

**Reconstructing Collective Memory through Participatory Approaches:
a Study of Transparency International-Kenya's Citizen Demand
Programme.**

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Abstract

This study evaluated a civic education programme, 'Citizen Demand Programme', by Transparency International–Kenya (TI-K) that was aimed at increasing accountability through citizen participation in governance following the 2010 Constitution. This article presents results of the programme in a rural community in Kenya. Specifically, the article analysed the narrative approach to dialogue used by TI-K facilitators to determine how it enabled citizens to construct memory, enabling them to demand more accountability. Paulo Freire's concept of dialogue it was used as both a theoretical framework and a tool of analysis. The study used a mixed method approach and explanatory sequential design; structured random sampling and purposive sampling to come up with a sample of 250 for the quantitative phase and 16 for the qualitative phase. Findings show that participatory narratives provide channels for alternative stories, creating a wider collective memory different from that created by non-participatory strategies. Further, the participatory approaches helped construct an alternative collective memory different from that created by mainstream media and the political elite. The programme enabled the previously excluded non-elites to enter public debate. Thus, participation created retrospect memory based on which people had some expectations of what should happen in future.

Key words: *accountability, collective memory, dialogue, Kenya, transparency international*

To cite this article: Katiambo, D. & Ooko, G. (2017). **Reconstructing Collective Memory through Participatory Approaches: a Study of Transparency International-Kenya's Citizen Demand Programme.** *Journal of Development and Communication Studies*, 5(1): 78-97. <https://dx.doi.org/10.4314/jdcs.v5i1.5>

Introduction

Africa has a 'Collective Memory' of modern governments that are repressive. For instance political regimes in Kenya have suppressed alternative voices and used the media to propagate their opinion and ideologies. Hence the story of Africa in general is as a story of what African governments want the public to remember. However, the authority of governments is being challenged by the authority of other memory shapers in a competition to reconstruct an African memory different from the dominant memory. Attempts by civil society organizations (CSOs), religious groups and the opposition to change collective memory by changing exclusive political discourse into an inclusive one have been met with brutality, harsh prison sentences and forced disappearance and murder. For instance, in the 1980s and 90s at the peak of Moi's reign, detentions without trial, torture, arbitrary arrests and police brutality reminiscent of the colonial era were common. According to the regime, pro-democracy and human rights advocates in Kenya were unpatriotic, disloyal, and ungrateful individuals influenced by what he called foreign masters. The regime detained a number of Kenyans critical to the government and calling for multiparty politics (Korwa and Munyae, 2001). An apathetic, semi illiterate Kenyan mass worsened the situation. Fear of retribution from the authoritarian political regime contributed to a conspiracy of spiral of silence where citizens kept away from participating in governance issues. However, those interested in the fight for democratic space never relented and many gains have been achieved towards citizen participation in social accountability processes. One of the major achievements is the enshrinement in the current Constitution several articles that provides for citizen participation and the devolved government meaning citizens in grassroots stand a better chance to engage in governance issues in their respective counties.

Despite all the gains, studies show that Kenyans especially those in rural areas do not clearly understand the devolution system of government and still maintain the culture of non-participation in social accountability issues. The Taskforce on Devolved Government, TFDG, (2012) noted that civic education on the provisions of the Constitution of Kenya (GoK), (2010) on devolution was wanting. Another study found that majority of Kenyans fear corruption will be devolved to Counties (Jesuit Hakimani, 2013). Further, a survey done by TI- K across 31 counties, shows that 83% of Kenyans do not have a clue of how much money was allocated by national government to their county governments, a clear indicator that majority of Kenyans do not participate in the budget making process (TI-K, 2013), despite the constitution guaranteeing them this privilege. Such is collective memory which can be considered "a version of the past, selected to be remembered by a given community" (Neiger, Meyers, & Zandberg, 2011:04). Even with the new constitutional dispensation, Kenyans are

stuck in in the past where the regime of the day restricted participation in governance.

Civil Society Organisations have attempted to reconstruct Africa's collective memory through a process similar to what Schudson (1997) termed an "oppositional yet complementary movement from the present to the past and from the past to the present." For example The Institute of Social Accountability (TISA), Amnesty International, Transparency International-Kenya (TI-K) have stepped in to offer civic education. Among these organizations, TI-K seems to have a larger network and operates in more counties across the country. TI-K runs a *Citizen Demand Programme* which among other activities, carries out civic education on devolution. The overall objective of this programme as stated in TI-K's website is to build political capital that can enable effective citizen engagement in public policy by establishing active citizen institutions on the ground.

Through this programme, TI-K contributes to the generation of knowledge and skills that help citizens build political capital which enables them to effectively influence public policy and provision of public services. TI-K has since rolled out this programme in Kisumu County. This paper therefore is an evaluation of how effective communication strategies used in this programme have been deconstructing previous collective memories of participants and building new collective memories that foster participation.

Creating prospective memory through citizen participation

According to McNeil and Malena (2010) the current era is a challenging one for Africa. The continent needs solutions to effect of the global economic crisis, the need for effective utilization of natural resources, and the ever-changing global balance of power between the developed and developing worlds. This has made it paramount for Africans to re-evaluate their governance structures. Luckily based on recent changes across the continent, Africa is rising. Remembering or forgetting what happened in the past, remembering or forgetting what we need to do in the future—the retrospective and prospective memory— (*Tenenboim-Weinblatt*, 2011:213) guide political activities in the society. McDaniel and Einstein (2007:1) referred to prospective memory as "remembering to carry out intended actions at an appropriate time in the future", yet communication scholars have studying collective memory have neglected this remembering of our intentions focusing more on memory of the past (see *Tenenboim-Weinblatt*, 2011:216). Communication is a major force of reminding citizens what needs to be done in future. Participatory approaches being implemented by TI-K are part of the complex ways through which the past political myths in Africa are being disconnected from the present, and future. Citizen participation is therefore creating a dichotomy between the past and

future political cultures in Kenya, (re)socializing citizens into active participant in governance in a new 'truth regime'.

For Kenya, global and local challenges including the versions of the past bad governance, corruption and ethnic conflicts paved way for the adoption of a new Constitution in 2010. Indeed reconstructing collective memories require creation of what Young (1993:03) calls memorials, the materials that concretized memory through physical structures and cultural artefacts (see also Katriel, 1997). GoK (2010) is therefore a basic premise for understanding part of social (re)construction of reality that has destabilized the dominant meaning-making social agencies of the past stress by bringing on board *Wananchi* as the ordinary people called in Kenya. The GoK (2010) is largely seen as a panacea to this current memory of the past problems as it provides for citizen participation in ensuring social accountability which in turn is expected to leads to good governance, development and citizen empowerment.

Among the collective memories of the past that led to the adoption of devolved system of government in Kenya include lack of transparency, inequity in resource allocation in the former centralized system of governance which led to abuse of power, favouritism and corruption. Devolution aims reconstruction Kenya's collective memory by enhancing citizen participation in the government decision making in the counties and ensuring social accountability. In several articles of the GoK (2010) for instance, Article 137(1), Article 10, Article 174 and Article 201 of the Public Finance Management (PFM) Act, Article 35(1), Article 35(3), CDF Act 2013, social accountability is emphasized by provisions of citizen participation in budgeting and evaluation of county government expenditure is emphasized.

Of these provisions, the Fourth schedule part 2(14) stands out. It stipulates that the functions and powers of the counties are to ensure and coordinate the participation of communities and locations in governance at the local level. Counties are also to assist communities to develop administrative capacity for the effective exercise of the functions, powers and participation in governance at the local level. Apropos, Tikare et. al (2001) observe,

Participation is the process through which stakeholders influence and share control over priority setting, policy-making, resource allocations and access to public goods and services. There is no blueprint for participation because it plays a role in many different contexts, different projects and for different purposes. However, in whatever context or reason they are used, participatory processes or civic engagement in the poverty reduction strategy process allows countries to begin exchanging information with other stakeholders and thereby increase the

transparency of their decision making. This in turn will improve government accountability to the people (p. 3).

Citing Gardiner (1995), Omollo (2011) further define participation as a process whereby stakeholders influence policy formulation, alternative designs, investment choices and management decisions affecting their communities.

According to Omollo (2011), there are two broad dimensions of citizen participation; indirect involvement and direct involvement. Indirect involvement asserts that electoral officials and professional administrators should act on behalf of the citizens in a representative democracy while direct involvement suggests that citizens are the owners of the government and should be involved in the decisions of the State.

Several studies have identified core ingredients of citizen participation as citizen awareness; capacity building; planning and budgeting; Implementation; monitoring and evaluation; inclusivity and composition of citizen forums; feedback and reporting mechanisms and financial resource mobilization (Omollo, 2011; TFDG, 2012).

McNeil and Malena (2010) define social accountability as the wide range of citizen and Civil Society organizations (CSO) actions to hold the state accountable, as well as actions on the part of government, media, and other societal actors aimed at promoting or facilitating these efforts.

Social accountability practices include; participatory budgeting, independent budget analysis, participatory monitoring of public expenditures, and citizen evaluation of public services. Across the globe, citizens are increasingly active in challenging their governments, citing lack of transparency, responsiveness, and accountability as important problems, especially in relation to disadvantaged social groups (Commonwealth Foundation 1999, Narayan et al, 2000, cited in McNeil and Malena, 2010).

Progress in governance, development, and citizen empowerment is crucial to societies and citizens around the world. Africa, however, is arguably the region where governance failures, underdevelopment, and disempowerment are most pronounced, where the need for enhanced social accountability is most pressing, and where the potential benefits of social accountability are greatest (McNeil & Malena, 2010, p. 12).

Social accountability is especially important in developing countries as it empowers ordinary citizens to exercise their inherent rights and to hold governments accountable for the use of public funds and how they exercise authority.

One major challenge in developing countries that has a direct effect on its development effort is poor governance. For good governance, the ability of governments to be accountable and the ability of citizens and civil society to hold governments accountable are very important. The combined effort of citizens and civil society and

cooperation of governments contributes to social accountability and boosts development.

Collective memory, participation and the media

French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs is generally credited with collective memory research. Halbwachs identified individual memories and collective memories as tools through which social groups establish their centrality in individuals' lives (Neiger, Meyers and Zandberg, 2011). According to Halbwachs (1950), collective memories are a community's shared renderings of the past that help shape its collective identity (cited in Brown, Kouri and Hirst, 2012).

Yadin Dudai (2002) posited that the concept of collective memory encompasses three identities: first is the body of knowledge which refers to the common knowledge of a society or culture. Second is an attribute which is the distinctive holistic image of the past in the society, Last is process which is the continual evolution in understanding between the individual and the group (cited in Roediger, Zaromb and Butler, 2009).

Researchers on collective memory generally agree that the media is a major agent in the construction of collective memories. For instance Neiger et al. (2011) state;

Collective memories do not exist in the abstract. Their presence and influence can only be discerned through their ongoing usage. There can be no 'collective memory' without public articulation hence so many memory studies focus on various forms of public expression such as rituals, ceremonial commemorations, and mass media texts; in short, collective memory is an inherently mediated phenomenon (p. 3).

At this point we must mention that when we use the media, we are referring to both technological forms and human forms. In this paper, we view humans, speakers, participants and facilitators of the Citizen Demand programme as media through which collective memories are constructed and shared.

Various researches on collective memory have shown that it is actually a manipulated construction of those who maintain the power and status to define those memories (Halbwachs, 1950; Nora, 1996). Foucault also suggested that the postmodern desacralization of tradition has created a social void that has been filled with commemorative activity that is used as a tool of those in political power (1977).

The media is the major conduit through which this manipulation occurs. According to Neiger et al. (2011) the media echo public officials and therefore fail to hold government leaders accountable for their actions. Consequently they fail to aid citizens in reasoned decision making about public issues.

Additionally, modern political theory tends to view journalism and by extension the media as an institution interacting with the institution of the government (Neiger et al., 2011). Moreover most media and political theorists have shown that journalists cover issues and events in ways that serve the political agenda of the current regime. Further research has however shown that such coverage may only serve the short term interests of political elites as the collective memories generated by such coverage may not reliably serve the interests of the political elite in the long run (Edy, 2011). Thus collective memories hold the potential to force more democratic forms of public discourse by authorize new voices to enter public debates.

Narratives are a participatory means through which collective memories are shared, deconstructed and constructed. According to Williams et al. (2015) engaged storytelling, alongside other social interaction techniques, have the capacity to illuminate history, time and experience through narratives. They can activate radical praxis for collective memory, contemplation of civil and human rights, and attempts at reconciliation.

This phenomenon is what Echterhoff et al. (2005) and Loftus (2005) refer to as social contagion. According to them, through acts of social remembering individuals become vulnerable to incorporating details about the past that they did not actually experience. Conversations, therefore, serve as a conduit to spread a memory from one person to another (cited in Brown et al., 2012). In addition, speakers can have unilateral influence on a listener's memory, leading to a similar shared reality. Alteration of existing memories and implantation of new ones also happen through social contagion (Brown et al., 2012).

Miller (1994); Fentress and Wickham (1992); Wertsch (2002) further argue that since people often talk to each other in their community, often conversations act as a decisive mnemonic resource for the spread of a memory across a group (cited in Brown et al., 2012).

Another way through which the formation of collective memories involves participation is through the notion of schema. Bartlett (1932) first introduced the notion of schema. He suggested that shared memories may be formed through social interactions because community members, whom are raised together, attend the same school, read the same books, and generally share many of the same experiences, will possess similar schemata, and in turn will shape the way community members remember their past (Cited in Brown et al., 2012, p. 2).

According to Roediger et al. (2009), retrieval from memory is a means of learning information. Roediger et al., (2009) posits that retrieval creates collective memories. In a comparison of American and Russian students' recollections of World War II, Wertsch (2002) noticed distinct patterns in the basic narrative structure of their recall testimonies. He argued that these patterns reflect the use of what he terms a "schematic

narrative template” to recount historical episodes (cited in Roediger et al., 2009), p.37).

Citizen participation in Kenya: the past and the present

Among the key changes in politics today is increased involvement of citizen decision making. For instance the Kenya 2010 Constitution ratified through a referendum and resultant devolved governance structure show how citizens have increasingly become active participants in governance. Indeed “the past two or so decades have been the scene of an increasing devolutionary pressure across the continent which, by extension, affects a large number of countries worldwide. Kenya has not been an exception. Right at the core of its key pressure point is the imperative of more direct citizen participation” (TFDG, 2012, p. 176). Apart from devolved governments, the GoK (2010) overhauled the judicial system, encouraging public interest litigation (see Oloka-Onyango, 2015). This is addition to changes in police service structure due to creation of a police oversight body, Independent Police Oversight Authority (IPOA), a civilian body mandated to ensure citizens participate in police supervising police services (see Otiso, & Kaguta, 2016).

TFDG (2012) further observes that GoK (2010) builds on a rich and long struggle for citizen participation in the public policy-making process with its main agenda being democratic citizenship, as an approach to citizen empowerment, which is increasingly becoming a vital element of democratic theory and practice all over the world.

Though there were some projects that sought to enhance citizen participation prior to the adoption of the GoK (2010), these projects permitted limited citizen participation as they were either misused by politicians or mishandled. Here is a summary of the journey towards citizen participation in Kenya:

Citizen participation in Local Authority Service Delivery Action Plan (LASDAP)

The Constitution of Kenya of 2010 created a new era of citizen public participation in government spending especially through the 47 County Governments. Even the World Bank (2013) agrees that in relation to the county governments, the Local Authority Service Delivery Action Plans (LASDAP) program, is a key tool that increased citizen participation governance. LASDAP was introduced to enhance citizen participation in identifying priorities and needs for government budgeting. Citizens have used the programme to streamline the planning process and encourage the development of capital plans that enhance accountability. Theoretically the LASDAP process is perhaps the most comprehensive tool encompassing citizen participation in planning, selection, implementation and oversight of projects in

devolved authorities. Furthermore the bottom-up approach of LASDAP engages the citizenry and provides ownership of the projects identified through the Local Authority Trust Fund.

However, the National Tax Payers Association (2010) notes that LASDAP did not achieve its objectives because instead of funding community projects as expected, resources were used to mainly fund personnel, operations, maintenance and debts. The programme achieved low capital investment mainly funding basic community infrastructure. The tax payers association argues that citizen participation was limited and most times 'stage-managed', a process that nurtured cynicism and disinterest.

Participation through parliamentary programmes: The Constituency Development Fund (CDF).

Due to marginalisation of regions in the opposition and pressure by citizens on members of parliament to provide resources, the members of the national assembly passed the Constituency Development Fund, 2003. This law created a body through which citizens and members of parliament can participate in financial decision making (see CDF Act, 2003). Since then, the Kenyan government has cumulatively allocated a whopping KSh.107 Billion to CDF. The CDF programme was established during President Mwai Kibaki's reign, whose government had promised to devolve power away from the centre and to share political power among Kenya's diverse groups. With this hope, the CDF was established to fight poverty at the grassroots level. To achieve this, the CDF was structured to ensure that constituencies receive 2.5% of the Government annual ordinary revenue, besides monies to be received from other sources by the CDF Board. However CDF had many challenges with the core being a weak legal framework and near absent oversight mechanisms that limited citizen participation in decision making and project implementation. Moreover, Members of Parliament, the de-facto patrons of CDF, had taken advantage of the legal loopholes to use CDF as a political tool (National Taxpayers Association, NTA, 2013). Dissatisfied with achievement of CDF and motivated by the new constitution, public interest litigants through the Institute for Social Accountability, convinced the High Court to order for amendment of the CDF Act 2003 to increase citizen participation and eliminate conflict with local government devolved funds (Institute for Social Accountability - Vs- The National Assembly & Others HCCP No. 71 of 2013. Also see *Wanjiru Gikonyo & Cornelius Oduor Opuot Vs The National Assembly of Kenya and Others*). The National assembly enacted amendment through the CDF Act 2013.

The CDF Act 2013 came about to seal the limitation to citizen participation loop holes that existed in the CDF Act of 2003. It provides for the establishment of the CDF by the Member of Parliament within the first forty five days of being sworn in. this time however, the MP's

power is limited as he/she has to convene an open public meetings of registered voters in each of the elective wards in the constituency. Each ward then elects five persons whose names shall be forwarded to the officer of the Board in the constituency. The Member of Parliament in consultation with the officer of the Board and the sub county administrator for the constituency then appoints eight persons to the Board, taking into account the geographical diversity within the constituency, communal, religious, social and cultural interests in the constituency and the requirements of gender, youth and representation of persons with disabilities. By defining these groups, the Act encourages representation of various interests in the management of the affairs of the fund. To a certain extent this can facilitate public participation (NTA, 2013).

The CDF Act 2013 also provides for participation through oversight. The Project Management Committees (PMCs) of CDF projects have to be communal in nature. The Act therefore recognizes the value of community involvement in project implementation and provides for PMCs.

Public Financial Management at the county level

Article 201 of the GoK (2010) stipulates some key public finance principles including the need to ensure that there is openness and accountability in all public financial matters and that public participation will be emphasized in the whole budget process and decision making processes. For instance, Chapter 12 of public finance and the Act that gives it effect, the Public Financial Management (PFM) Act 2012, have transformed the budget process in Kenya giving power to citizens to participate in the budget making and implementation process.

Article 137(1) of the PFM Act further provides for the establishment of a forum known as the County Budget and Economic Forum (CBEF). The forum whose purpose is to provide a means for consultation by the county government on (a) preparation of county plans, the County Fiscal Strategy Paper and the Budget Review and Outlook Paper for the county; and (b) matters relating to budgeting, the economy and financial management at the county level shall constitute nominated members of the public among other members. Additionally, Citizens must participate in the establishment of the CBEF by ensuring that vetting of members is done, term limits are set and that they facilitate open and transparent meetings.

Methodology

This study used a mixed method research design where it utilized both Qualitative (QUAL) and quantitative approaches (quan) with QUAL being the major approach. It adopted a Sequential explanatory design of MMR. In this typology, the quan and QUAL strands are

conducted separately and sequentially with quan data generation and analysis coming first and informing the second phase of QUAL data generation and analysis (Cresswell and Plano Clark, 2011, 130). All the participants (quan and QUAL) phase, participated in the study willingly after explaining to them what the study was about and getting their consent. In the first phase, quantitative data was generated using self administered questionnaires. The survey sample was generated from the sample frame; all the 250 participants registered in the TI-K Citizen Demand Programme were included. The aim of the quan phase was to describe variables and how the relationship among and how they contributed to the construction of collective memory among participants.

In the second phase, purposive sampling was used to select 16 participants, four from each of the wards in Seme Constituency, Kisumu County. The 16 participants were drawn from the original survey sample and picked purposively based on the results of the survey because of the useful in-depth information they contributed to the study. Qualitative data was generated using interviews and observations. The first phase data was captured with the SPSS software and analyzed using descriptive statistics while the second phase data was analyzed thematically based on the research questions. Both the quan and QUAL analysis was then integrated and interpreted to get its implication on findings.

Additionally, we used Paulo Freire's concept of dialogue both as a theoretical framework and a tool of analysis. Quan data is presented using percentages and figures while QUAL data is presented in narratives and quotes. For purposes of anonymity and confidentiality, pseudonyms, instead of real names, have been used to identify the participants – a practice common in social research (Crow and Wiles, 2008).

Results/discussions

Participant's perception of the media on capacity building for participation

Much as the media is used as an empowerment tool to facilitate the participation of people in development activities (Khalid, 2012) participants felt that the manner in which information is constructed in the media, especially on radio and television; the choice of words and the propagation of elite voices (panel of experts and politicians invited to break down governance issues and provisions of the constitution on participation) is complex the rural folk who are either illiterate or semi illiterate to interpret it on their own. They end up adopting the perspectives of the media and by extension, that of the elite and since they find these messages too complex to attend to, they make no effort to implement them. Their prospective memory on social accountability and governance issues is thus constructed by the media and political elite

agenda. Moreover, due to illiteracy, most participants of the TI-K CDP (90%) collectively believed that they have neither the knowledge nor the capacity to participate in social accountability processes in Kisumu County. Instead they view the concept of participation as a reserve for the well educated and politicians. For instance, one participant said,

*“I am a primary school dropout, I can neither understand nor speak proper English, I also do not possess any knowledge on governance issues, so who am I to stand among ‘clever’ people and interfere when they are deliberating on ‘difficult’ issues like budgeting? I will only be ridiculous” (*Ian, 2013).*

It is, therefore, evident that prospective memory on knowledge and skills about social accountability issues determines individuals’ ability and intention to participate in social accountability processes in future. Accordingly majority of participants (80%) believed that the media was not effective in building their capacity to participate in social accountability processes in the county instead it further cemented their previously constructed notions that they are unable to effectively participate in governance issues to ensure social accountability,

Efficiency of communication strategies used in the TI-K’s CDP programme

The main communication strategy used by TI-K to facilitate their programme was the narrative. The facilitators narrated past events related to every topic on governance and participation they shared with the participants. When asked how effective this method was, the following were the responses: 83% thought the method was very effective, 15 % said it was moderately effective and 2% were not sure. On probing in the QUAL phase most participants gave reasons why they thought the narrative method was effective:

*“Before I joined this programme, I wasn’t sure what exactly entailed governance issues. I thought that as long as I participated in the electing leaders then I was actively ensuring social accountability. However after listening to explanations, stories and examples given by the TI-K facilitators, I now have a clear picture in my mind what good governance is and the various available means and opportunities to ensure accountability” (*Pia, 2013).*

Moreover the participants said that this method made it easier for them to understand and remember governance concepts they initially viewed as complex. On efficiency of communication strategies used, the study investigated the participatory nature of the communication

strategy. On this aspect, it emerged that the programme allows participation to a great extent. The TI-K facilitates, while some participants and local administrators do the mobilization. During sessions, participants are allowed to ask questions, seek clarifications and narrate their own experience on engaging in social accountability processes. After every session participants are put in groups to discuss, share more experiences and recap what they have learnt further boosting their collective memories. The communication approach used is therefore horizontal and participatory.

The TI-K does not act as the sole authority on matters. Furthermore, the TI-K also collaborates with other organizations for instance, the ombudsman office which was represented by an officer in some of the sessions as noted during participant observations. It also collaborates with Community Based Organizations (CBOs) in the area in mobilizing and educating the community.

One of Freire's perspective of dialogue, praxis, is a methodology to reverse past processes through dialectics. Freire suggested that the reflection of action for change, resulting from conscientization (self but collectively reflected critical awareness), should be made continuously to determine the impediments for the smooth operation of the desired situation (Rafi, 2003). In dialogue like the one TI-K Citizen Demand Programme facilitators have with participants and among participants themselves, reflection of action is pertinent. It is not just being aware of how devolved governments work or the need for social accountability but also how to achieve social accountability practically and actively working towards this goal. These reflections helped participants to deconstruct previously held memories that hindered them from active participation processes and construct new collective memories that motivate and assure them of their right and ability to participation.

An interesting phenomenon that emerged from communication strategies used was the importance of social interactions in the spread and adoption of new knowledge. Those who participated in the programme would narrate and discuss what they have learnt in the sessions and among themselves with family, friends and peers who were not participating in the programme. This means that more people in Kisumu County may have learnt about the importance of citizen participation in social accountability processes without necessarily participating directly in the TI-K's Citizen Demand Programme. This finding is consistent with the concept of 'media's multiplier effect' as put forward by Daniel Lerner (1958) and Wilbur Schramm (1964). Lerner considered the media as ideal vehicles for transferring new ideas and models for development to the masses (Khalid, 2012). Scramm (1964) like Lerner viewed media as 'magical multipliers' but goes on to add that they only perform a supportive role when it comes to decision making as this requires changing strongly held attitudes, beliefs, and social norms; and therefore the mechanisms of interpersonal communication are key

(Schramm, 1964). Media feeds audiences with information, but the audiences will discuss the information further within their groups and with peers which will contribute more to the decisions they will finally make. This is how media messages spread thus the 'multiplier effect'.

Roberts (2003) also agrees with this finding. In her review of the social learning model of citizen participation, she says that the citizen is seen as a co-learner in a social learning process. Solutions to public dilemmas and problems have to be discovered through social learning. They are not 'givens.' It is nurtured through dialogue—enabling participants to respect and listen to one another's opinions, and through deliberation—enabling competing perspectives to be aired and considered before decisions are made (Roberts, 2003).

Impact of Programme on Participation in Social Accountability Processes in Kisumu County

To determine the overall impact of the programme, the study asked participants whether participation in the programme influenced their participation or intention to participate in social accountability processes in Kisumu County. Participants were also asked if they had participated on the same before engaging in the TI-K Citizen Demand Programme and finally whether they have engaged in social accountability processes since participating in the programme.

Figure 1 below shows that 92.8% of respondents were influenced by the TI-K Citizen Demand Programme to participate or intend to participate in social accountability processes in Kisumu County. Only 7.2% were not influenced by the programme to participate or change their intention not to participate in social accountability processes. Cross tabulation further establishes, where as only 10% had participated in social accountability processes before participating in the TI-K Citizen Demand Programme, this number increased tremendously after participation in the programme with 71.2% participating in social accountability processes after participating in the programme. Overall, after participation in the programme, 28.8% are yet to participate in any social accountability process in Kisumu County.

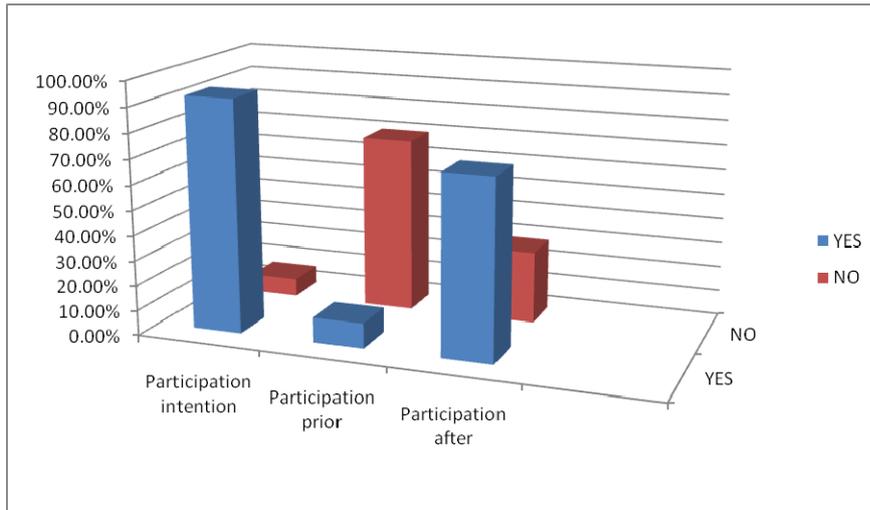


Figure 1: Influence of TI-K Citizen Demand Programme on intention to participate * participation prior to TI-K Citizen Demand Programme * participation after TI-K Citizen Demand Programme -Cross tabulation

During the QUAL phase, this is what respondents said with regard to participation in social accountability processes in Kisumu County:

*“Before I participated in the TI-K's Citizen Demand Programme, I never used to attend public meetings called by the chief, but since then, I do attend to get information on what is happening in my constituency and county and also to give my opinion on issues” (*Erick, 2013).*

*“You know before TI-K brought the programme, I did not know my roles as a citizen so I had not participated in anything. Now I ask when the public sessions for the Kisumu County Assembly are on, I attend and even follow the proceedings. I now tell the community when something is wrong what they should do, where to report” (*Shar, 2013).*

*“I once participated in the formations of villages as administrative units in the county even before participating in TI-K's programme. Since participating in the programme, I am more motivated to actively participate in governance issue to ensure social accountability in my county. For instance, I participated in the Kisumu County Integrated Strategic Urban Development at Tom Mboya College. Today after this, I intend to attend the public forum for budget discussion here at Kanu Hall when it begins” (*Greg, 2013).*

From this finding, it is evident that the TI-K Citizen Demand programme was effective in deconstructing past memories and constructing new memories where participants' self and collective efficacy in ensuring social accountability in governance increased.

Maintaining collective memory through Establishment of citizen institutions

The TI-K runs advisory centers throughout the country. In their Kisumu office, they have an advisory center known as ALAC-Western which serves the Western part of Kenya consisting of the former Nyanza and Western provinces. With the help of TI-K, participants came up with an oversight committee known as Advocacy and Legal Advisory Center (ALAC) at ward levels in their constituency within Kisumu County to follow up on implementation of citizen participation in social accountability processes. Below are some of the responses:

*"TI-K helped us form a committee known as Advocacy and Legal Advisory Center at Division level that will ensure implementation of what we learnt even after the programme folds. The committee will also oversee how devolved funds are used in the county and report back to the community" (*Bob, 2013).*

Apart from the citizen institutions formed with help from TI-K, the participations have also formed their own institutions which they use to guide their participation in social accountability processes. On this, *Dan, 44, from West Seme said:

*"In our area, North Seme Ward, we have created a board; we have a group called 'Vijana Tumeamua'(The Youth are in charge of their destiny) which we have created to check what the county government is doing and other elected leaders. During the meetings, we discuss a number of issues that need our concern" (*Dan, 2013).*

Another participant added:

*"I came out very strongly with others in the ALAC oversight team we formed up to the District Education Officer's office. We inquired what the money was to be used for as there weren't any new activities introduced in the schools" (*Tony, 2013).*

These institutions help ensure that participants of the programme do not forget what they have learnt and are a mechanism for present and future participation in governance to ensure social accountability in Kisumu County. The idea of forming institutions agrees with Bartlett (1932) and Wertsch (2002) concept of learning through retrieval from memory. Every time participants retrieve information on governance and participation on social accountability processes from their memory, it becomes more entrenched in their minds, they relearn it and thus it's difficult to forget it.

Conclusion and recommendation

The study underscores the fact that the retrospective memory – remembering or forgetting what happened in the past together with prospective memory – remembering or forgetting what needs to be

done in the future, are two categories of collective memory that shape politics in Africa. The study shows that although Africa collective memory of repressive governments is changing due to increased participation by common people in government decision making, this changes can be amplified through civic education. Dormant agency among citizens even after promulgation of Kenya's new constitution that establishes participatory structures is proof that people's retrospective memory can impede participation in civic affairs. It was found out that even with constitutionally guaranteed participation structures, Kenyans are stuck in the past where the regime of the day restricted participation in governance. Kenyan's have a retrospective collective memory of a government that lacks of transparency, abhors equity in resource allocation and relishes power abuse, favouritism and corruption. This retrospective memory has blocked possibilities of an optimistic prospective memory in which citizens actively participate in governance.

Therefore retrospective memories of regime restrictions of participation can only be removed through proper civic to construct a new prospective memory that can awaken citizen's agency. When left alone, changes in structure, such as the GoK (2010), are not able to change retrospective memories about civic participation in Kenya and Africa at large, bearing in mind that Africa has a difficult past. Based on the finding, the study proposes that optimistic prospective collective memory can be created through narratives, a participatory means through which memories are shared, deconstructed and reconstructed. Storytelling has the capacity to illuminate history and activate radical praxis for collective memory, contemplation of civil and human rights, and attempts at reconciliation through social contagion.

Through narratives, individual's retrospective memory is made vulnerable by incorporating details about the past that the individuals did not experience, creating a possibility to alter retrospective memories and implant optimistic prospective memories. The study argues in addition to demanding structural changes, civic society organisations should consider implementing programmes aimed at changing the negative retrospective collective memory as a strategy for creating optimistic collective prospective memory in Africa.

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