restrictions on daily life, some of them massive, in rural areas of Kenya from March 2020. Curfews were imposed and reports circulated in the Ward about how harshly the police cracked down on disregard for these regulations.

For the large amount of those in the Ward for whom small jobs - many of them preferably in the evening hours after working on the shamba - are the only source of monetary income, the already very scarce basis of livelihood security fell away. Many of the subsistence farmers had to consume their seed stocks instead of being able to store them until the next sowing phase. The threat of hunger, it became apparent, would multiply within a short time in the Ward.

During the regular online meetings with QMR, the PFTS Core Team reported in mid-April on the situation on the ground and that many people in the Ward were frightened: out of fear of famine and a lack of understanding for the rigid police measures. "Social distancing as a hygiene measure is perceived by people as an attack on the last and most important thing they have left: harmony and contact with their fellow human beings. There is a lack of information about the virus and the background to the measures imposed, as there is hardly any access to the media, especially in the remote areas of the Ward.

The PFTS described the situation as a kind of rigidity into which the Ward was threatening to move and formulated their inner impulse to want to help as a citizens' initiative in this situation at all costs. Together they discussed how they could be supportive in this situation. A project plan was developed, combining information events about Corona with the distribution of seeds.



Seeds & Needs Information Event on Corona in May 2020

Posters and information sheets on which information was presented pictorially - following the Kenyan culture of painting important things on the walls of houses - were prepared. In addition, songs were composed containing the most important information about the Corona virus and how to prevent its spread in the local languages Giriama and Watha. Through private donations and personal contact with a seed company in Kenya, 540 packages of high-quality seeds (maize) were organized within a very short time and delivered directly to Marafa Village.

The local administration was asked for permission to hold information events in the 5 sub-locations, although the sub-chief of one sub-location did not give his consent. Through the Nyumba Kumi structure, addresses of the families considered to be most in need were compiled and invited to the event dates.

The events took place in mid-May. The information campaign succeeded through the posters, speeches by PFTS members and the songs and dances performed. At the end of each meeting, the allocated seed packets were distributed.

After positive feedback made the rounds in the Ward, the sub-chief, who initially refused, agreed to the action, so that the planned events could be held in all 5 sub-locations.

About two weeks after the completion of the action, PFTS received a "summons" to the Council of Elders. The PFTS chairperson and EKB attended the meeting. They were told that their commendable action had met with broad acceptance and that the elders also perceived that PFTS wanted to help the people in the community. The support of their work by the elders was thus officially confirmed.

Participatory Civic Education Programme

PFTS is putting a lot of energy into organizing and offering a civic education programme for the citizens of Marafa Ward that conveys normative knowledge about democracy and opportunities for participation in an experiential way and links up with the culturally shaped understanding of democratic coexistence. This goal is within reach through the cooperation between QMR and KAS Nairobi, which motivates the PFTS members very much. The Kenyan contact person of the KAS has already been given the names of those people who are applying to participate in the programme,

which is designed as a train-the-trainer system. These are partly members of PFTS, but also people close to the initiative who want to work as multipliers in the ongoing democratization process.

Relevant aspects of the actions related to democratization:

Through the practical projects and the Seeds & Needs action, PFTS credibly communicated to the population that they take people's concerns seriously and convey how to act against them.

The public perception and acceptance of PFTS is increasing noticeably, PFTS is becoming a popular figure. This facilitates PFTS' access to the population in order to integrate them into actions and to be able to implement the planned civic education programme on a broad basis. The officially formulated goodwill of the elders for PFTS lends additional weight to the work of PFTS - and strengthens the trust within the Ward even more.

Activities of PFTS in the field :

External influences / democracy-promoting impulses and interventions

- Interest in / reading along with minutes creates regular structure
 - Addressing issues in the field brought forward by PFTS
 - Content-related, logistical and financial support (e.g. Seeds & Needs: procurement of information on Covid-19, poster proposals based on murals from Kibera, establishing contact with seed supplier, fundraising; Move 2 connect)
 - "They enabled PFTS to implement the local approach. To provide masks, Water points with soap for hand disinfection, seeds, the banner with information about the distance rules and their meaning. People felt the support of QMR, but responsibility was taken by PFTS. Actually, it was a joint venture." Ingenieur, 39*
 - Promote the idea of tree planting due to public response, search for sponsors
 - "It addresses sustainability. We share our problems. And it is activity together."*
 - Support for the PFTS website, technical support
 - Joint goal development for a participatory civic education programme, search for education policy funding
 - "People realized, ah, this is what we have asked for from the beginning: being informed. Seeds & Needs was already Civic Education."*
-
- ➔ Joint development of project ideas and planning, remote support in implementation
 - ➔ Establishing an external image
 - ➔ Search for content and financial support for a participatory civic education programme

Registration as CBO

The Seeds & Needs action in particular also generated significant recognition at the level of the local administration. For the long-awaited registration of PFTS as a Community Based Organisation (CBO), PFTS received bureaucratic approval from the Chief in June 2020. PFTS thus achieved the next step of being publicly established and recognized as a citizens' initiative and being able to act within the framework of a legal form.

The plan to become a registered organization and to lead interested comrades-in-arms as members was already part of the PFTS development process. Discussions about admission requirements and possible membership fees and the decision about the distribution of offices within the group gave concrete reason to give practical relevance to the "big and abstract" project of democratization.

Registration as a CBO:

External influences / democracy-promoting impulses and interventions

- None, except the original proposal to aim for this

Evaluation

Situation description

The aim of the evaluation of the democratization process was to examine, within the framework of qualitative interviews, what traces the work of Peace from the Soil had already left in Marafa Ward a good three years after the general elections and two years after the founding of PFTS. In addition, the question of what general changes the citizens have perceived in their political, family and social lives during this period was to be investigated.

Action taken

In November 2020, QMR conducted a total of 21 interviews on these questions with citizens from Marafa Ward, including 3 representatives of the local administration. Due to the Corona-related travel and contact restrictions, these interviews, each lasting 60 minutes, were conducted in the form of online conversations via Zoom. An interpreter fluent in English, German and local languages provided simultaneous translation of these interviews.



Online interviews for evaluation in November 2020

Evaluation:

External influences / democracy-promoting impulses and interventions

- Impetus to look at the successes achieved by means of feedback from the field
 - Professionalization of local partners who supported recruitment and field organization
 - External interview via video enables international exchange despite physical distance and corona
 - Suggestion to also integrate representatives of the local administration
 - Talking about the past years and the changes in the Ward enables a level of reflection that is often "lost" in everyday life.
-
- ➔ Signal: despite Corona it goes on
 - ➔ Reflection on experiences and changes in the past years
 - ➔ Use of modern media for international communication

4 Key actors and influences on the process

In the complex process of democratization, external influences and framework conditions in the field interact alongside the local actors, which will be described in detail.

Local actors in the field

In Marafa Ward there are a number of local groups that take on certain roles and tasks and are related to each other. Listed here are those actors who have had or are having an influence on the democratization process through their respective actions.

Not all of these groupings are necessarily clearly defined or appear as such in a defined or even organized way. In these cases, the group membership results from certain characteristics of the persons (e.g. in the group of the "educated" by the level of education). Individuals can also belong to several groups due to their individual characteristics (e.g. overlaps in the grouping of "school principals/teachers" and "politically interested"):

Appearing as actors alongside PFTS:

- Stakeholders
- Local administration
- Priest / Elder
- Headmaster and teachers
- Citizens with pressure to act
- Politically interested
- People with NGO experience
- "Educated" & Expats
- MCA in seat

Stakeholders

Interest groups (women's groups/youth groups etc.) are the civil society answer to the many pressing problems for which the people in Marafa Ward have so far received no answer from the state. For example, young people who want a sports field and at the same time want to support each other in finding a job, or women who met through the church and decided there to regularly clean up the village themselves if no official body does so, and are still looking for comrades-in-arms.

In the opinion-forming process before the elections and during the campaign period, these interest groups played an important role because they offered members the opportunity to exchange views on issues presented at the election events and on individual perceptions in a protected space. At the events themselves, there were always representatives of interest groups who demanded that candidates listen to their specific concerns. While it is reported that individuals tend to be isolated for

critical voices, the spokesperson of an interest group can refer to both his role and the group he represents.

There is some overlap between different interest groups and PFTS. Through the involvement of individuals in both groupings, there is a continuous exchange on both issues and methods. Mutual impulses were expressed especially with regard to the application of the empowerment approach, which was also integrated into the campaign for EKB. Basically interested in the issue of change, contributors from interest groups joined the support group around EKB in the campaign and later as contributors in PFTS.

Local Administration: Administrators and Nyumba Kumi

Chiefs and subchiefs, as representatives of the local administration, are responsible for a variety of tasks. In the context of social development in the Ward, they are responsible for implementing programmes set up by the central government at the local level. For this purpose, they can influence the individual families through the chairpersons of the "10 houses", the Nyumba Kumi, and also have certain budgets that benefit individual residents.

Secondly, many NGOs work closely with the local administration in order to also reach the people through the existing networks and to ensure the sustainable continuation of the projects by the local leaders when the NGOs end their involvement.

And thirdly, chiefs or subchiefs act as enablers or preventers of the work of local initiatives. It is up to them to promote or prevent what happens in their catchment area. Since one of their tasks is both to improve living conditions and to maintain general peace, they will make their approval of projects dependent on what value they promise for the general good, but also how safe they appear for the peaceful coexistence of individuals.

Through the Nyumba Kumi network, chiefs and sub-chiefs can reach all registered citizens and mobilize them for events. They are therefore an important cooperation partner for stakeholders and other actors who want to make a difference in the field.

Nyumba Kumi are respected personalities in their 10-house structure and can act as important multipliers in the democratization process.

Priests and elders

Church elders and priests

Both the honorary elders (such as presbyters) of the church congregations and the full-time priests, some of whom work in several congregations, have a decisive influence on the education and opinion-forming of their congregation members.

Their sermons to the congregation provide an opportunity for this - in a rather direct way - but dialogue-based discussion circles on Sundays after the service and interest groups held during the week also offer space for this. In one of the interviews conducted for this report, a priest described

that aspects of the topic of democratization were discussed again and again among colleagues in a priest training course that lasted several months, and that it was his concern to pass on this knowledge.

During the election campaign, it became apparent that church members vote among themselves and identify a preferred candidate based on a set of Christian values. Once this candidate is identified, he is blessed by the whole congregation and further supported by the priest through active intercession with his parishioners. In many parishes, this choice and intercession fell on EKB, whom they considered to be a person of values in the Christian sense.

Cultural elders, shamans and healers

In every village there are persons of respect, mostly older men but also women, who enjoy a high social standing - even if they do not hold official positions. These are people who have earned respect in the community throughout their lives, whether as healers, diviners, arbiters of disputes or natural leaders. They can be very influential and are listened to when they approve or disapprove of something.

For the democratization process, especially among the older, less academically educated voters, they can be door openers if they express their trust in the project or the people associated with it and strengthen their back.

Elders are particularly influential when they themselves are enthusiastic about the democracy project, and combine in their person the role of traditional leader and interest in the normative democratic process, an example of which is PFTS Chair Anderson Mae.

Head teachers and teachers

Schools are not only places of education for children and young people, but also places of encounter for their parents. The democratic education of the children depends on the school headmasters - for example when they cooperate with external organizations and bring practical projects to the schools. In addition, it is common for parents to meet on school grounds and or participate in workshops. In addition, schools serve as polling stations.

In the Marafa Ward, there are individual head teachers - and teachers beyond - who convey the ideal of free and fair elections to both students and parents. In addition, some of them emphasise the approach that respectful use of natural resources ultimately creates the basis for a life of self-reliance and economic independence and therefore support the message and work of the PFTS citizens' initiative.

Through their influence and the possibility to reach relatively many people, school headmasters in particular are potential "masters of mobilization" and can in this way additionally and effectively support the democratization process.

Citizens with pressure to act

The pressure for the vast majority of people in Marafa Ward to change something is great, as there is a lack of almost everything at almost all times. One possible way of dealing with the situation is to accept it as it is. For example, one young woman reported that she only talks to the neighbours superficially, because otherwise one would be reminded too much of one's own problems and would rather try to make the best out of each day. The next step on the way to the "own voice" already demanded and promoted by EKB in the election campaign, is the self-recognition that the difficult living situation is not due to personal failure, but to a large extent to the external living conditions. For example, the everyday life of many women without electricity and water, constant financial hardship and the task of both cultivating the land and caring for the children is not easy to manage. A first step out of this dilemma for many women are the savings groups, in which it becomes possible, on the one hand, to work towards a small personal goal to improve the situation and thus gain new self-confidence and, on the other hand, to find a resonance space for the immense challenges by women standing up for each other in solidarity, telling each other their living situation and granting loans to women in need of money.

"Educated" and expats

The better a person's education or academic career, the more likely they are not to live permanently in Marafa Ward. Many former residents live and work in larger cities and only return to the countryside at Christmas or for the holidays. An exception to this are teachers, who often use their background knowledge and communication skills to play an active role in shaping communities, including the work of Peace from the Soil.

Another form of education is special training, which is initiated locally by NGOs and also gives scholarship holders the opportunity to learn the skills and abilities to initiate certain projects in other parts of the country or abroad.

Those who come to Marafa Ward from elsewhere or return there because they have lived in the big city or abroad for some time, as "expats", almost inevitably become bridge builders between the strong rural culture and the embodied new impulses. In the field, we observed both a great openness and enthusiasm for new things, as well as strong defence mechanisms and deep-seated convictions that everything unknown can bring misfortune. Some of the newcomers succeeded better in arriving in the communities than others and thus set valuable impulses.

"When I moved here to the countryside after 30 years of working in big hotels in Malindi, it was natural for me to keep my eyes and ears open and to take an interest in public projects to the extent that I understand what is going on. It was only after some time that I realized that I was alone in this and even isolated.", was the statement of one respondent during the CoDirk study.

Both groups of people, the "educated" and the "expats", have had the opportunity to look beyond their own culture and bring new perspectives to formal and informal contexts in Marafa Ward. EKB, for example, reports that he developed a completely different understanding of how to deal with the Kenyan police through observing police operations in the context of democracy demonstrations in Thailand. While demonstrations in Kenya often degenerate into looting and the police are perceived as enemies per se, the relationship between the population and the police in Thailand was largely characterised by mutual respect and even a mutual concern to enable a peaceful demonstration. It is

this experience in the back of his mind that enables him to have a new vision for Kenya as well. The same is true for people who have had the opportunity to experience other cultures of togetherness and other democratic systems. Their ideas are valuable in developing innovative solutions of their own for the people of Marafa Ward.

At the same time, some local leaders are given the opportunity to participate in international study visits on topics such as agriculture, peace building and conflict resolution. In this case, the integration of the person must take place so that the acquired knowledge can become relevant for those who stay at home. EKB, for example, was able to use his knowledge of organic agriculture and community building acquired at the Asian Rural Institute to set up the above-mentioned children's centre with a training farm and thus bind many neighbours, but also a large international circle of supporters, to the centre.

This grouping can also be called the "educated elite". Among the members of this educated elite, however, there is, as the respondents of the evaluation study integrated here describe it, also a proportion of those who occupy positions from which they benefit strongly politically and thus also financially by virtue of their educational status. They do not see education for all as a desirable goal because it would shift the distributional security that is favourable to them to their disadvantage.

"20% are educated and have realized for their own purposes that the ignorance of the 80% less educated is an important building block for them to stay in power. They don't want to share knowledge at all, they don't want Civic Education for the people and they don't want fair and free elections." Pastor, 42

Politically interested

People with a genuine interest in political exchange try to absorb news via newspapers or the radio when possible and are interested in talking about politics and current debates at the different political levels.

In Marafa Ward, they are highly valued as a source of information: anyone looking for an answer to a current question will find the answer here - and in this respect they also act as multipliers of certain political messages.

Politically interested people are an integral part of the Peace from the Soil group, as they can paint an ideal picture of what politics and the relationship with politicians could be like. At the same time, they are eloquent critics of the status quo, and thus open up an alternative or in-depth view of current events to the others.

During the campaign period, they closely observed and accompanied the different candidates and their approaches from the very beginning and provided important impulses for the development of EKB's campaign strategy - they are well informed and well networked, mostly without claiming or wanting to claim leadership themselves.

People with NGO experience

NGO staff are the link between the aid organizations' programmes and the people on the ground. If they work successfully, the communities can be empowered to make progress on their own - even in a short time. If the cooperation on an equal footing fails, the ideas are perceived as artificial and unrealistic and the project dies at the latest when the funding ends.

Besides agriculture, the education sector and handicrafts, NGOs are also important employers in Marafa Ward. People who work for NGOs or have worked on a project basis - for example, as coordinators or education officers - bring a lot of relevant knowledge to the democratization process. Those who have already worked as multipliers for governance trainings or election trainings can contribute a broad treasure of expertise in a very concrete way.

In addition, there are trainers who have experience in dialogue and group processes and have worked with women's or youth groups on their self-empowerment. They often have good methodological skills. In 2018, for example, a broad-based anti-extremism training took place in which theatre elements were used in addition to creativity techniques.

Some NGO staff (or former NGO freelancers) have helpful networks to other organizations and experience in writing project proposals and obtaining funding. In addition, their work gives them experience in moving around in an international context to gather knowledge and make contacts. Finally, NGO staff find it easier to work with social conventions and hierarchies that are sometimes perceived as restrictive if they have already worked through these issues for themselves. However, it can be difficult to inspire NGO staff in the role of contributors to unpaid civil society engagement, as this is classified by them as work to be remunerated.

People with NGO experience can vividly tell others about their work and thus broaden the horizons of their audience. In addition, in workshops or other events they can

Acting MCA

The current MCA in seat was elected in August 2017 for his second 5-year term. Of his numerous election promises, only a few have been carried out or completed so far, as citizens complain. However, there are reports of progress, e.g. in the expansion of two roads and the laying of water pipes on the major roads. Rumors are circulating that the costs for the construction of the road were paid by a person not in office, which is why the construction was stopped, as the incumbent suspects early electoral tactics behind it.

According to interviewees, the current MCA affects the democratization process through its absence, the reported way of winning votes and through power allocations that are experienced as arbitrary.

External influences on the field

In addition to the local groups, external organizations and associated individuals also appear within the democratization process, interacting with the local actors or at least being present and thus having an impact. In addition, there is a whole series of factors which, as external framework conditions, have a decisive influence on the events.

In the following, these external framework conditions and external organizations are distinguished from each other, described and their respective influence on the process of democratization is illuminated.

External framework conditions

- Devolution Act 2010
- Drought & Hunger
- Covid-19 Pandemic
- BBI Initiative
- Political parties

International organisations

- NGOs
- KAS / QMR
- International training institutes

Devolution Act 2010

The core element of the Kenyan constitution of 2010 is the anchoring of decentralized government structures ("*devolution*"): 47 counties (districts) were created from seven provinces and the capital district of Nairobi, each with its own county government, parliament and local government. Currently, very few people in Marafa Ward have an idea of what rights they are entitled to under decentralization and how they can demand implementation. The constitution has defined a number of policy areas in which the *counties* can administer themselves independently of the national level. In addition, they are to have their own financial resources, thereby bringing more development and self-determination to the individual regions of Kenya. A large number of paragraphs in the constitution deal with citizen participation at the local level (source: KAS Nairobi).

A respondent from Marafa Ward describes devolution as "the transfer of services and resources to the grassroots in order to improve the living conditions of the people. " The main concern of devolution, he said, is that people should be able to govern themselves again and have more power over their own affairs. This is why the 47 counties with their independent county assemblies were established.

On "paper" the foundations have been laid, but in reality a number of challenges emerge in the implementation of the constitution: Establishment of parallel structures (national/sub-national level), danger of spreading corruption only from one level to 47 smaller units, distribution conflicts, lack of information of the population about their rights and duties, lack of efficient structures of a local government combined with limited knowledge about the new constitutional regulations etc.

Climate, drought and hunger

"First of all, it is important to help people secure a livelihood for themselves. Because only those who own something will want to take care of it and work for good living conditions for all." This insight from local permaculture teacher Jescar Mbuhe Shehe sums up the dilemma faced by women in Marafa-Ward in particular during the 2017 election year. In the second year of prolonged drought, many people were already dependent on food aid and seed distributions at planting time in February to avoid starvation. The land was so dry that even herders could hardly find fodder for their animals and tensions arose between farmers and cattle drovers. If the harvest dries up, nothing can be sold at the markets, which in turn leads to a lack of money for school fees, transport and daily life. Drought and hunger make people particularly vulnerable to accepting bribes.

Covid-19 Pandemic

In March 2020, the number of infections of the Corona virus increased dramatically worldwide. Concerns spread that the virus could also spread massively in Africa with unpredictable consequences for the health and mortality of the population. From April 2020, the Kenyan government enforced a rigorous lockdown and called for social distance, which was repeatedly enforced with the use of police force. Economically, this had dramatic effects due to the loss of income from employment; this hit day labourers and their families particularly hard. Information about the medical background and explanations of the protective measures was difficult to obtain, especially for people without access to the internet, television or radio. This caused fear and despair among the population. A feeling of powerlessness and arbitrariness gave rise to the striking question: "Are we dying of hunger or are we dying from the virus? "

The social insecurity sometimes led to suspicion and isolation, the lack of daily income made all thoughts revolve around the fear of famine.

Due to the lockdown regulations, the monthly meetings of PFTS had to be suspended, which initially led to a lull in activities. However, with the planning and implementation of an information and aid project tailored to the situation, the activities of the PFTS initiative were then bundled again.

National Democracy Project BBI Report

The controversial debate on the BBI report presented to the public on 26 October at the Bomas of Kenya and the possible conclusions to be drawn from it is currently opening up an unprecedented field of attention to address the current state of democracy and possible developments in democracy in Kenya, even among the general population.

The report and the resulting constitutional amendments claim to be a crucial step towards realizing Kenya's dream (of good governance) since independence and address issues such as lack of citizen inclusion, corruption, decentralization and dealing with ethnic tensions.

Should there be a referendum on a constitutional amendment in mid-2021, this implies a need for information for a society with very different levels of education and opportunities to grasp the report. PFTS members report that even ordinary people, the "watu wa kawaida", feel the need to read the

report. Some can read and understand it themselves, others need explanations to understand and a third group needs support to read and understand.

The aim of PFTS is to accompany the discussion to the extent that it does not stop at the polarization of whether to hold a referendum or not. And that in the case of a referendum, no decision is made for or against a constitutional change without background knowledge about the effects. Instead, the citizens should have the possible changes explained to them and discuss them among themselves so that they can understand them and make informed and independent decisions from this position.

Political parties

Outside the campaign period, Kenya's political parties are not accessible to rural citizens. None of the parties has an office in Marafa Ward and no events are held. As the campaign approaches, they become more relevant because aspirants have to register on party lists in order to contest. Once the nomination has taken place, the candidate can expect very different levels of support, depending on the party's financial resources. EKB, for example, as a candidate of the FORD Kenya party, had received some promotional material in the form of caps, waistcoats and T-shirts and had to organise an event for it, to which higher-ranking politicians flew in to make contact with the grassroots.

More financially powerful parties such as Jubilee in other parts of the country and ODM in Kilifi County, on the other hand, have reportedly not only put a lot of effort and material into their campaign events, but have also systematically attracted voters with nightly cash gifts and the slogan "six times orange".

Moreover, parties can facilitate political careers by nominating candidates without prior political experience but with aspirations for political office. Grassroots acceptance has to be earned or bought afterwards. From his experience, EKB reported that there is a lack of training programmes in terms of educational events for young people who want to get involved in politics and also for candidates for political office who lack previous experience and networks in the field.

For the 2017 General Elections, there were no educational programmes by the established parties, only the Electoral Commission IEBC had offered an introduction to the newly designed process of counting and reporting votes.

NGOs in Marafa Ward

Some non-governmental organizations based on civil society engagement are also temporarily on site in Marafa Ward to carry out certain project assignments. In particular, the organizations Worldvision and Red Cross are noticed by the population; in recent years, they have carried out groundwater boreholes and built so-called water towers or water reservoirs to expand access to water in the Ward. Although these construction projects address the particularly important issue of water supply and the local people are grateful for them, quite a few of them attribute the ultimate residual responsibility for the functioning of the water points to the NGOs - possibly because the approach in the projects was sometimes experienced as directive or the transfer of role responsibility was not successful. The NGOs make efforts to integrate the local population into their projects by awarding work contracts (e.g. laying pipes) in exchange for handing out relief goods such as food; however, the workers arguably remain in the role of executors rather than drivers for the project. In the CoDiRK study, the proposal was formulated to integrate citizens into the project responsibility from the early project planning

stages, so that ownership of the construction projects is taken on more consciously and sustainably. Local citizens with a certain level of management competence are engaged as freelancers in the NGO projects and take on the task of acting as multipliers for the aid projects (cf. "Persons with NGO experience" in sub-chapter 4 "Local actors").

Other organizations that are visible to many citizens are the NARIGP programme, with which agricultural initiatives, e.g. for keeping chickens or bees, receive budgets and materials for their work after receiving applications, and Action Aid for the support and self-organization of women.

In NGO projects, the participants experience empowerment and participate in development projects that are important for their region to improve local living conditions.

QMR - Qualitative Mind Research

The initial access to the field through a private contact via the invitation by EKB enabled a QMR staff member - initially on an informal basis - to be on site during the campaign period and at the time of the 2017 elections, participating and observing.

After the election defeat and the associated shock among the supporters of the opposition candidate EKB, it was jointly decided to apply methods of the Deep Democracy approach to process shame, anger and disappointment in the group.

A few months later, when the need for information about the opinions and positions held in the Ward arose, it was natural to ask QMR for support "as a familiar face". From then on, QMR's role changed to that of an official contractor with a dedicated role as a research and process advisory partner. PFTS took on the role of the client, even though no budget could be allocated for this.

The intention with this relatively clearly outlined distribution of roles was that it leaves PFTS in the role of process owner, while QMR acts in an advisory and supportive capacity. The advisory role does not necessarily have to be accepted and allows for self-sufficiency, veto and ownership. The relationship between the client PFTS and the contractor QMR, it is intended, should be as much as possible at eye level.

QMR was repeatedly present on site to prepare, accompany or participate in field phases. A relationship of trust could be built up, firstly because EKB, as a respected personality in the Ward, welcomed the foreign guests with great openness and signaled to the participants in PFTS that the support of QMR was required and welcome. Empathy for the cultural characteristics of the region, cooperative working style and mutual respect and appreciation were and are important aspects for the cooperation. To research the effects of social intervention and social change, QMR works according to the participatory action research approach, in which the participating actors in the field are not only observed and interviewed, but are also involved in the analysis of all results. Research questions are discussed with the partners in the field in an open-ended way and the jointly created knowledge is made directly available to all participants. On this basis, next interventions can and could be planned as securely as possible.

Through regular exchange, discussion and joint reflection, QMR supports the development of PFTS and the democratization process. In addition, concrete practical projects are jointly envisioned and planned based on the needs situation on the ground. This cooperation takes place within the

framework of regular online meetings, via WhatsApp and video telephony with the members of the PFTS Core Team.

In addition to supporting the content, QMR takes on the task of requesting external financial support for project plans in the field (donations for tree planting, for lease fees for the tree nursery, for seeds, for means of transport, etc.) and for the planned participatory civic education programme. It has been communicated between PFTS and QMR that financial resources will not be donated by QMR, but that QMR will only act as an intermediary in this matter and seek to find sponsors and partners.

KAS - Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Nairobi

In the middle of 2019, QMR was able to win KAS Nairobi as a cooperation partner that supports the research and advisory activities and is open to supporting the urgently desired and planned civic education programme in terms of content and funding. The activities for democratization in the grassroots correspond with the educational mission of KAS Nairobi to promote democracy in Kenya.

Being supported by a renowned German foundation, which is also known in Marafa Ward by members of the educated elite as "Adenauer", has given additional energy to the work on the ground. For the PFTS members, it means that their efforts towards democratization are perceived and basically approved by higher authorities.

The fact that KAS Nairobi and its freelance trainer have experience in conducting civic education workshops on devolution and the prospect of this expertise as well as financial support being made available for the development and implementation of a participatory civic education programme makes the PFTS members optimistic. The support of KAS Nairobi also underlines the seriousness of their undertaking in the perception of the PFTS members and promotes the feeling that they are doing something right and important.

International training institutes

International training institutes¹⁵ and Kenyan universities are to be understood as a factor of their own in the democratization process when local actors from Marafa Ward attend seminars or training

¹⁵ Institutes with peripheral influence on the field of action:

Asian Rural Institute

The Asian Rural Institute (ARI) is a training centre for rural leaders. Founded in 1973 by Rev. Dr. Toshihiro Takami, the aim of the programme is to invite and train local grassroots leaders to work more effectively in their communities for the poor, hungry and marginalised.

Deep Democracy Institute

The DDI is a global think tank that researches, advises and trains the application of the Deep Democracy approach in science, business, government, grassroots movements, the arts and individuals. The roots of process work, from which the method for working with individuals, groups and organisations draws, lie in the psychology of C.G. Jung and in humanistic psychology. It is based on insights from quantum physics, field theory and modern communication theory, and was inspired by the philosophical thoughts and knowledge of Taoism, shamanism and indigenous communities.

Rotary Peace Fellowship

Each year, Rotary awards up to 130 fully funded scholarships to dedicated leaders from around the world to study at one of the world's peace centres. Through academic training, practice and global networking opportunities, the Rotary Peace Centers programme develops the capacity of peace and development professionals or practitioners to become experienced and effective catalysts for peace.

courses there. New impulses on agricultural techniques, moderation methods for group development or peacebuilding reach the field through the learning content but also through the personal contacts that arise in the study context. It also enables the scholarship holders to look beyond their own horizons, which brings new perspectives to the democratization process.

5 Skills and role concepts on the road to democracy

People from the immediate environment of PFTS have contributed with certain skills to the democratization process and kept it going. In this process, they have developed specific skills and taken on roles that were previously unknown or unpopular in their own community.

The essential skills and role concepts that have an impact on the democratization process and are partly developed through it are examined below on the basis of various dimensions. With a view to a possible transferability to other democratization processes, the question is explored which specific skills are required of the participants and how the acquisition of these skills or the process as a whole can be promoted.

As important dimensions that call for certain skills, they specifically emerged in Marafa Ward:

1. Dare opposition
2. Turning defeat into opportunity
3. Requests for external assistance
4. Linking up for community goals

1. Dare opposition

Specific challenge

Discussions about urgently needed changes in infrastructure and administration are part of public life in Marafa Ward. Since the citizens are confronted daily with the consequences of glaring deficits, such as inadequate medical care, impassable roads or the exclusion of disadvantaged children from the school system, they regularly exchange ideas about deficiencies and potential for change in various informal, but also structured contexts such as church meetings or councils of elders.

In order to initiate the democratic process, it was necessary to decide not only to consult behind closed doors, but also to take a public oppositional stance.

One way to do this was to select a "candidate" who would act as an advocate for the group of dissatisfied people in the next election, collecting and representing oppositional positions - and whom a group would publicly support in its election campaign.

Another possibility was the formation of interest groups, as the PFTS citizens' initiative was formed after the election. It can take an oppositional stance to the status quo by working on a specific issue.

Those who are politically active must expect personal disadvantages and repression for the entire village community, e.g. individuals being arbitrarily excluded from social benefits to which they are entitled or their own community or village being excluded from development projects.

"I am a teacher and was on the opposition candidate's campaign team. After the election, when I asked the re-elected MCA for sponsorship for our school, he turned me down saying I should go to the candidate I supported." Teacher, 42

This is why it took a lot of courage for the members of the EKB campaign team to take a public stand during the campaign period and even beforehand.

Requirements / Skills:

Since there is no classical opposition as a role and model in the Ward so far, the "opposition position" is even more daring and precarious. Thus - from the perspective in Marafa Ward - there are no mature opposition parties that catch "losers" in a similar structure as winners. For losers, their political career usually ends abruptly after the election; there is no connection to the party for which they stood. The team falls apart; in the worst case, there are accusations among themselves as to who is to blame for the election defeat. Furthermore, candidates and their team are left with personal debts incurred by the investment in the campaign.

Moreover, being "oppositional" or "independent" for a further development of the existing system requires a continuous drawing on one's own ideas and convictions. For grassroots opposition work, there are few role models or positive examples of campaigns and candidates who also do politics within the legislative period as opposition with a good connection to the grassroots.

How can the acquisition of the skill "daring opposition" or the process as a whole be supported?

- Information and encouragement / forums for discussion on the rights of individuals in a democracy
(e.g. the right to fair distribution of resources and social benefits regardless of political persuasion and loyalty to the winner of the election).
- Introduction of opposition as not only legitimate but also desired role
- Develop the concept of "party": instead of focusing on a singular politician figure, develop parties as interest groups with specific political orientations.
- Creating networks for like-minded people

2. Reinterpretation of defeat into opportunity

Both the election result and the realization that bribes even within their own ranks had decided the election were experienced as a bitter defeat by EKB's active supporters.

But this rude awakening also led to a political movement that aims to address the underlying problem of rigged elections. "Without better educated voters and a better understanding of the electoral process, there will be no change in five years - and this is also true for many in our own ranks," was the group's analysis.

The defeat was reinterpreted as an opportunity for democratization.

Requirements / Skills:

In this situation, special leadership was needed that managed to maintain unity in the group despite charged emotions and at the same time gave space to mutual accusations. Issues that could not be dealt with immediately were collected for later discussion. (For example, the older women were accused of being particularly susceptible to bribery because they cared more about the immediate well-being of the family than the long-term perspective of better political leadership).

Other interventions included mutual emotional support, i.e. sharing and acknowledging grief and anger, and finally the announcement of gradually working through mistakes in campaigning, but also in the behaviour of certain groups of voters, over the coming months.

This meeting was framed by prayers and the repeated reference to the fact that everything that happens, however difficult it may be to understand, is God's will. This spiritual connection is an integral part of the mainly Christian culture and also includes other religions, such as Muslims living in the region.

Furthermore, the discussion was opened on the question of what fundamental or systemic changes are necessary to create a starting situation by 2022 (or beyond) that would make further political engagement by an independent and non-corrupt candidate, or interest group, possible at all.

In this form of group process, the deepening and unfolding of roles was possible. Through empathic sympathy and taking the position of the other, it was possible to ensure that the group did not break up but set out with new goals.

The skill of facilitating such group processes is inherent in the local culture, but can be enhanced by applying or learning certain forms of dialogue. Those present on the day were impressed by the way EKB facilitated the group process and were therefore very interested in developing their own leadership skills through the use of certain coaching and facilitation methods.

How can the acquisition of the skill "reinterpreting defeat into opportunity" or the process as a whole be supported?

- Enable the learning of coaching and facilitation skills that are compatible with the local culture
- Support from external persons who, for example, take on the role of a projection screen or mirror in which one's own behaviour can be reflected and the sometimes occurring hope that help may come from outside.
- Create space for the topic of "democracy" on the one hand through normative democratic impulses, on the other hand through topics proposed by the group in connection with democracy.
- Create occasions beyond the daily routine (i.e. convene meetings) and allow time for reflection

- Enable (or support the acquisition of) financial resources to compensate for the time and cost of transport.

3. Requests for external assistance

Democratic thinking and action is significantly more difficult under conditions of extreme poverty. In their daily concerns for food and livelihood security, those affected find themselves largely dependent on the goodwill of possible clients, the administration or aid organizations. Due to the feeling of powerlessness, most people do not question the existing conditions and many resignedly try to adapt to the given conditions as well as possible.

Nevertheless, the team around EKB started the election campaign with the help of small own funds, but also by asking sponsors for financial support.

PFTS launched another request for external assistance in September 2018, asking QMR to support the group in learning more about the behavior and attitudes of voters in Marafa Ward.

Requirements / Skills

A grassroots movement like PFTS is in danger of being nipped in the bud if it does not receive at least enough support to enable meetings of members and, as desired in this case, to catch up on democracy knowledge that a large part of the population has never been taught. This is not exclusively about financial support, but also about support in terms of content, expertise or organization.

On the one hand, requesting this support requires the idea of approaching outsiders with one's own concerns. It also requires a certain amount of courage to classify one's own work or project as relevant or to "sell" it in such a way that one dares to take the step outside. And last but not least, it takes talent or experience to arouse interest on the part of sponsors.

How can the acquisition of the skill "requesting external help" or the process as a whole be supported?

- Transferring knowledge about crowdfunding, writing applications, funding pots for local democracy work, practicing the craft.
- Make financing itself a topic: Clarifying roles, clarifying expectations of each other.
- Educational impulses can be offered as "seminars" for the activists, as they want to bring about change. After applying and paying a small amount, the grant can be a scholarship for education and training costs (travel and food).
- Offer culturally compatible methods for creating and shaping initially vague ideas

4. Linking up for community goals

Specific challenges in Marafa Ward:

The altruistic belief "You mustn't be selfish!" is firmly anchored in the community and it is important to place the well-being of the community at the centre. Nevertheless, there is a strong reluctance to

act cooperatively, possibly due to great lack of means or due to mistrust through negative experience when the selfishness of individuals has torpedoed the attempt at a community project.

At the same time, there is a very restrained approach to punishing offences, and it is very unusual to ask critical questions or to question anything. Harmony and peace in the community have top priority.

"And the most important thing is that we don't blame each other." Man, 48

Therefore, it has a new quality when people join together for a community goal, the success of which will not be directly expressed in individual advantage, but for which great personal investment is required. (There are so-called savings groups (SILK, Merry go round) in which money is put into a common fund by the members (mostly women), but the goal is that each person can withdraw money again in a crisis situation.)

Requirements / Skills

To participate in a group that is geared towards achieving a community goal - and even one with a very long-term perspective - that requires a high level of commitment from each participant, you need the inner conviction of "doing something good" and the desire to "move things forward".

Believing in this, not fighting windmills, but believing in the effectiveness of community action requires a strong visionary capacity.

How can the attainment of the Linking for Community Goals skill or the process as a whole be supported?

- Linking to traditional interpretation of community action / Ubuntu: "I perceive myself as part of the community and I want to develop and because I do not perceive myself separately, we develop together".
- Provide examples where supposedly hopeless or strenuous endeavours have led to success.
- Use metaphors that address collective action and the reasons for it.
- Integrate local graduates of the "Community Mobilisation and Peacebuilding" course in workshops or people who work / have worked in NGOs, as they can vividly report on their work.

6 Identity development of PFTS as a driver of democratization

PFTS has started and founded itself as a citizens' initiative to question and, if possible, change entrenched structures and processes that block both economic and political development in their ward. In the development process outlined here, they take on the role of democratization.

Over the course of time, it can be observed that their identity and self-perception has continuously changed and in a certain way adapted to the framework conditions. This process was possible because it is part of PFTS's self-image to always reflect on their role and orientation, to discuss them together

and to integrate changes in perspective into their way of working, in addition to looking at grievances in their ward.

From the observer's perspective, developmental steps have not necessarily always been taken consciously, but have resulted from the interaction of the framework conditions, the external perception of PFTS by other actors and the subjective inner mission of the PFTS members.

The attempt of this chapter is to describe this "developmental sequence", which in reality is fluid. For this purpose, the course of identity and role development is divided into theoretical sections, which are named and then described as follows.

- "Resistance group"
- Fighters for civil rights
- Cares for nature and the welfare of citizens
- Our goal is not "unseemly" but devolution-compliant
- Good for the community
- Growing self-confidence
- Increased presence

"Resistance group"

At the time of its foundation, the group's self-perception was shaped by the experiences of the past election campaign and the disillusionment suffered. The reinterpretation of the defeat as an opportunity (cf. chapter 5) had given rise to the vision of taking the many unmet development needs into one's own hands and launching development projects as a kind of "shadow cabinet". Going against the conventions and the incumbent politician in this way seemed like a venture that had the character of a "resistance group". Wanting to empower people to make informed decisions and to oppose the previous manipulative structures of opinion-making also contained rebellious elements.

"Fighter for civil rights"

Increasingly, there is a perception that it is the right of citizens to be represented in their needs and wants. And that it is their right to know where money allocated for certain public infrastructure projects is disappearing without the projects being implemented or completed.

The right to education - rather than the previously more focused aspect of necessity - also became more prominent in the group's consciousness.

In the group's identity, the concept of being fighters for democratic civil rights came more to the fore.

"Cares for nature and the welfare of the citizens".

From the very beginning, it has been a goal of PFTS to keep the interaction of nature and man in mind and to focus on respect for nature. Due to the influence of climate change, but also due to the effects of extreme poverty (deforestation, forbidden coal burning for livelihood), the tree population in the region is decreasing dramatically, consequently the soil quality is deteriorating and crop yields are shrinking. Breaking out of this vicious circle was already the mission of PFTS when it was founded.

By carrying out planting campaigns at various locations in the Ward, PFTS was able to show what possibilities there are to exert practical influence against the deterioration of natural living conditions and thus the deterioration of the basis of life. During the planting activities, these connections could be explained and discussed with the citizens, some of whom came out of curiosity, and tips on new agricultural techniques could be exchanged. This directly addressed the "real" everyday life of the people. Doing things together brought joy - so that time and again people spontaneously decided to lend a hand.

The fact that the trees - if they take root well through attentive care and grow surprisingly fast (by European standards) - also provide shade for the people in the villages was also positively received by the community. The barren area around the office of a local chief was also planted with greenery as part of a planting campaign - which was also acknowledged with goodwill.

Both the planting actions and the Seeds & Needs action changed the external perception of PFTS. The attention for the actions increased - both among the citizens and at the level of the local administration and elders. PFTS is growing into the role of a group that is authentically and sustainably committed to the well-being of nature and the citizens; they stand for healing and care.

In this way, they achieve a kind of "NGO character", which functions like a vehicle that enables broad acceptance in the field, facilitates the rapprochement of actors (such as the politically interested, educational elite and local administration), does not evoke conflicts, but peaceful changes (thus satisfying the culturally strikingly strong desire for "peace in the Ward"). Even though the original founding members of PFTS carried and continue to carry an inner political agenda (political in the sense of political education work, cf. elaboration in chapter 7), the identity of the group also changes simply because new members join the group, mainly because of the aspects of healing nature and caring in the community.

"Our goal is not "unseemly" but devolution-compliant".

It is only with time that awareness crystallizes in PFTS that the group's goals are fundamentally in absolute conformity with the goals set by the government or in the Basic Law with the Devolution Act 2010. The fact that their efforts and work are not "down against up" and do not represent anything "forbidden", but that it is entirely desirable to sustainably implement the goals laid down in the constitution at the grassroots level, is like a new realization, perhaps originally already intended by individuals, but which will only have an impact on the breadth of the group over time. Democracy-building from above by reforming state structures and institutions (top down) and directed at civil society from below (bottom up) are aimed at the same goal. This has a decisive influence on the group's self-confidence.

At the same time, however, the work of PFTS is an action against "felt and corruption in the middle classes" - participatory efforts (in the sense of participation, not just "taking part") are definitely not welcomed at all levels within the community.

Is good for the community

Over time, and especially through the practical work of PFTS, the attention for this group grows and, moreover, so does its acceptance in the Ward. The activities of PFTS are perceived by the general public as caring and good for the community, PFTS is seen as a "benefactor". In the local administration, too, the work of PFTS is considered to be in the interest of the community - it is welcomed that they take on or support tasks that are also on their own agenda (e.g. education on Corona measures). The fact that the bureaucratic hurdles have been cleared for them due to the benevolent approval of the Council of Elders and the support of the Chief, and that they are now officially registered as CBOs, symbolises their public acceptance in the perception of the PFTS.

Increasing self-confidence

The positive feedback on their work from almost all actors and from all sub-locations inspires the self-confidence of those involved in the citizens' initiative. Despite the aggravating conditions caused by the Corona pandemic, due to which the regular face-to-face meetings had to be suspended, the identification of the participants with the content and goals of the CBO is growing. The networking of all members and interested parties via WhatsApp chats and the exchange of information gain in relevance in this exceptional situation.

The fact that the exchange of information within the framework of a new internet platform to be installed through the cooperation with QMR and KAS is in prospect, and furthermore the announcement of a one-year participatory civic education programme that is to reach as many people in the Ward as possible, contributes significantly to the strengthening of self-confidence.

This growing self-confidence also has an inspiring effect on PFTS's external image. In order to be in contact with as many people as possible, even in the remote villages of the Ward, the group is planning to buy a motorbike. PFTS members will be mobile and present in the Ward: they will be there for the people. The group's increased self-confidence is also reflected in the fact that the PFTS logo is to be painted on the motorbike and that a website has been launched for the group so that people interested in the work can also obtain information at the international level.

7 Results of the evaluation - interviews in November 2020

The total of 21 interviews for the evaluation were conducted as online interviews due to the pandemic-related travel and contact restrictions and lasted 60 min each.

The interviewees represented the broadest possible spectrum of professions, ages, educational levels and affiliations to the various local stakeholder groups. Despite the extremely unfamiliar setting, the interviewees showed hardly any fear of contact; on the contrary, one had the impression that they were soon able to ignore the technical equipment and the geographical distance between the interviewees and the interviewer and thus entered into the conversation with great openness.

Impact of the Corona pandemic

The Corona pandemic has once again made the living conditions of the people living in Marafa Ward more difficult. The economic effects are felt most strongly due to the fact that sideline opportunities have been eliminated because of the exit and contact regulations (e.g. PiciPici drivers, selling at markets or on the beach in Malindi) or because of the imposed school closures.

"People have lost their jobs and teachers have been laid off." Teacher, 50, m

"As a tailor, my business collapsed because I could no longer sew uniforms. Many sources of income have gone." Dressmaker, 42

"Corona is a huge challenge for us, the economy is down, children don't go to school, there are no jobs" Farmer, w, 45

Due to the closure of schools, families - and here primarily women - have the additional task of employing and feeding the children.

"It's very hard to keep the children at home and busy," Tailor 44

Educating the children is not only a challenge in terms of time, but is especially difficult for those parents who have had little schooling themselves.

"Parents who have not had an education themselves cannot educate their children - we have to teach the parents first." Chief, 48, m

In addition, other serious social consequences are emerging, affecting children and young girls in particular.

"As chief, I now have many additional challenges to deal with. There is more child labour, early pregnancies." Assistant Chief, 50

Since adherence to the Corona rules is too much for many under the given living conditions, there is growing concern about rising infection rates.

"And we are expecting the second wave. Everyone has to wear a mask, but for many, 50 KES is too much." Assistant Chief, 50

"Following the rules is not possible because people have to go out to earn a living after all. And we have to implement the law though." Chief, 48

In order to cushion the economic consequences for particularly needy families, a state aid fund was established from which weekly aid payments for these families are to be financed. However, it is criticised that in total too little money reaches the needy and that the selection of those who receive the allowances seems arbitrary in some cases. Criticism is levelled at the politicians responsible.

"Some people get aid payments of 1000 KES a week. But there is a lot of discontent about who gets the payments. Possibly it is those who have better contacts with those in power." Farmer, w, 45

"Political leaders have not kept their promises, there are many complaints." Chief, 48

"The funding doesn't even reach the municipalities." Chief, 48

In the context of the Corona pandemic, therefore, similar structures and corresponding criticisms of politicians at the municipal or county level are emerging as had already been formulated in the context of the 2019 CoDiRK study.

Changes in the Ward from the perspective of the respondents

Looking back at the past 4 years, the interviewees first discuss infrastructural changes. They report on the extension of two roads, improved internet connections in large parts of the Ward, the construction of new chief offices (office buildings) and of tractors that are offered to the village communities for hire to use in agriculture or for the extension of pipes. These changes are understood as "devolution" or related to it.

In the social community, it has become more common (again) to exchange ideas and to ask other community members for advice.

"Things are happening. I know I can ask someone for advice when we meet and if I don't know something, the other person knows - that's an old tradition too, by the way." Farmer, 34, w

In addition, the upcoming elections are a recurring topic - even though the election campaign has not yet begun. The need for voters to cast their ballots in the next elections without being influenced by money comes up again and again. In this context, the interviewees often emphasise how important civic education is for the general population and that this is also discussed in many informal conversations in their respective villages.

"People should be allowed to vote freely, without outside influence." Teacher, 45

"People who don't vote don't know how important elections are. If they were educated, they would know." Farmer, 34

"We want to be knowledgeable, we want Civic Education." Farmer, 48

"MCAs paying for votes are the source of all evil. This is our money and our taxes. We are being abused by our leaders and need an opportunity to discuss this and establish criteria of what is good and what is bad" Student, 28

"You have to elect someone with leadership, not money. If you take bribes, the problems remain. I hope it doesn't happen again." Maurer, 28

The question of how a broad civic education could be created and organised also seems to be discussed.

"We could train a few people first and then they go back out to train others and in the end everyone knows." Pastor, 56

"Everyone who has been in a programme grows into the role of trainer and can pass on the knowledge." Engineer, 39

Changes from the perspective of the researchers

If one compares these statements with the interviews conducted in the Ward 20 months earlier as part of the CoDiRK study, a clear change in tenor is noticeable. At that time, one's own ignorance stood in the room like a shameful self-accusation. Not being educated had the connotation of a gap for which one was responsible. In the interviews conducted in November 20, on the other hand, the fact that one did not have certain education was openly stated and linked to the demand for education as a civil right.

"We need to be educated because we don't really know what we are supposed to be doing!" Farmer, 30

This change in the field is also confirmed by the members of the PFTS Core Team.

"There is more awareness and courage and people are expressing it: 'Now I know I have the right. And I'm going to claim it!'" Farmer, 49

It is also noticeable that the women interviewed were relatively self-confident about their role, the burdens associated with it and their aspirations to change this role.

"Men leave all responsibility to women, education for men would make sense. Also, we don't invest much in girls' education because they go to other households when they get married. It

is important that girls are also educated. At the same time, it is mainly women who come to political meetings, they are very important for political decision-making, so they should be educated." Female farmer, 45

The perception has changed a lot into a stronger self-confidence to stand up for one's own rights. In the first interviews, it was more about inadequate school education, deficits in the infrastructure that cannot be changed. Now the focus is more on how to remedy the deficits. Before, the situation was tainted with shame, now it is emphasised that we don't even know what our rights are, but we want to know them. We are deprived of education, although this would be our right. Not being educated is not the fault of the uneducated, but of others.

Perception of PFTS in the Ward

While PFTS was largely unknown just over 1.5 years ago, respondents report that now, 20 months later, PFTS has gained significant awareness and made a name for itself. The initiative is seen as a group that takes people's concerns seriously and works for economic, environmental and social change in its own community.

"They do well, they do good." Farmer, 32

"PFTS wants to change society bit by bit, and they can do it. Only at the moment, because of Corona, they can't bring people together." Sub Chief, 50

"They educate about Covid, advocate for environmental protection and bring peace to communities. All this is influencing development in Marafa Ward." Farmer, 51

"They have been giving out saplings, which makes sense because it prevents charcoal from being burnt illegally." Chief, 48

"The Seeds & Needs approach was a local approach; information was communicated in the local way. People are still singing the Corona songs! It was an organic way to touch people and it hit the local culture of singing, drumming and dancing. It was perfect for reaching people." Engineer, 39

"People were traumatized, it brought communities down. Seeds & Needs has found an answer, as a result trust has grown a lot - a friend in need is a friend in need!" Pastor, 42

"This is a good idea, with tree plantations we avoid soil erosion and trees bring rain." Farmer, 34

PFTS is not associated with politics; its practical projects tend to lead people to believe that PFTS is something similar to a local NGO that wants to promote development. As explained, the term "politics" is negatively associated with "aggressive campaigning" in local parlance.

Both the representatives of the population and the local administration assess the intentions and activities of PFTS as very positive and welcome.

The representatives of the local administration explicitly emphasise that they see PFTS as cooperation partners acting in consensus, who help them in their practical work - and whose work they would be willing to support in return, in the sense of a win-win relationship.

"They offer support, speaking the local language and even songs - even the older people understood and followed the rules. They have helped a lot - not one person has come down with Corona! One person alone couldn't have done it." Chief, 48

"They have bought seedlings from local nurseries and planted them and taught the people - that is very important. They act at the grassroots level and even around my office there are now a few trees. The changes for the environment are very beneficial." Assistant Chief, 47

"We can back them up with partnerships and run meetings together. As an administrator, I can mobilize people and maybe bring in some of my issues." Sub Chief, 50

Evaluation of external assistance in the Ward

In the interviews it was also discussed how the presence of external actors - and here especially QMR - is perceived and assessed. It emerges that influence from outside is desired because it is perceived as a joint and interactive process in which suggestions / impulses appear constructive and cooperative. Financial support also plays a central role in the perception and is interpreted and desired by most respondents as "help for self-help".

"We are working hard, but we don't have enough success yet because there are still so many places we need to visit. We need as many facilitators as possible to succeed in the short term and also financial support and materials, like uniforms and T-shirts. Then people will remember the message when they see the T-shirt." Pastor, 56

"Very important. We have resources, but we don't use them. If we have cooperation with Germany, we can teach each other how to cultivate the area." Teacher, 50

"The best way to learn is from people who have already had experience." Farmer, 38

"You are funders who support people at the grassroots level", Sub-Chief, 50

"They mobilize resources from outside and we share the same spirit with them - they listen to us - that's an opportunity." Pastor, 42

"I pray that QMR will help us to be better educated." Farmer, 34

"This is the first time I can speak like this, very fascinating. Thank you for this experience" 28, bricklayer

"QMR has a tremendous impact on developments. This organization stands behind PFTS and empowers them to move forward and realize what PFTS wants to achieve. They are also present during tough times. With the start of Covid-19, other organizations have moved away

and withdrawn their people. PFTS, with the external help, has shown that they are there even in tough times. " Farmer, 49

PFTS and Civic Education

Most respondents are aware that PFTS is strongly committed to providing civic education in the Ward. In this role, PFTS obviously appears credible, as they have already proven elsewhere that they want to impart important knowledge to the people (educational work on climate-appropriate agricultural techniques, on connections between deforestation and deterioration of local living conditions, reforestation, educational work on Covid-19, etc.). It seems important here that civic education is not imposed "in a hurry", as has been the case so far before elections, and implemented with the intention of protecting individuals, but in a way that is adapted to local conditions and the cultural context.

The interviewees describe in sometimes forceful words why they consider civic education to be particularly important for them personally and for their community. They see PFTS in a leading role, but also chiefs and sub-chiefs in their responsibility:

"I suffer from the political leadership in Marafa Ward. In my mind, it would need good relations and not this corruption, which I hate. We need Civic Education because without it you don't know what should be done. If you don't know your rights, you can't achieve anything." Student, 28

"We need a wake-up - we are aware that we need more awareness." Former teacher, 65

"Chiefs and sub-chiefs should also educate us instead of sitting in their offices. They condemn what happens at the grassroots instead of teaching people the law. " Teacher, 50

"If people know their rights and political leaders know that, a lot will improve. Today, leaders treat citizens like idiots." Pastor, 56

"We need to educate people so that they can choose good political leaders." Chief, 48

"Politicians use ignorance to their advantage. And when Civic Education takes place, it is in the interest of a particular person. PFTS is different." Pastor, 42

"Women also need better education because they set the tone in the communities and thus also the understanding of participation." Female farmer, 45

"Everyone who has been in a programme grows into the role of facilitator and can pass on the knowledge." Farm manager, 47

"With Civic Education, we could gain unity instead of dividing into tribes and make better use of the resources of the area as "Marafa Community". It is in the constitution that we should get CE." Former teacher, 65

"Some people don't know what an MCA or MP does. And they bribe us and take their post. That's why Civic Education is important." Teacher, 50

"People are really looking to Civic Education." Farmer, 30

"People here need education so that when you go to the polling station, you actually vote for who you wanted to vote for, even if you are offered money." Farmer, 51

"Civic education means knowing your own rights. Today, people vote according to external factors, such as money or influence " Teachers, 50

Conclusion:

Change in the sense of social, ecological and also infrastructural changes in the Ward within the past 3 years is perceived as positive by the population. PFTS is now known to many people as a citizens' initiative. It is seen as a driver of change that is up to no good, wants to provide people with knowledge and civil rights, and is helpful and humanitarian to the community even in times of crisis. In addition, there is a change in the self-confidence of the people interviewed when it comes to their desire and civic education, which is now explicitly understood as a civil right.

Not being educated and not knowing the background about elections and politics is hardly shameful anymore and is no longer presented as a "hopeless justification" for accepting bribes. Rather, the urgency for civic education resulting from lack of education is emphasized: "We know that we know nothing and we demand that we receive the education necessary to make our choice for the leader best suited to our needs, uninfluenced by external factors."

Nevertheless, the perceived changes are not described as "democratization" by those affected/interviewees. The reason for this is that a) such a metaperspective view is unusual for the people in the field and b) the term "democracy" is not common.

8 Special dimensions on the path of democratization

Political parties

In Marafa Ward, political parties are not forums for democratic conflict resolution, they do not aggregate and represent different interests in the population. Moreover, they do not serve as a "role model" for practicing norms and procedures of democratization (as described by Mainwaring & Scully 1995 and Linz & Stephan 1996). Rather, they function here as a vehicle under which a candidate appears in the election campaign and presents himself as a person with his individual (supposed) political goals and promises.

So whether someone appears as a candidate for ODM or Jubilee etc. says nothing or not necessarily anything about the candidate's substantive objective. Rather, there are candidates who instrumentalize the public perception of the party or its role for themselves (e.g. "six times Orange").

However, a prerequisite for candidacy in Kenya is that the aspirant has a party affiliation. This means that in many cases, a candidate chooses the party that seems "favorable" for achieving his or her own

goals. Or - according to local reports - friends or acquaintances help him or her into the party in order to get a place on the list, or to which he or she gets by paying a fee.

For the people in Marafa Ward, this means that parties are indistinguishable for them, they have no character of their own, so to speak. Due to the fact that, from the citizens' point of view, they do not represent the interests of the people, there is hardly any understanding of what a party actually is. What the task of an opposition party could be also remains correspondingly diffuse.

A comprehensible communication of the party principle to the citizens of Marafa Ward holds the potential to perceive their own interests more clearly and to be able to "home" them in principle. The joint formation of an opposition and the appreciation of this role should be a medium-term goal.

Local elites

Even if democratization processes are usually based on demands for participation on the part of the people (Tilly 2007¹⁶), as is also the case in this example, the so-called elite plays a key role in the democratic transition. They can make a decisive contribution to non-violent conflict resolution in the transition to a liberal democratic political system and its stabilization (Higley and Burton, 2006¹⁷).

In Marafa Ward, the grouping that can be called elite is composed of parts of the different groups of actors described as models (cf. Figure 1), namely the group of the "educated", the "local administration" and the group of the "priests / elders". They can also be described as the educated elite, the state elite and the spiritual elite. Some of them belong to the support group of the current political incumbent, some of them have contact with him through their work as administrative officials, and some of them are critical of him.

It can be assumed that the changes that PFTS is striving for do not necessarily meet with unqualified approval in the middle of political offices and the administration (ward level, possibly also at district and county level) for reasons of retaining power and thus maintaining access to state budgets. The awareness, which is only gradually awakening, that this kind of change effort is explicitly desired and demanded at the national level and represents the practical implementation of the Devolution Act at the grassroots level, encourages PFTS members in the long term (cf. Chapter 6).

In the course of this realization and on the basis of the CoDiRK research results, which pointed to the potential door-opener role of the elders and local administration, PFTS, in addition to grassroots work at the grassroots, also chooses the path of forging alliances with parts of the state elite, especially with holders of leading positions in the administration. In some cases, the latter also approached PFTS proactively, as it caught the eye through its projects and actions and was perceived as an organization acting in the interests of the community. Individual representatives of the state elite thus "change" into the role of pioneers for a democratic transition, which is also demanded by the government. ("Changing" from the point of view of PFTS, but probably not from the point of view of the representatives of the local administration, who may have always perceived their role in this way.)

¹⁶ Tilly, Charles 2007: Democracy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

¹⁷ Higley, John & Burton, Michael 2006: Elite Foundations of Liberal Democracy. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

In this interplay, too, change work still seems to be indicated, since at this level, too, misappropriation of budgets, interest-driven decisions and the practice of "fees" are still in the air as accusations from a citizen's perspective.

With regard to the educated elite, it will be about sharing knowledge, e.g. in the form of civic education. Here, too, for reasons of maintaining power, it is to be expected that this will not necessarily be in the interests of all those represented in the educational elite, some of whom are in offices close to the MCA. Support from external partners can accordingly promote the initiated change process.

Democracy promotion and international connectivity

In the democratization process in Marafa Ward, external influences and the interaction between international partners and local actors play a decisive role. The form of democracy promotion chosen in this example aims at a democratic socialization process by means of convincing the elites and the population, supporting democratic efforts, dialogue and knowledge transfer - an approach Whitehead (2001)¹⁸ called "democratization by consent". QMR, in its role as an external partner, follows the principle that all planning, support and consultations are designed interactively with PFTS as the democratization support group. Social interventions in the field are conceived jointly, but PFTS sees itself as the process owner.

The impulses and interventions set by QMR can be summarized as follows and also appear to be usefully transferable to other democratization and transformation processes in rural Wards:

1. Reinforcement of the PFTS vision, appreciation of those involved in the change process
2. Suggestions / inspiration for new ideas and perspectives
3. Joint reflection on situations and experiences in the field
4. Financial support or support in establishing contacts with sponsors
5. Demanding and strengthening principles that should also apply in a democracy (accountability, gender equality, democratic decision-making, sustainability of interventions ("lived values")). At the same time, however, also leave possibilities to react in individual cases in a field-directed way, e.g. prescribing timing from the outside can be adjusted for "good reasons". Here a benevolent attitude is a prerequisite, ask what might have changed in the framework conditions / "crises first": events in the field must not be subordinated to agreements made.
6. Attitude: non-imposing; help when requested; level of help is determined by the field and timing of help is determined by the field,
7. Support PFTS's efforts to offer participatory civic education to citizens, search for ideal cooperation partner

This outside help is described by a member of PFTS as follows:

"This external help is like someone who keeps the stone warm, who keeps the fire alive. No matter what happened during the day, the fire is still burning in the evening."

Technically, working in international teams via Zoom, Skype etc. is now relatively problem-free. Even in very rural Kenya, where there is sometimes neither water nor electricity, the network connection has been expanded in recent months to such an extent that long, interference-free transmissions are possible. A prerequisite for this, however, is the availability of technical equipment such as a tablet, power bank and WiFi hotspot, which very few people have without external financial support.

The framework conditions for advancing change processes with and through intensive exchange with international partners have thus improved noticeably over the last few years. Direct exchange in the

¹⁸ Whitehead, Laurence 2001.: "Three International Dimensions of Democratization", in: Whitehead, Laurence (ed.): The International Dimensions of Democratization. Europe and the Americas. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 3-25

sense of learning from each other has thus become possible. Skills in intercultural communication and openness and awareness of one's own rank and privileges are becoming all the more important on both sides in order to actually be able to meet each other at eye level, as well as media competence.

9 Concluding summary

In the democratization process in Marafa Ward, Kilifi County described here, the local citizens' initiative "Peace from the Soil" (PFTS) as the social carrier group of democratization is the central actor. The process of change in this ward was and is supported and accompanied by external actors; initially these were private individuals, later QMR as a research and process-accompanying partner, and more recently also the Konrad Adenauer Foundation Nairobi.

PFTS represents a range of positions in its ward that focus on the well-being of citizens and the connection with nature, and tries to convey this credibly through various practical projects:

- Desire and will to demand citizens' rights and to empower citizens to become responsible voters, so that they resist bribery and freely vote for the candidate they individually deem most suitable.
- Demand for participation
- Striving for justice
- Teaching values of respect for and preservation of the earth and the environment

Marafa Ward is characterized by extreme poverty and low levels of formal education. In the view of PFTS activists, democratization is particularly necessary here, as people suffer from the poverty-reinforcing aspects of stagnation, subjective powerlessness and resignation. They experience development as inhibited on many levels - economic, social and political.

Democratization is also particularly challenging in this environment, as the vulnerability to undemocratic behavior, e.g. the use and acceptance of bribes and other forms of manipulation during elections, is particularly high due to the economically precarious situation. In addition, they often lack an understanding of the connections between vote-buying, corruption and stagnation in their wards, because education about this could not be acquired in mostly short school careers. The illiteracy rate in this region is considered the highest in the entire country of Kenya.

PFTS has initiated a process of change in Marafa Ward in which the modern, normative **understanding of democracy** is linked to the image of a community oriented towards the common good, which is traditionally anchored in the indigenous culture. In this way, a locally specific approach to democratic coexistence emerges, in which the bridge between "traditional" and "modern" democracy seems to be made possible. The most important goal of PFTS' work is to support citizens in making informed and autonomous decisions when it comes to choosing their political leader and participatory aspirations.

The aspect of non-partisanship of this citizens' initiative is of great importance, as otherwise its work could be interpreted as a quest for power and would attract the political "opponents".

Even though the work of PFTS could actually be described with the term political education work, this is explicitly avoided because in the local understanding the term "politics" is almost exclusively associated with party politics in the sense of election campaigns and the associated polarisation. PFTS members prefer to speak of civic education when describing their goals and intentions. The term democracy as such is hardly anchored in local linguistic usage, but very much so in local understanding. It is described as individual freedom, good quality political leadership, and solidarity and participation for the common good (cf. CoDiRK study 2019). The concept of "democratic rights" is becoming more

prominent in local language and is also formulated as a specific wish by the respondents in the evaluation study, e.g. by describing education / civic education as a necessary prerequisite for making responsible decisions as a civil right.

In addition to PFTS, other **local actors** are relevant in the field of democratization. They are defined here as groups or individuals who combine certain characteristics. An individual can belong to several groups at the same time. In total, the model designed for Marafa Ward identifies nine other local actor groups in addition to PFTS.

In addition, there are **external influences**, which include certain external conditions such as the climatic conditions that strongly influence life in Marafa Ward, the effects of the Covid-19 pandemic and the Devolution Act of 2010, which is integrated into the Kenyan constitution. All these aspects are examined with regard to their various influences on the democratization process.

External influences also include various international organizations, e.g. locally active NGOs, institutes and foundations, which interact with local actors to accompany and/or influence the process of change. From the very beginning of the democratic change process traced here, central local actors have invited **external actors to** participate in the development process in their ward. Through their participation, the joint reflection of events, the mirroring of perceptions against the individual, culturally different background of experience and through the moderation/facilitation of group processes, they have initiated and accompanied changes in attitude, motivation and identification of the participants. The "call for action" and the invitation to interact in the process of change came, so to speak, from the field, initially addressed to individual private persons and later to QMR as a research and process-accompanying partner and, more recently, additionally to the Konrad Adenauer Foundation Nairobi. In addition to the substantive accompaniment of social interventions, the financial support (or rather their fundraising) by these external actors plays a significant role, as it facilitates, if not enables, the internal pro-democracy actors to develop and implement their goals. Democratic principles of accountability are directly applied to the process of outlining in advance the content and organization of the next interaction to be funded, requesting the budget for it and transparently disclosing its use.

In order to trace how the conditions for the emergence of democratization were shaped, how the process of change could be set in motion and how it succeeds in gradually approaching the goal of democracy, the overall process is described in **chronological perspective**.

Starting from the decision of a certainly charismatic individual to become actively involved in politics, it is shown how this initial decision first activated a volunteer campaign team and later expanded into a movement in which a group of people understands democratization as their personal goal or as a desirable goal for their community, for which they are willing to risk and invest a lot.

The **stages** described include the time of the 2017 primaries, the campaign period in Marafa Ward, the election day of the General Election and the shock and bitter realization associated with the defeat of their candidate in the election, the scope and scale of the electoral fraud that extended into the very ranks of their closest supporters. He describes the subsequent situation analysis in which the group managed to reinterpret the perceived defeat into an opportunity to form as a citizens' initiative to actively advance the issues of enlightenment, participation, justice and respect for nature.

The subsequent stages in the change process include the phase of field research and the planning and implementation of development and practical projects derived from this, by means of which PFTS attempts to clarify the connection between its political goals and the everyday life of the people in the Ward and to put them into practice in an exemplary and tangible way.

Examples of the practical projects include tree planting campaigns, the establishment of a tree nursery and the Seeds & Needs campaigns to raise awareness during the first lockdown phase of the Covid-19 pandemic.

The next step is the official registration of PFTS as a CBO, which PFTS members have been striving for for a long time, but which has been bogged down by bureaucratic hurdles. It is interpreted by the members as a symbol of recognition and increasing public acceptance of their work in the community.

The subsequent phase of the **evaluation of** the democratization process involves conducting 21 interviews with citizens from Marafa Ward, the results of which have been incorporated into this report, but also serve as feedback from the Ward to PFTS.

It is confirmed here that PFTS has on the one hand become better known and more accepted in the Ward, but also that its activities have contributed to or even triggered noticeable changes in the Ward - even if this is not described as democratization by the interviewees.

PFTS is seen as a driver of change that is up to no good, wants to enable people to gain knowledge and civic rights, and is helpful and humanitarian to the community even in times of crisis. In addition, a change in the self-confidence of the people interviewed is emerging when it comes to their desire and civic education, which is now explicitly understood as a civil right. The support of PFTS activities by external actors, especially QMR, is perceived as cooperative and helpful for the entire community.

As the process progressed, other process-supporting **skills and roles** developed that PFTS members took on as drivers of democratization in the course of the change process:

- Dare opposition
- Turning defeat into opportunity
- Linking to community goals
- Requests for external assistance

As part of the change process, the identity of the PFTS citizens' initiative has also gradually changed:

- At the time PFTS was founded, the group's self-perception was still strongly influenced by the experiences related to the electoral defeat - the group's identity was shaped by the perception of doing something "unseemly" by working against the status quo. Demanding change and being active for it as a group initially had the character of a "resistance group" that has to act from behind the scenes.
- In the following, the focus increasingly shifted to the goal of publicly educating the citizens of Marafa Ward that they have democratic civil rights that are worth demanding: PFTS as "fighters for civil rights".
- With the start of the first practical projects and the positive response, their external perception changed to that of an initiative that strives for the good of nature and is concerned about the welfare of citizens, which also had an impact on self-perception and identity development.

- As time went on, it became clear that the desire for participation was not "unseemly", but corresponded with the government's efforts for devolution right down to the grassroots. The perception of doing and wanting to do "the right thing" officially, so to speak, led to a strengthening of the group's self-confidence, as if they had made a pact with the constitution.
- The appearance of PFTS as the initiator of the information events on the topic of Corona and the distribution of seeds to particularly needy families in particular changed the external perception, role and identity to the effect that PFTS is an organization that takes on such tasks that the community absolutely needs. This was also seen and acknowledged by the local administration and the council of elders.
- PFTS is now increasingly moving from her marginalized position to the centre of the community. It is becoming more self-confident and assertive in its approach. The prospect of a participatory civic education programme makes their goal of free and fair elections in 2021 more likely. PFTS sees itself as a group that helps the people of Marafa Ward to have a voice so that they can make informed and independent decisions.

In the course of growing self-confidence and increasing acceptance in the Ward, PFTS succeeded in forming a "shoulder-to-shoulder alliance" with parts of the **local elite**. Through their activities on the ground, which are perceived by both citizens and parts of the local administration as beneficial to the community, fundamental changes have taken place in the interaction with the local administration: PFTS, as one chief describes it in the interview, does exactly what is also within its remit, and it welcomes this form of support, which is aimed at the well-being of the community (e.g. multiplying information about Corona measures).

This development is relevant because the local elite also plays a key role in the process of democratization, as it can pave the way for democracy (Weiffen 2009)¹⁹. They fulfil this role because they are responsible for resolving and avoiding conflicts, because they are responsible for bureaucratic decisions and because they also have an opinion-forming effect in the ward.

When looking at the role of **political parties, it becomes apparent** that the lack of a lived party principle in which they act as representatives of the citizens' interests leads (also) in Marafa Ward to the fact that parties are perceived exclusively as vehicles under whose umbrella a political candidate can run for election. The fact that a party could pursue certain substantive goals - show a character, so to speak - remains completely closed to the citizens at the grassroots level. Consequently, there is no concept of an opposition party in which "dissidents" could feel at home or protected.

Democracy promotion in the sense of interaction between international partners and local actors plays a role in the democratization process that should not be neglected. In this form of cooperation, one's own actions or behavioural patterns and implicit expectations of other actors can be discussed and reflected upon together with the international partners, and interventions in the field can be budgeted and planned, which in turn are the responsibility of and implemented by the democratization

¹⁹ Weiffen, Brigitte 2009: Entstehungsbedingungen von Demokratien - Interne und externe Einflüsse im Vergleich. Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft: Baden-Baden

support group. In return, the international partners learn which impulses are effective and which fizzle out "without energy". Just as Weiffen (2009) describes it as a conclusion of her comprehensive research on internal and external influences on developing democracies: "Democracies do not emerge through intervention, but through interaction of national and international structural conditions as well as internal and external actors."

This finding and the democratic transformation process described here confirm the criticism formulated by Weiffen (2009) that actor-centred analyses have so far failed to systematically address external influences. For meaningful application, analyses in the context of democracy research should be expanded to include external actors.

Based on an in-depth analysis of the democratization process in Marafa Ward so far, this report provides detailed insights into the conditions for the emergence of democracy in rural Kenya. In the field of action, the chronological sequence of events is linked to the internal and external factors that influence this transformation. A clear overview emerges of which actions at which points in time ideally promote the understanding of "democracy" in the community and democratization efforts. From this, applicable impulses and transferable procedures can be derived for the accompaniment of democratization processes in other Wards and for the development of participatory civic education programmes.

In Marafa Ward, after 4 years of interactive work by local and external actors, the field seems ideally prepared to offer and implement a broad-based participatory civic education under the aegis of PFTS and in cooperation with KAS and QMR, which will have sufficient time to unfold its effects before the next general elections in 2022.

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