Twaweza!

fostering an ecosystem of change in East Africa through

imagination, citizen agency & public accountability
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1 Illustrations in this document have been drawn by Marco Simon Tibasima, an artist based in Tanzania.
Executive summary

“If you do what you have always done, you will get what you have always got.”
– Anon

“The first thing an organizer must bring is hope, a new sense of possibility.”
– Gerald Taylor

Twaweza, meaning “we can make it happen” in Swahili, is a ten year initiative (2009 - 2018) that seeks to enable people in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda to improve their quality of life through a bold, citizen-centred approach to development and public accountability.

Twaweza’s core purpose (see chapter 3) is to enable millions of ordinary citizens (particularly those who live on less than USD 2/day or are otherwise marginalized) in East Africa to:

• exercise agency – i.e. access information, express views and take initiative to improve their situation and hold government to account
• access basic services (primary and secondary education, primary health care, clean water) that are of better quality, and exercise greater control over resources that have a bearing on these services

The specific goals as well as learning objectives are outlined in section 3.2 below.

At core, Twaweza embodies the democratic ideal, implicit in its name, that sustainable change is driven by the actions of motivated citizens. Throughout East Africa it is increasingly clear that public pressure and public debate are more effective drivers of change than expert or policy driven technocratic reforms. When exposed to the ferment of information and ideas, and having access to practical tools, pathways and examples of how to turn these ideas into actions, ordinary citizens can become the drivers of their own development and act as co-creators of democracy. Civic agency, therefore, is both a goal in itself and effective means by which to improve service delivery and public resource management. For this reason Twaweza will promote broad public engagement by creating spaces for ordinary people to improve their situation and compel governments to be more responsive.

The work will be achieved through support for three types of related activities (see ch. 4):

• expanding broad access to information, particularly in rural areas;
• strengthening media independence, plurality, quality and reach; and
• enabling citizens to monitor government, public resources and service delivery institutions at local and national levels, and use information collected to make a difference

See report of consultation on “Citizens’ work - building democratic societies” An IDASA Democracy School Project, Launched 6-10 August 2007
Recognizing that governments alone or disparate projects ‘here and there’ don’t bring lasting change (see Annex 4), Twaweza will support a few carefully crafted strategic partnerships that can catalyze sufficiently large country dynamics and engage with major institutions and forces of change. Significantly, instead of an exclusive reliance on NGOs, Twaweza will seek to work with the institutions and networks that already have a substantive reach and the capacity to act as agents of change, even where their stated purposes are not explicitly ‘developmental’ (see chapter 2). The partnership aspect here is important because it is in pooling the comparative advantages into a connected initiative that real value is added and that ‘an ecosystem of change’ can emerge.

Within this conception, Twaweza will not be an implementer itself or simply a re-granter to interesting projects. Rather it will be an actively engaged creative actor that brokers and adds value to a) the generation of ideas and innovations, b) the organizations that can make things happen at scale, and c) the money/funders that can fund initiatives for change. Its East African focus also provides Twaweza with an opportunity to stimulate regional political momentum for change as well as cross-border learning.

Fostering learning and demonstrating accountability for results are both foundational in Twaweza. We will generate, document and communicate contextual lessons, good practices, and insights – about what works and what doesn’t and why – that will be of use to others in the region and beyond. Thoughtful risk-taking and innovation, and experimenting with new approaches will be encouraged. In addition, a set of internal monitoring tools will be established and an independent body recruited to undertake a rigorous process of evaluation (see chapter 6). Throughout, emphasis will be placed on measurement of change, outputs and outcomes. For both learning and accountability for results, we view conceptual agility, risk-taking, innovation and honest self-criticism as important features of any change effort; and ‘failure’ as an opportunity to learn lessons and try something different.

In its first five years Twaweza will be managed by Hivos before establishing itself as an independent organization. Hivos is a Dutch agency with 40 years of experience in supporting civic action, human rights and freedom of expression, with rich networks in East Africa, and a strong track record in quality programming and grant management (see Annex 2). The main Twaweza office will be in Dar es Salaam; in addition, small country teams will be established in Nairobi and Kampala. Twaweza will be ‘working lean’ – its total staff size across all three countries is expected to be 18 – who will be supported by a strong network of experienced program officers, mentors and consultants. The initiative will be led by a Tanzanian responsible for the overall strategic and conceptual direction, who will support a Program Manager and a Learning and Communications Manager (to be recruited). The highest decision-making body will be the Supervisory Board, whose composition will include local and international authorities and representatives of Twaweza donors (see chapter 5).

The Twaweza budget for the first five years (2008/9-13) is estimated at USD 68 million (see ch. 8). The host organization Hivos has committed USD 10 million; the initiative seeks basket support of the balance of USD 58 million from 4-6 funding partners.
1. Situation analysis

“This is surely the end”

“Every farmer can get a loan to buy a water pump”
What works in East Africa? What doesn’t? What have been the most important developments in the last ten years? What are the most powerful constraints and opportunities for the next 5-10 years? What really drives change? Who knows what? How do resources flow and decisions get made? How do problems get solved? Who has the power and the inclination to make things happen? How do ideas get formed and norms established? What needs to be done?

The Twaweza initiative has been informed by an engagement with these questions – through the work of its initiators in East Africa and elsewhere, our reading, and our interaction with citizens. These questions have also been core concerns in the country assessments undertaken in Tanzania, Uganda and Kenya this year. This section presents a summary analysis and key ‘take-home’ messages emerging from the country assessments.3

1.1 **Governments have improved but are largely unresponsive to citizens:** All three countries have undergone major reforms in the past decade, usually with significant donor support. These reforms have achieved several important milestones and brought benefits, but overall have not lived up to their promise. Uganda has one of the most developed local government decentralization frameworks in the world, which in practice is starved of funding, prone to elite capture, and suffers from cumbersome and confusing requirements. In Tanzania, too, local government, public sector, public financial management and other governance reforms, as one observer put it, “look good on paper and impress outsiders but are in fact a charade spinning its wheels”.4 Kenya experienced an unprecedented level of democratic fervour after the 2002 elections, which led to a set of reform commitments. But today the constitutional review process (seen to be foundational by many Kenyans) is largely stuck, and essentially the same government (albeit with different party names) is seen as bloated, self-serving and uninterested in the plight of people. The upshot is that in all three countries the typical citizen does not view government as its representative voice – at both national and local levels – and rarely turns to it for practical help. In contrast, government is often seen to be a problem; as corrupt5, violent6 or contemptuously uninterested. Therefore, it was no surprise that most respondents characterized local level authorities such as county leaders and the police as best avoided.

1.2 **Services have expanded dramatically but lack quality and accountability:** All three countries have dramatically expanded public services, particularly in education. Enrolments in primary and secondary schools have almost doubled,

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3 Country assessments were undertaken in Tanzania, Uganda and Kenya in early to mid 2008, jointly by the Hewlett Foundation, the International Budget Partnership (IBP) and Hivos. The Kenya country visit was only just completed on 16 August 2008; the full country reports and synthesis are being finalized at present and expected to be completed by mid-September. For the sake of brevity data and full references are dispensed with here; they will be provided in the country reports.

4 See for instance Tim Kelsall’s recent piece on which reforms work in Tanzania (draft mimeo, 2008)

5 Some cases cited include Anglo Leasing and Regency Towers in Kenya; the Bank of Tanzania, Richmond (energy) and radar purchase in Tanzania; and the military helicopter procurement in Uganda.

6 Numerous observers referred to Uganda as a militaristic state ‘not that different from Zimbabwe’ and in Kenya dissenters were often said to suffer from arrest, beatings and harassment from the authorities.
classrooms have been built, and over seven million additional children are now registered for schooling. Virtually all observers noted that service quality is extremely poor. A common phrase is ‘lots of schooling, little learning’, with a sense of crisis that students complete schooling without the skills necessary to thrive in life. While basic education is ostensible free in all three countries, various fees and contributions appear to have been informally reinstituted. In health too, thousands of new health facilities have been built across the region, but they lack staff, medicine, equipment and effective supervision. Many complained about the high cost of health and water too. After over 40 years of independence, all three countries are unable to provide basic water and sanitation to large parts of its population. In Kenya and Uganda private provision of basic services for the poor has grown, making them closer and more convenient, but quality and cost remain a concern. These developments suggest that the fundamental issues of equity and inclusion may be getting worse, with some survey and anecdotal evidence showing that inequalities are increasing significantly in the region. Observers noted that there were dual systems – decent, privatized opportunities for a small rich elite and third rate service for the rest. However, despite the existence of recourse mechanisms, such as the school committee and the health unit management team, many of these structures exist only on paper, and even where they do exist, most citizens find themselves unable to hold the government to account. Citizen efforts to organize are hampered by unreliable access to public information and the absence of channels for civic organizing and representation, despite some positive movement in this area (such as exhortations to post budget information on notice-boards).

1.3 The core challenge is implementation: When governments fail to be effective, reformers tend to focus on generating better laws, policies and frameworks. But we were consistently informed (particularly in Tanzania and Uganda) that “the laws are generally fine but that they lack implementation”. Support to get things delivered and accountability for when things are not done were often missing. Several observers pointed out that too many laws, policies and mechanisms can in fact be counterproductive as they complicate and overwhelm bureaucracies with limited capacity. On over-focus on legislation can also serve as a distraction from addressing core operational challenges. In the case of Uganda we were told that the President is ‘way ahead of donors and runs rings around them’ by ‘throwing new pieces of legislation’. There are so many governance and ethics related mechanisms in Uganda that a new body to coordinate them had to be developed. ‘Simplicity’ was often highlighted as a key need in relation to getting the work done. In all three countries, for instance, local governments and key ministries were said to suffer from multiple funding streams and overlapping projects, each with their own accounts, manuals and set of rules. While observers struggled to recommend specific actions to resolve these problems, there was broad agreement that one needs to get the incentives right to catalyze meaningful implementation, enhance openness regarding challenges, and expand the options for exercising practical accountability when stated objectives do not materialize in practice.

1.4 Political patronage trumps democratic representation: While ‘developmental’ initiatives including civic education programs make reference to a framework of
democratic accountability (such as your elected leader should represent your interests) each of the three countries were said to function as a neo-patrimonial state in many respects. In this conception a good leader was the one able to ‘dish out goodies’ rather than work for an abstract national level common good. This state of affairs arises partly from disillusionment with the ability of democratic politics to deliver results, as well as a sense that politics has been captured by a few. One therefore seeks what little one can get – a few kilos of sugar, cloth, or bars of soap – because that is ‘the best one can expect from electoral politics’. In the 2007 elections in Kenya, for instance, ‘progressive’ MPs who had worked on national issues were said to have lost their seats for failure to exercise patronage. Constituency development funds (CDFs) run by MPs ‘to take care of their constituents’ are perhaps the most explicit mechanism for political patronage, and a major feature of public discussion in all three countries. While some civil society activists are calling for CDF levels to be increased so as to ‘get more money to people’, others caution that CDFs distract attention from core budget funds, breed duplication on the ground and compromise MPs oversight function. More insidiously, power mapping studies in all three countries show well developed patronage networks among the political class, and that senior civil servants and a business elite are behind grand corruption scandals worth hundreds of millions of dollars. Any project that seeks to develop democratic culture clearly needs to understand and grapple with these realities. While the task is daunting, observers noted that the media and to some extent parliament are playing key role in exposing these issues.

1.5 **Parliaments are simultaneously constrained and active:** As the dominance of ruling parties has diminished or been subject to increased scrutiny, Parliaments have taken on greater prominence in the region. The latitude parliaments have to acts as a check on the executive is a matter of contention, with apparently contradictory trends. In Kenya the two main parties (PNU and ODM) run a power sharing government and there is no official opposition in Parliament; yet many MPs who are not in the cabinet speak out actively on issues. More information is also said to ‘leak out’ from the coalition government, as members of one party reveal questionable actions undertaken by the other. In Uganda, President Museveni’s grip over the ruling NRM has tightened as he resorts to what observers see as militaristic means to stifle dissent. Yet the Parliament has been one of the more consistent avenues for questioning the excesses of the presidency, including through an active public accounts committee. In Tanzania, despite (or perhaps because of) the fact that the ruling party holds close to 90% of seats in Parliament, parliamentary probes and discussions have been among the more open in the country, generating wide media coverage and significant public debate. Earlier in 2008 a parliamentary probe on energy contracts led to the resignation of the powerful Prime Minister and two prominent ministers. Arguably, parliaments have been compelled by the effect of

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8 Examples include the reported involved of President Museveni’s brother in improper procurement in Uganda, the involvement of the Kenyan Minister for Finance in the sale of the Grand Regency Hotel in Nairobi, and the networks involved in the EPA scandal at the Bank of Tanzania and in the sale of timber in Tanzania unearthed in a report by TRAFFIC. References are provided in the full country assessment reports.
media and the accountability it engenders. Whereas a parliamentary comment in the past may have gone ignored, in recent years it is broadcast live, and in this way media has exerted pressure on MPs to perform, and provided lone voices with large audiences. Through media, the public is also better informed of the workings and issues addressed by parliaments. CSOs such as the Policy Forum in Tanzania and IEA in Kenya are also increasingly partnering with the parliaments in undertaking analysis and informing policy positions.

Parliament appears to be simultaneously constrained by its ties with ruling elites and empowered by its increasingly recognized oversight function. This role could be enhanced by parliaments claiming greater independence through, for example, the Parliamentary Service Commission in Uganda and a revision of the Standing Orders in Tanzania. But parliaments also need independent access to information and analytical capacity that is able to adequately scrutinize the executive. All three countries are working on these issues in different ways, suggesting perhaps that a comparative examination of the genesis and effect of these efforts would be helpful. Nevertheless caution is needed not to overplay the value of a technical intervention where complex political affiliations are the key drivers.

1.6 **Budgets are coming under greater scrutiny and engagement:** Due to increased global attention and the efforts of groups such as the International Budget Partnership (IBP), as well as availability of technology that makes number-crunching and communication easier, there are a growing number of budget related activities in the region. The Open Budget Index (OBI) findings show that transparency of budgets is a problem, but somewhat less acute than some may have imagined. Information is available but not in a form that is easily understood or a level that is meaningful. Having emphasized participation in budget making processes, attention is now shifting to tracking the flow and use of funds and revenues. HakiElimu in Tanzania has cooperated with the Controller and Auditor General’s office to make audit findings popular and a matter of public debate. There are many expenditure tracking studies ongoing too; for instance on the CDF in Kenya and education sector in Tanzania; but their quality is often uneven (see Annex 5). The complexity of the task and resources required should not be underestimated.

A key observation is that most people do not care about budgets in the abstract, but do care in terms of how they translate into concrete access to resources and services. In that sense CDF has captured the public imagination because ‘it concretizes budgets’ at the community (rather than district or national) level. For expanding citizen engagement, budgets need to be linked to and translated in these local terms. It will also be important to create practical ways in which citizens can engage in the budget process in order to create a difference in the services/benefits they receive. These citizen efforts need to be linked with bigger picture analytical work that can identify the major disconnections, gaps and opportunities in the budget chain. For both these sorts of work independent actors will need support to strengthen analytical and communication skills.
1.7 **The strengths, limitations and potential roles of NGOs:** In the past two decades there has been a turn towards NGOs to represent citizen interests, and to fill the gaps left by government failure or to act as a check on it. However, all three country assessments show that overall NGOs/CBOs a) are weak and ineffective, b) have limited reach, c) are trapped in a ‘workshop and payment of allowances culture’, d) lack clear strategic focus and reflective practice and e) are not perceived by most citizens as representing their interests or providing practical help. In contrast to the liberal notion that a CSO is formed to advance citizens’ social justice agendas, we were informed that ‘the typical NGO is created to access donor funds”. Most NGOs have very limited reach, and act in an ad hoc, short-term and ‘projectized’ manner that is rarely strategic – a situation that is not helped by the ways in which donor requirements are structured (see below). Instead of fighting government patronage and corruption, many NGOs tend to mirror these aspects themselves. NGOs abilities to reach and connect with citizens and enable citizen organizing at scale are especially weak, rendering them politically impotent and lacking broad-based legitimacy. NGO leaders we met in Kenya, for instance, agreed that most of them ‘lived in a Nairobi bubble’ with little organic linkage to citizen groups. Moreover, this sort of elite capture can supplant and undermine civic action, and exclude those who are not able to play the ‘development game’.\(^9\) The implication of this insight means that an approach that conflates citizen action with NGOs/CBOs and relies entirely on the latter is likely to fail or at best limit progress to small pockets.

At the same time, during our country assessments we noted that that some civil society organizations and individuals were doing powerful work in budget analysis, public education and government scrutiny\(^10\). In Kenya in particular we were impressed by the depth of analysis and articulation, including among an emerging young leadership, and the clearly important role Kenyan civil society had played during the post-election violence in early 2008. This sort of work and leadership, while not sufficient in itself, can form a critical piece of an overall ecosystem of change. For example, while media or private companies may be far more effective in reaching citizens countrywide, they are likely to need NGO(s) to assist with conceptualizing the work, analyzing data, developing tools and popular materials, etc.

1.8 **The media is powerful but has many problems:** The growth of media represents perhaps the most dramatic change in the East African landscape in the last 10-15 years following liberalization of the sector. Tanzania has moved from having two state/ruling party owned newspapers, one radio and no TV stations to more than ten daily papers, dozens of radio stations, and 5 national TV groups. The growth of radio and TV in Kenya and Uganda is even greater, with a wide network of FM stations in vernacular languages. While the limitations of reach are serious,

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\(^9\) See draft study on Dar, discussions with OSI in Nairobi. The form that a registered group needs to take and operate privileges certain types of people and makes ordinary citizens beholden to elites able to ‘play the game’.

\(^10\) Examples are FHRI, ACODE & KRC in Uganda; HakiElimu, Hakikazi and Policy Forum in Tanzania; IEA, CGD and MUHURI in Kenya.
Twaweza! East Africa

particularly for newspapers and for TV where there is no electricity,\(^{11}\) mass media is by far the most significant source of information for most citizens. Because media provides an overwhelming point of reference and vehicle for public debate it is perhaps no exaggeration to say that ‘life is lived in the media’ or that ‘an issue is not an issue until it is in the media’. Moreover, media has created unprecedented space for access to differing viewpoints and public debate. Several groups we interviewed emphasized that media coverage was one of the most important aspects of the success of their campaign. Private companies, cell phones in particular, invest enormously in public reach through media. Media’s impact in revealing information on corruption related aspects, noted above, cannot be underestimated.

Notably, space for direct citizen engagement has also increased, particularly through mobile calling or SMS. Indeed while costs remain relatively high, the growth of cell phones has dramatically altered communication possibilities. In Tanzania, over seven million people own cell phones and in Kenya, Safaricom alone is reported to have 9 million subscribers, in contrast to a few hundred thousand who had any phone access a decade ago. Cell phones are quickly becoming the main source of internet browsing in Kenya. Some respondents have explored the use of cell phones for public oriented messaging, but some were sceptical of the willingness of cell phone providers to partner in a civic oriented campaign.

At the same time, observers point out numerous constraints in the media landscape. Consolidation of media ownership, particularly of TV and newspapers, and the tendency of owners to influence editorial positions significantly limits press freedom. State broadcasters in all three countries are yet to transform themselves into public broadcasters, leaving a gap in truly public oriented media. Governments who provide the largest share of advertising revenue could ‘kill’ media by withholding adverts from a critical outlet. The quality of media is generally poor, and tends to cover the pronouncements of leaders in major cities, as most stories are written by low paid stringers who are not provided with the time or resources to adequately investigate a story. Media houses run on thin resources and staffing as managing directors are unable to or chose not to pay the remuneration necessary to recruit and retain competent staff. Even where media owners may not have funding constraints, such as with the East Africa wide Nation group owned by the Aga Khan, observers commented that ‘an obsession with the bottom line’ curtails research and investigative journalism.

Thus media is a powerful institution in need of improvement. Many training projects have been implemented, but while useful in some ways, they do not address the core institutional constraints at play. Other interventions, such as the Uganda Radio Network that provides syndicated radio content and HakiElimu that subsidizes investigative work in Tanzania have been more successful. A growing number of citizen journalism efforts are linking ordinary people with both mainstream and alternative media. Recently in Tanzania Hivos has been appointed to manage the

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\(^{11}\) Even here the increasing interconnection of technologies is filling some of the gaps. The reach of newspapers extends further through radio and TV which use them as a source of news. Where there is no electricity local entrepreneurs have set up local video parlors hooked to generators to provide access to some of the more popular TV viewing.
Tanzania Media Fund, a multi-donor funded initiative that seeks to underwrite quality and investigative journalism and develop capability in an unconventional manner. The country assessments revealed strong interest in both Kenya and Uganda for establishing such a fund.

1.9 **Donors have contributed important resources but need to respond in a more politically astute and nimble manner:** Donors are active players in the region, providing over 40% of the national budgets in Uganda and Tanzania, and exerting significant policy pressure in all three countries. The recent move towards budget support and harmonization processes that are consistent with the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness\(^{12}\) has brought certain benefits, particularly in Tanzania. However the extent to which results have been achieved is not clear, especially given the self-referential benchmarks guiding the evaluation of these processes, rather than the measurement of meaningful outcomes. Of particular concern is the fact that this approach does not deepen downward government answerability and responsiveness to its own citizens, and may in fact increase an unhealthy level of upward donor centrality to policy making and accountability. The country assessments indicate that the new aid architecture has not helped establish robust country ownership or significantly curtail misappropriation of public resources. Leaders can continue to abuse their public positions for private gain, and clamp down on media and critics who dare to speak out. A recent briefing paper on the Paris Agenda by David Booth articulates our concerns elegantly, noting that donors need to acknowledge the need for political reform, be bolder and risk-taking, avoid political correctness and pay more attention to helping get the incentives right.\(^{13}\) Our own analysis articulates how this needs to be linked with the sort of citizen engagement efforts Twaweza advocates (see Annex 4).

CSOs too, given the relatively small private sector and limited middle class in East Africa, are almost all wholly dependent on external institutional donors for funding. Donor interest in CSOs which are able to provide a counterpoint to the State is growing in relation to the Paris Agenda, in terms of groups able to help citizens engage with the State, as well as undertake strategic analytical work. In the region donors have often been more willing to create a seat for CSOs at the policy and governance table, than have governments. At the same, however, country assessments indicate that donor funding modalities are at cross purposes with these interests. Many CS groups complained that donor tendency to provide fragmented, projectized, short term funding, insistence on quick results and multiple reporting requirements undermined their ability to work in a strategic manner or address fundamental concerns. This was confirmed by funders themselves. A major problem is the corrupting influence of aid, where money flows towards issues that donors care about it, HIV/AIDS being the most prominent example for which hundreds of millions of dollars are spent each year, distorting priorities and human resource allocation, and eroding coherence. Other CSOs noted that donor inability to be

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\(^{12}\) See [www.oecd.org/document/18/0,3343,en_2649_3236398_35401554_1_1_1_1,00.html](http://www.oecd.org/document/18/0,3343,en_2649_3236398_35401554_1_1_1_1,00.html) In Kenya, because of political turmoil and the contestation of state authority funding is largely earmarked.

\(^{13}\) See for instance David Booth’s ODI briefing paper 39 (July 2008) on Reforming the Paris Agenda prepared for the upcoming September meeting in Accra, which calls for an honest debate on aid effectiveness.
flexible and nimble limits CSO effectiveness to respond to crises such as the post election violence in Kenya. The recent development of harmonized funding guidelines for strategic CSOs in Tanzania\footnote{See \url{http://hdptz.esealtd.com/fileadmin/documents/Key_Sector_Documents/Other_Health_Related_Documents/Guidelines_for_Support_to_Civil_Society_oct_07_final_2.pdf}} that have formally been adopted by the most donors provides a useful basis to address these concerns. However, the extent of its use in Tanzania let alone the rest of the region is unclear.

1.10 **Young people are the key demographic:** Young people under age 30 constitute about two thirds of the population of East Africa, and form the largest demographic group in the region. Yet their livelihood options, political and economic clout, and future prospects are grim. The vast majority of school leavers, as well as large numbers of university graduates are unable to secure jobs. Prospects in rural areas where land pressures are intense and access to markets difficult are especially acute, fuelling one of the fastest rates of rural-urban migration. In urban areas opportunities are limited too, and according to one observer young people here are primarily viewed as a “public order problem”. The situation is perhaps most stark in Kenya, where young people are said to have “done the dirty work for the politicians” and found themselves to be both the primary perpetrators and victims of the post-election violence. The discussion about young people also made reference to HIV/AIDS, where this demographic group (and young women in particular) is most vulnerable to new infection and yet holds the least resources to cope with it, and likely faces the most obstacles in accessing services.

Many observers told us that something must be done about young people, invariably described as ‘a time bomb about to explode’. Fewer noted that young people could be a key resource for change, noting their levels of energy, creativity, ability to embrace new technologies and change, and creativity. When pressed, respondents struggled to provide an overall framework for action or concrete suggestions regarding citizen action among young people. Some of the youth groups we met with were engaging in interesting ways, but at relatively small scale, and appeared too occupied in day to day affairs and needing to evade authorities to develop a larger vision. Moreover, many of the assumptions about time bombs or creativity remain untested, though we clearly noted clear examples of unrest such as students burning schools in Kenya or demonstrations after Friday prayers in Dar es Salaam. On our part, cognisant that they are a transient category, we were uncertain whether ‘youth’ constituted an organic self identity around in which young people saw themselves or would be keen to organize.

The ten points above provide a descriptive analysis emerging from the country assessments in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. Below we sketch six major program strategy issues that arose from the country assessments.

1.11 **The everyday retail level is what matters most:** It is easy to think about the macro level policies, reforms, and budgets, and national level politics. Many of our discussions focused on this level. But the community visits showed the great
distance between national and policy level and everyday life, and how easy it is for
development efforts to lose sight with this level. Somewhat surprisingly, many
respondents were unable to answer when we phrased the question in terms of ‘what
does this mean for a 45 year old woman in rural village? What can she do?’ Yet, it is
precisely this level where life is lived, it is at its most concrete, and that impacts on
the lives of citizens – interactions with teachers, heath workers and local leaders,
the everyday spaces and opportunities. The macro level is important insofar as it
affects people’s lives, but for Twaweza we need to make the everyday retail aspects
our core unit of reference.

1.12 **Information is essential for citizen action:** Virtually everyone we spoke with
emphasized that citizens must have information in order to act and to make a
difference. Information enables people to know their rights and entitlements, to know
what is happening both around them and far away, to compare the actual with what
is promised, to learn lessons from what others have done, and so on. Without
information, action either does not take place or is poorly informed. A key take home
lesson is that while information alone is not sufficient, it is a vital and necessary
driver for change.

1.13 **Class, geographical and citizen-CSO based gaps need to be reduced:**
People in positions of power and charged with the responsibility to make a
difference in the lives of ordinary citizens – whether in government, media, civil
society or business – tend to live and think in the capital city, and among each other.
This elite is poorly linked with its constituencies, and thus risks both becoming out of
touch and weak without broad based support. The good news is that many groups
we interviewed recognize that this gap and is beginning to work with it, though its
slow moving and requires greater imagination. An important distinction needed here
is between mobilization (gathering numbers to support your cause) and organizing
(facilitating people to organize around their own cause).

1.14 **Disparate efforts need to join up:** In all three countries we were able to
catalogue useful and creative work. But it appears to be done in a fragmented,
disparate fashion and doesn’t constitute a critical mass for change. Many people
that we spoke with highlighted the importance of bringing people and ideas together
in order to leverage greater change, and welcomed Twaweza’s ecosystem
approach in this regard.

1.15 **Learning, reflection and imagination are urgently needed:** Many committed
practitioners are so busy running around fundraising, managing their organizations,
implementing activities, and reporting that they do not spend adequate time
reflecting on strategy choice and effectiveness. Yet this is crucial for program
vitality. In connection with this, several key people were pleased with Twaweza’s
explicit focus on learning from the outset, and welcomed Twaweza’s role in fostering
what one observer called ‘introspection’.

1.16 **Deep change takes time:** Many observers made a simple point – the type of
change Twaweza envisages will take time. A typical remark was “unless you can
think in at least 7-10 year terms or more, don’t even bother”. Several cautioned us to
guard against donors who may want quick results. Instead what was needed was a
wide time horizon and flexibility within it to respond to key opportunities. Twaweza
and its donor partners will need to work to get this balance right.

The six perspectives outlined above have informed Twaweza’s approach and theory of
change; aspects of which are more fully elaborated below.
2. Theory of change and approach

Because of my great love for you I have worked so hard...

...love, schmove, my foot! That's our tax money...
When exposed to the ferment of information and ideas, and having access to practical tools, pathways and examples of how to turn these ideas into actions, ordinary citizens can become the drivers of their own development and act as co-creators of democracy.

1. **Purposes/Goals:** Twaweza has two interlinked goals: to enable millions of people in East Africa a) to exercise greater agency i.e. be able to take initiative to improve their situation and hold government to account, and b) to access improved basic services (particularly basic education, primary health, and clean water). Twaweza will support partnerships and initiatives that create space for direct engagement with citizens at large scale, rather than making the strengthening of intermediary civil society organizations our main goal.

In our conception, citizen agency is both an end in itself and an effective means to realize improved quality of life outcomes. In turn, better basic services, more effective use of public resources and accountable government will contribute to strengthening human capability and citizen agency. We therefore see citizen agency, better services, improved resource management and accountability as mutually reinforcing.

Twaweza will support strategic partnerships to catalyze such work at large scale, contributing to improvements in at least one aspect of the outcomes stated above for millions of citizens in East Africa over ten years. This will be done through three main types of activities: increased access to information; improved quality and reach of media; and expanded opportunity for citizen monitoring of government performance, public services and public resources. In addition Twaweza will have an explicit program component to foster learning and documentation. The Twaweza approach and program areas are elaborated further in points 8 and 9 below.
2. **Lessons about what works and what doesn't:** Twaweza’s decision to focus on citizen engagement is a conscious strategic choice informed by experience of what has been effective, the limitations of current dominant approaches and findings of our country assessments. In East Africa most efforts (and funds) to strengthen citizen agency and improve service delivery have focused on strengthening the state, given the responsibility of Governments to safeguard citizen rights and provide basic services for all. However, in practice, many governments fail to do so adequately; in particular large numbers of poor and socially marginalized people are excluded. Good laws and policies commonly fail to be implemented, and have little import on the day-to-day lives of most people. Inadequate funds reach community levels; and it is difficult to know if they are used well because meaningful information about the funds is scarce and not accessible. Even where basic social services have been expanded, their quality is extremely poor.

One key constraint is the tendency to expect that technical solutions will take care of political problems. For example, to many, governments are a source of (private) political patronage rather than fair (public) representation or regulator of common resources. It is clear that for governments to be effective and responsive, robust domestic accountability mechanisms that can address these political constraints need to be developed and supported.

NGOs are increasingly called upon to be part of the accountability agenda. But funding a disparate set of NGO projects ‘here and there’, whatever their individual merit is unlikely to achieve significant change. An approach that conflates citizen action with NGOs/CBOs and relies entirely on the latter is likely to fail or at best limit progress to small pockets. What is needed instead is a critical mass of concerted activities that can drive change at the country-level. NGOs able to play a strategic role within an overall countrywide ecosystem of change are crucial actors within the Twaweza approach. We will focus on brokering partnerships which play up the comparative advantage of such NGOs, and link them with other types of actors who have other comparative advantages, leading to an overall synergistic effect and critical mass that is more than the sum of its parts. These efforts would coalesce a critical set of ‘joined-up’ efforts – or ‘ecosystem’ – that are nimble enough to respond to key opportunities and sufficiently astute to connect with key forces of change. Twaweza partners will seek to influence major institutions and processes at country level, including system-wide improvements in governance, public service delivery, local governance arrangements, broad access to information and resource management. This approach would complement funding provided to government by deepening state-citizen engagement and seeking to bring better value for money in government spending. In so doing, Twaweza will seek to generate lessons of interest to governments, civil society and donors alike, and leverage change far larger than its budget.

3. **Who will make the change happen?** At core, Twaweza embodies the democratic ideal, implicit in its name, that sustainable change is driven by the actions of motivated citizens. In Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania it is increasingly clear that public pressure and public debate are more effective drivers of change than expert or
In some cases, this diverse set of citizen leaders is already making a difference; in others they have the potential and motivation, but need additional impetus to turn their ideas into action. In both cases we see a role for Twaweza – to enhance what is already happening and to support new actions to get underway. When exposed to the ferment of information and ideas, and practical tools or pathways in which to turn these ideas into actions, citizens can become the drivers of their own development and act as co-creators of democracy.

Twaweza will support partnerships and initiatives that foster direct engagement with citizens at large scale, rather than making the strengthening of intermediary citizen organizations as our main goal or end in itself. We will partner with CSOs that are able to facilitate citizen involvement at large scale, or that can provide analytical or other critical input to the overall ecosystem effort. Multiple means will be explored, because a strategy that is wholly dependent on one body can suffer from the limitations of organizational reach and culture, as well as elite capture.

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15 There are many ways to define ‘community level’. For Twaweza this primarily means the lowest level of urban or rural organization recognized in the local government structure – such as the LC1 in Uganda or village or street in Tanzania. But for certain types of actions we will also involve higher level groupings such as districts or other types of bounded communities – such as faith based parishes or educational clusters. The main point is to focus on the level most proximate to enabling citizen action.
An illustration of citizen agency and public accountability: Asha and Juma's story

Asha and Juma were pleased that their three children went to school, and worked hard to provide for uniforms and extra coaching from the teachers. This is until they heard a person on the radio say 'Do you know what your children are learning in school? Why don’t you sit with them and find out?' Asha and Juma did just that, and were shocked to find out that their oldest son in grade 4 could not read. They could not understand – the children had been going to school everyday but still could not read?! They had seen a national CSO, HakiElimu’s, adverts on TV at the local hall, and sent them an SMS to get help. A few weeks later HakiElimu sent an envelope full of information (through the bus service) about the government education plan, what it was meant to achieve, the amount of money that was to reach schools, and how everyone had a right to be involved through the local school committee.

The envelope also included a tool to find out what was going in school, and a contact of 'Friend of Education' in a nearby town who could help with how to use it. After consulting that Friend Asha and Juma got together with two other parents and a teacher to use the tool at school. At first the Head-teacher was reluctant, but was eventually persuaded after the Friend explained how it had been used in the next ward, and shared a copy of a newspaper article in which President Kikwete encouraged people to monitor what was going on with basic social services.

The monitoring involved using a simple form to record information. They found out a lot about the school in about two hours, including that the school had received only one quarter of the money they ought to have received, that the teachers were often not in the classroom, that there was no library, and the few books that were there were often locked up in cupboards for safekeeping. They saw how all this made it difficult for their son to learn to read.

So they asked to see the school committee, and asked the Chairman to put this on the next meeting agenda. One of the parents who had done the monitoring was afraid and dropped out, but the Head-teacher became an ally. This led to a public meeting in which these concerns were discussed. The teachers said it was hard to teach without proper materials; others sympathized but said that they felt that some teachers were lazy and using the poor working conditions as an excuse. There was great debate about the problems, but people did not know what to do to solve the problem. So it was agreed that a team comprising Asha, the Head-teacher, the leader of the local chapter of the teachers’ trade union, and an influential local entrepreneur would work on finding solutions.

The local entrepreneur was a busy woman, so the team had efficient meetings that focused on solutions. Borrowing ideas from a handbook, their own experience and what they had heard through the media – the team did several things. They asked a local FM station to do a story on their issue and then organize a discussion on it, where people called in using cell phones. They helped the Head-teacher write to the district education officer (DEO), and the teachers’ union leader got a resolution passed at their annual meeting asking all teachers to monitor funds received. The entrepreneur helped organize the school accounts better so it was easy to know what was going on.

Six months later, many parents were much more aware of what was going on at the school. The school received more money as a result if the letter written by the Head-teacher (even though the school still did not reach the full amount promised in the policy). The funds enabled the school to buy more books and send a teacher on training. The DEO told the school head informally that his letter had helped him make the case for more funds with the Ministry. The teacher trade unionist became a bit of a local hero. Many teachers across the country – not yet monitoring school funds themselves - asked him to come to their districts to teach them how to do it. Already the Prime Minister, acting under pressure from the teachers’ union, had promised to resolve this issue.

Asha and Juma felt good because of all this, and because they knew they had been part of making this change happen. But quality of teaching and learning was still a problem—their son was still not reading as well. A plan was put in place for a retired teacher from a neighboring village to come for two weeks to help the younger teachers – they were hopeful but not certain if it would help. But they knew that they would keep trying, because they had experienced the power of making change, and now there was no stopping them.

The focus on citizen driven action does not mean that Twaweza will work in isolation or apart from government. Rather, Twaweza partners will seek to help citizens reclaim government and animate public institutions, and over time to help develop a new, more responsive ‘compact’ between citizens and the state. Its demand-side focus is designed to complement and revitalize the many supply-sided governance reforms underway in East Africa supported by the World Bank, UNDP, DFID and others. In this way Twaweza will concentrate on the larger gap and our comparative advantage, and avoid duplicating work done by other programs.
Ways in which citizens can engage government by contributing to progressive action and holding government to account will be encouraged; whereas organizations that employ an uninformed criticism approach or promote partisan political activity will be eschewed. Opportunities to collaborate with specific citizen engagement components of public sector and local governance reforms will be explored as appropriate, including enabling local level officials to effectively promote citizen interests in their negotiations with national officials. Moreover, Twaweza will explore collaborating with government oversight institutions such as national audit offices, procurement regulatory bodies, ethics secretariats and parliamentary public accounts committees. Twaweza will seek partnerships with government institutions where they seek to enhance citizen accountability – such as by providing meaningful information to citizens, involving citizens in social audits to complement conventional audits, and expanding forums for citizen voice in monitoring and policy processes. Similarly, CSOs that are able to play a strategic role in interfacing with major institutions to bring broad change, or serve to mediate the space between state and citizens, will form a key part of Twaweza strategic partnerships.

4. **How will the historically marginalized be involved?** Citizens are often discussed in undifferentiated terms, but there are significant differences between and within communities. Inherited and structural advantages and discrimination due to class, gender, age/youth, ethnicity, geographical origins, education, etc. can make the critical difference in shaping one’s opportunities and experiences. In fact, freedoms and wellbeing are often constructed along these same pathways. Ordinary citizens, and particularly people who face historical discrimination, cannot be expected to act in the face of these asymmetries of power, even where policy frameworks support them and they are aware of their rights.

Addressing these historical inequities is an essential aspect of this initiative. Twaweza will encourage partners to incorporate an equity/inclusion framework in their analysis and actions, and will do the same itself. An explicit focus will be to promote the full and equal involvement of those who have been marginalized, to create a level playing field, and to break down barriers that unfairly limit opportunities. This involves creating broader space and protections for citizens to organize to challenge the status quo, and take necessary risks but also better safeguard themselves against consequences.

Young people – well over half of East Africa’s population is aged under 25 years – are likely to be a key focus, given both need and their advantage in working with new information technologies, grasping change and acting for change. Observers in all three country assessments strongly emphasized the need to engage with young people, particularly in the creation of livelihood opportunities and protection of basic rights. Drawing from social movements in South Africa, India and elsewhere – Twaweza will explore ways in which to foster public discussion of ideals and ethics and practical opportunities for young people to contribute to their country. This may involve collaboration with existing youth leadership programs such at the Uongozi
Institute\textsuperscript{16} or new initiatives such as one being set up the Kenyan anti-corruption leader John Githongo. The Uwezo education learning outcomes initiative, affiliated with Twaweza, is also looking to engage with young people across East Africa.

5. **How will Twaweza achieve scale?** Typically one begins with groups that profess a desire to do development and democracy, and then struggle to expand reach. However, because most such groups tend to have poor organizational ability and thin networks, these initiatives end up as ‘pilots’ that rarely extend to scale or last beyond a few years. *Instead, Twaweza will begin with the key institutions and networks and leaders that already have a substantive reach (with wide distribution networks that ‘touch’ large numbers of people) and the capacity to act as agents of change, even where their stated purposes are not ‘developmental’, and work backwards.*

In this conception, our starting point will be to identify what one finds in virtually every community. In East Africa, these are likely to include traditional media (mostly radio, as well as TV and newspapers), mobile phones, commercial goods distribution networks (such as for laundry soap, sugar and flour), faith-based organizations (Islamic associations and churches), and trades unions (particularly those of teachers). In terms of the state and public institutions, primary schools, and to an increasing extent secondary schools and health facilities, will be especially important because they exist in virtually every community and are about tangible aspects of citizen concern.

The design of specific intervention activities will map existing players and actions, and make choices that take comparative advantage and opportunities into account. Some of the networks are functional and vibrant (e.g. mobile phones) whereas others are less so (e.g. trades unions), but nevertheless many have the mandate and potential to involve large numbers of people. Others have motives and features (private sector profits, partisan religious agendas, conservative government bureaucracies, very limited organizational capacities) that may not easily jive with those of Twaweza. Citizen access to networks is also not equal; historical and structural inequities deny certain groups full access. For all these reasons, this work will have significant complications. But it in the long-term, precisely because these are key institutions and major networks, resolving these issues and building shared interest partnerships is likely to have far more pay-offs and impact. To succeed the work will require considerable skill and imagination on the part of partner leaders and Twaweza staff, mentors and task-focused consultants, and intensive involvement in the learning program, as is discussed further below. Where appropriate, strengthening of internal organizational capability and long-term placement of staff or consultants in the Twaweza supported institutions will also be considered.

\textsuperscript{16} See [www.uongozi.org](http://www.uongozi.org)
Why East Africa?

The primary dynamic and drivers of change in each country are national, and this logic will underpin Twaweza’s approach. The bulk of the interventions will be national in scope rather than regional, and no joint work across the three countries will be arbitrarily forced.

That said, there may be occasions where linking work may be of value overall and to each country, such as in comparing the level of capitation grants sent to primary schools or the absenteeism of health workers across the three countries. Moreover, the three countries provide a valuable context for comparison. Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda have a shared history and economic, social and cultural ties. Their basic public and legal institutions are largely similar. In recent years the East African Community is being revived, with increasing economic (re)integration, including a one-region-one-price approach of telecom providers. In education there is already a region wide higher education council and interest in developing similar education standards for lower levels. These developments suggest that there is an emerging East Africa wide dynamic that will increasingly influence change at country level.

Perhaps the clearest advantage lies in promoting learning and exchange across the three countries. The country assessments have shown that each of the countries have excelled in certain areas and not in others, suggesting that there is value in learning from the good practices of each. Comparing progress can also instigate a friendly competition across the three countries that can help inform debate and pressure for change.

6. **Who will identify information needs and provide the content?** Large networks cited above may be effective *vehicles* to reach citizens, but what content will they carry? A core Twaweza principle is that content should be determined by citizens (users) themselves i.e. be demand-driven rather than pre-determined by the supplier. The information needs, interests and propensities of citizens vary across time, location, sex and age – so that what a 13 year old boy in rural Kenya will want to know is likely to be quite different from the 40 year old woman in the Nairobi slum or 60 year old sheikh in Lamu, and what each of them want today may be different from what they want tomorrow. Each information pathway is likely to have its advantages and limitations, and may be more or less suited for different users. For these reasons, the core idea however is not to ‘identify’ or otherwise predetermine ‘information needs’ at one fixed point and then supply them through one preferred channel, but to *expand the means and options by which people can reliably access and communicate information that they care about*. In part this will involve linking information sources (government, CSOs, media) with information users (citizens) and expanding channels or making them more accessible.

Following this view, Twaweza partners will interpret citizen information needs flexibly and responsively while remaining within its core focus on citizen agency, accountability, and basic service delivery and related resource management. This element of interactivity will be reflected in all three Twaweza program components – access to information, media and public watch – as is further elaborated below.

In all cases, particularly in the context of low literacy levels among poor and marginalized people, accessibility of information and ease of exercising accountability will be a paramount Twaweza concern. Emphasis will be placed on making information transparent – such as on who owns land and companies they deal with – and translating and popularizing *information and tools to be relevant, user-friendly and to resonate with ordinary citizens*. These include the use of visuals and oral communication, and expanding the menu of options for action available so that people are able to select what they are most comfortable with. The information...
will be contextualized and comparable, so that citizens can interpret it in relation to their realities and compare their situation to that of others.

An explicit Twaweza objective is to promote and expand public debate. This is an essential step in making information public, subjecting it to broad citizen scrutiny and contestation, and helping to develop social consensus. Perhaps this function is more acute in East Africa where public libraries and other reference sources are limited or non-existent. Public debate can also help turn private concern into public organizing and action, and enhance both accountability and protection by exposing key issues out in the open.

7. **Who will provide the content?** First, some networks such as traditional media generate content; these will be supported to do so more effectively, with better quality, interactivity and diversity, and to achieve greater reach to the poorer and more rural areas. Second, a lot of existing information typically held by public bodies and NGOs, such as research studies, data sets, traditional folklore, are not accessible. Partners will be supported to ‘liberate’ and popularize the information so that it is accessible, affordable and user-friendly and distribute it through old and new media, as well as other organizations with well developed distribution networks. The extent to which information can be made ‘searchable’ or queried by ordinary citizens to fit their interests, using accessible technologies such as mobile phones, will be explored. Third, Twaweza will seek to enhance ways in which citizens can generate and communicate content amongst themselves, laterally with other citizens, and vertically with national systems. Because of social discrimination and structural asymmetries, particular attention will be placed on creating real opportunities and a level playing field for historically excluded or marginalized people, such as poor women, young people, and people with disabilities.

Overall, the idea is to expand and lubricate pathways through which ordinary citizens can access, communicate and debate information – on issues that are of concern to them – in a manner that is regular, reliable, affordable and interesting. Importantly, the Initiative will support ways in which different information pathways (bottom-up, top-down and laterally) can connect and inform one another, so that, for instance, policy can be informed by community information and the citizens become better aware of national legal frameworks or budget provisions. Because people’s interests and propensities vary, and because each pathway is likely to have its advantages and limitations, Twaweza will seek to expand communication options – so that if one method is not preferred, does not work or faces resistance, another can be tried.

8. **What will be Twaweza program areas?** Twaweza will support strategic partners and initiatives to implement three types of work, all of which will be supported by a learning focus outlined in Section 10 below.

First, it will *make practical information available at community levels*; particularly to rural communities, including women and young people, in contexts where there is often no electricity, no public libraries and where literacy levels are low. Partners will be supported to experiment with different ways to solve this ambitious challenge.
Second, Twaweza will support efforts to deepen media quality, interactivity, reach and independence.\(^{17}\) Activities may include long-term support for high quality investigative journalism programs (such as the Sanglap in Bangladesh, Story Story and Talk Talk in Nigeria, BBC’s Panorama or the corruption watch column at the Indian Express newspaper); expanding reach such as placing free newspapers in schools and public libraries or expanding access to wind-up radios; facilitating citizen journalism networks; developing and airing imaginative public service adverts and films; and promoting media autonomy such as supporting independent editor’s guilds. Throughout, enabling interactivity between citizens and the state, and citizens among each other, will be essential.

Third, development efforts tend to concentrate on involving citizens at the level of planning, and much less on monitoring what is actually happening. The Initiative will focus on enabling citizens to monitor funds, services, practices and outcomes at both community and national levels. This is likely to include monitoring the implementation of policy in practice, following the money (receipts and expenditures in relation to budgets/reports), access and the quality of social services, and the differentiated effects of these aspects on different groups.\(^{18}\) A set of simple tools, from which citizens can choose based on their interests and preferences, will be developed to facilitate monitoring and enable comparability of data across space and time. Efforts to monitor media, CSOs and private sector in relation to Twaweza objectives will also be considered.

Further details of the types of activities that will be considered for support are described in the next section. While these three sets of activities are distinct, in practice they are closely linked and mutually reinforcing (see diagram below). They will all inform and shape the policy dialogue and the political agenda in a manner that can drive change towards more inclusive and equitable development. Implementing partners will shape the specific mix of engagements they will employ.

For the reasons spelt out in the situation analysis, legal and policy reform are unlikely to be a central focus of our work. Twaweza partners will promote greater understanding and advocacy on legal frameworks and systemic policy issues as they relate to core interests and their efforts will concentrate on enabling implementation and monitoring the effects of policies. This stance also recognizes that there are other CSO and donor actors engaging governments on policy reform, whose efforts should not be duplicated. Twaweza will focus on the clearly identified need to improve implementation, and in the process generate the public scrutiny and engagement necessary to animate policy making and hold it accountable.

\(^{17}\) In Tanzania this will be undertaken through the Tanzania Media Fund, an initiative which is managed by Hivos and associated with Twaweza.

\(^{18}\) See for instance work of the "Public Affairs Centre" (www.pacindia.org) and MKSS in India, MUHURI in Kenya, Hakikazi in Tanzania, and the Uganda Debt Network who have all promoted forms of citizen monitoring and action. This work will also link with the recently established Uwezo initiative that seeks to adapt the ASER citizen education assessments developed by Pratham in India.
Because information is foundational to all three program components, a basic information gathering, analysis and dissemination function will at least initially be housed within Twaweza (see also section 4.1 below). The idea is to provide an easy to use one-stop web-based information location on core service delivery and accountability related data, reports and regularly updated core analyses. Twaweza will emphasize easy to use information, including tools such Gapminder, and learning from the IFMR approach in India, the proposed TAMU concept in Tanzania, the one-stop information center in Mexico and others. Information will also be triangulated and overlay different aspects to explore relationships; will create rankings and comparisons, within countries and across East Africa, and in other ways help turn data into useable information. This varied use of information will both inform Twaweza’s work and partnerships, as well as be made broadly available to

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19 At present, there is no entity within any of the East African countries that adequately fulfills this role, with part of the constraint being a fear of providing independent information that may at times not be welcomed by government. Because the value of such a role is greater than Twaweza partners alone, over time (5-7 years) this function may be spun off as an independent entity. Because it is a core program component the cost of this is reflected in the program budget line.

20 See http://ifmr.ac.in/index.php to get more information on the organization.

21 See draft proposal for the Tanzania Accountability Monitoring Unit (TAMU) prepared by Geir Sundet.
actors within East Africa, including academics, media and politicians. The idea is to use the information to influence agenda setting of critical service delivery and accountability issues, and provide a record of trends and progress over time. The information shop will also disseminate lessons generated by Twaweza.

9. **How will Twaweza catalyze change?** Twaweza will not be an implementer itself or simply a re-granter to interesting projects. Rather we will be an *actively engaged creative actor that adds value to and acts as a broker* between a) the generation of ideas and innovations, b) the organizations that can make things happen at scale, and c) the money/funders that can fund initiatives for change. Recognizing that lots of fragmented or discrete projects don’t bring lasting change, Twaweza will support few *carefully crafted strategic partnerships* that can catalyze sufficiently large country dynamic and engagement with its major institutions and forces of change (see diagram on p. 33). The partnership aspect here is important because it is in *pooling the comparative advantages of several groups into a shared project that real value is added and that ‘an ecosystem of change’ can emerge*, that would otherwise be unlikely to be pulled off by any one organization on its own. Twaweza will facilitate the coming together of actors from different sectors that may not have a tradition of cooperation, or that have not been involved because they are not viewed as ‘development actors’. The Initiative will also broker linkages with partners across East Africa and globally where appropriate, including with partners of and lessons generated by Twaweza’s funding partners from other regions.

Because Twaweza’s activities will be led and implemented by major networks and other local partners, the approach cannot be a fixed blueprint or a ‘call for proposals’ based on a pre-determined set of specific activities. Rather the process will involve a process of *strategic dialogue where energy is created and agreements reached on carrying out powerful and imaginative work based on mutual interest or where each partner has something to gain from the collaboration*. By necessity this process will need to be responsive and flexible. **Twaweza will keep a clear focus on the long-term goals, but encourage partners to construct mid-term objectives and strategies that are appropriate, effective and best suit their interests and strengths.** This approach will help bring the overall coherence and focus while avoiding the rigidity and lack of reflexivity that mars many development efforts.

Initial consultations during and outside country assessments suggest that there is interest among leaders of major networks to consider this approach, provided it is based on convergence of interest and mutual partnership – rather than requests to carry out a partisan agenda or persuading ‘them’ to undertake ‘our’ agenda. In some cases strategic partnerships will involve closer knit joint work, whereas in others it will be a looser alliance with each partner being aware of the other’s role while being responsible for its own piece of the puzzle. In all cases, crafting such partnerships will require considerable skill and attention in political analysis, policy acuity and relationship management. Twaweza will therefore need to exercise great care in recruiting and retaining skilled staff and mentors, and in enabling them to focus on fewer, deep relationships and programs rather than spreading themselves thin on too many activities.
The box below provides two illustrations of the kinds of strategic partnerships that are being envisaged. Twaweza will work responsively, so the forms of partnerships will vary. In addition, individual initiatives that can contribute to large scale impact will also be supported. The box below provides one such illustration.

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<th>Illustrations of Twaweza Strategic Partnerships</th>
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**Enhancing access to safe water**

Over 40 years after independence, the majority of East Africans do not have access to safe water. The problem is compounded by not having clear, updated information on who has access, and the fact that many water-points do not function in practice. Unlike for education and health, water also seems to have a little organized political constituency and political attention.

A strategic partnership in response in Uganda could involve, for instance, a) FM radio stations to inform and help recruit volunteers, investigate and cover stories of local access; and facilitate debate on the findings through call-ins and talk-shows; b) college and secondary school students to record data and take photos of each data point and transmit it over mobile phones and other means; c) faith-based organizations to recruit volunteers to monitor the situation and take local action either to improve the situation themselves where it is under their control or to exert pressure on government where that is needed; d) a software company to provide the technical assistance to develop the simple software and user friendly interface where information (including digital photographs of water-points) can be continually updated and simple comparative reports produced; e) the Uganda Bureau of Statistics to use the data, particularly for comparative purposes with other data sources such as household or census surveys, and make it accessible through its systems and resources; and f) an organization such as SNV to provide input on the service delivery/local governance/CSO interface, document effects and lessons learned, and help share these across the region. Within a few years such a partnership could provide an easily accessible database of actual access to water in well over half the country, which in turn could be used at national level by media, MPs and others to push for better and more equitable services.

**Helping the money reach school and be used well**

All three countries – Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda – have introduced ‘capitation grants’ where a set amount per student is meant to reach primary and secondary schools each year and be used to improve the quality of education. While the grant has made a significant difference, its administration is fraught with problems. The full amount does not reach schools at all or on time. There is little predictability, so schools cannot plan well. Despite some positive moves to make the information about grants and flows transparent, in practice parents and even teachers know little at the school level. And the funds received are often not used as effectively or towards school priorities.

Strategic partnerships could be developed in each country to respond to this problem. In Tanzania this could, for instance, involve a) a major media house (such as IPP Media) to carry public service adverts, investigative stories and features, and talk shows about the grant, focusing on experiences at school level; b) the Tanzania Teachers’ Trade Union (TTU) to inform its members country-wide about the government policy and budget regarding the grant; and to have them systematically monitor actual receipts and expenditures; c) a private company with wide distribution network such as the Sumaria Group to carry information about the capitation grant inside or on the packaging of its consumer goods (laundry soap, cooking oil, biscuits); d) a mobile phone provider such as Celtel or Vodacom to provide basic information and enable data be sent through SMS into a server; e) a CSO such as HakiElimu to design the simple monitoring tool, analyze the findings, including in relation to geographical disparities, and disseminate the results widely; and f) The National Audit Office (NAO) to use the findings to augment their investigations, enhance district comparisons, share them with government counterparts and begin to develop a better overall picture of value for money issues. Such a partnership has the ability to reach 90% of the schools and foster countrywide involvement.

In both examples cited above six partners collaborate and each brings its own value. In practice, not all Twaweza partnerships will be that elaborate nor do all partners need to join from the beginning – some may start with 2-3 partners and have others join as the initiative develops and gains traction. In both illustrations above the partnership envisages a range of types of collaboration from joint work to simply ‘using’ what others do to enhance their own existing work.
In the course of its first five (2009-2013) years, Twaweza will support about 15-18 strategic partnerships and 10-15 individual initiatives, with about 3-4 new strategic partnerships and 2-3 new individual initiatives entered into each year. These numbers are significantly reduced from the initial thinking, to reflect the need for depth and quality mentioned above. The number of partners in each strategic partnership will vary from 2-3 to as high as 6-7, though even in the latter cases it is likely to start with fewer core members with others joining in later years.

The total Twaweza budget for the first five years is USD 68 million, of which at least 83% will be spent directly on program activities. When broken down across 3 countries and over 5 years, the average annual grantmaking per country is about USD 3.7 million, which is relatively modest in relation to the scale of work and methods envisaged (see Annex 6, point 21). Most initiatives are expected to be multi-year in nature, and have an average cost of USD 2 million (per strategic partnership) and USD 750,000 (per strategic individual initiative), but the actual range may be wider depending on nature of the work. Implementation will likely commence in Tanzania and one other country in 2008 at a relatively modest pace, and increase over time.

10. **How will Twaweza promote learning and accountability for results?** Fostering learning is foundational in Twaweza (for details see section 4.4 below). We will seek to generate, document and communicate contextual lessons, good practices, and insights – about what works and what doesn’t – that would be of use to others in the region and beyond. This effort will help amplify impact and leverage resources for proven work. Particular emphasis will be placed on developing a contextual knowledge base and communicating lessons in the public domain – such as through a weekly column or radio/TV talk show – to enable these to stimulate broad debate and influence the public imagination. Twaweza will support partners to and will itself publish and disseminate lessons and insights in creative formats. The East African dimension provides opportunities for cross-country exchange where the best ideas from each country can be shared, interrogated and adapted; including through exchange of practitioners who are engaged in learning by doing. Such exchange can also generate regional momentum to spur action at the national level.
Twaweza will seek to foster a vibrant culture of reflection and learning-by-doing that can motivate, fuel the capability to aspire, rejuvenate action and help actors at all levels keep-on-going. Teaming partners with creative and experienced mentors, whose main posture will be that of a critical and constructive friend to the key staff of partner organizations, will be essential to this purpose. In addition, graduate (Masters and PhD level) students from local and international universities will be placed from between 3 and 9 month durations at interested partner organizations, with the aim of fostering reflection and documenting learning that would be of value to both their host organizations and their academic interests.

Crucially, creating the right incentives for learning will be important. *Learning can only take place when the learner takes responsibility and initiative for it, and where it is organically linked to what the learner cares about.* Therefore the learning endeavor needs to draw from an intrinsic motivation, and be located among and driven by practitioners themselves, rather than imposed from the outside. While funding grants will be structured to make the learning component central to the endeavor, with its own explicit ‘outputs’, care will be taken to avoid this becoming an externally driven donor requirement, such as by making the role of mentors ‘purely’ supportive with no grant management responsibilities.

Continual assessment and subsequent adjustments can promote accountability and improve practice that will enable Twaweza and its partners to achieve their goals more effectively. Twaweza will deploy several mechanisms to foster measurement, reflection and accountability for results. At a first level, complementing the learning program, each partner will be supported to monitor progress made in relation to stated objectives. Second, a clear monitoring framework will be established for tracking performance for each strategic partnership or initiative. Third, at the overall Twaweza level, an independent third entity will be engaged from the outset (2009) to develop a framework and undertake an independent evaluation of progress against our broader objectives to enhance citizen agency and improve service delivery and resource management. This is likely to involve conducting a baseline in the first year, a major evaluation early in year 5 and related work in between (see section 6). Preference will be given to an academic institution with understanding of Twaweza concept, experience of evaluating social change and keen knowledge of the East African context, and who is able to work with local partners.

Throughout all three levels of monitoring progress, emphasis will be placed on measurement of change, outputs and outcomes, rather than inputs or activities alone. Because Twaweza seeks to achieve its objectives by stimulating action among key institutions in an open environment, rather than a closed project, attention will be given to developing measures that are appropriate for measuring broad social change and dealing with attribution issues (see section 6.3 below).

In this conception, for both learning and accountability for results, conceptual agility, risk-taking, innovation and honest self-criticism are important features of any change project; and ‘failure’ is seen as an opportunity to learn lessons and try something
different. Twaweza will actively encourage innovation not for its own sake, but as a way of trying out and finding new solutions to intractable problems.

The illustration below – the Twaweza Outcome Pathway – summarizes the key approach and theory of change articulated above. Twaweza will seek to stimulate change from the Current Situation (left hand side) to the Outcomes (right hand side) by enabling Key Actors to implement interconnected Strategic Interventions (middle columns). Throughout, learning and monitoring will be central features of Twaweza’s approach (boxes on lower page). The one stop information shop will provide useful information to these actors, and serve as a critical repository of/link to data, evidence and lessons generated in the course of undertaking Twaweza.
**Twaweza Outcome Pathway**

### CURRENT SITUATION

**State of actors**
- Govt not responsive
- NGOs/CBOS overall weak...
- ... but a few strong/strategic
- Several key actors have reach/inst viability

**State of agency**
- Access to info low/unreliable, but new opportunities there (media, cell phones)
- Generally limited agency (things happen to me)...
- ... but recently change (more questioning debate)

**State of services**
- Education: enrolment and buildings, but little learning
- Health: health worker and care crisis, public health low
- Water: large number of poor do not have access, cost high
- Rising inequities in all

**State of knowledge**
- Information and change
- Influence governments responsiveness
- Governance and service delivery
- Media and accountability

### STRATEGIC INTERVENTIONS

**KEY ACTORS**
- **In every village**
  - Media (old, new, phones)
  - Religious bodies
  - Consumer goods networks
  - Trade unions
  - Schools/clinics
  - Govt oversight bodies
  - Key NGOs/think tanks

**KEY PROGRAMS**
- Access to information
- Media effectiveness
- Citizen Monitoring

### LEARNING
- On citizen agency and public accountability
- Involves mentors, student placements, learning by doing, resource orgs, documentation and communication/debate
- Linked with M&E partly but also going beyond
- At three levels a) actors, b) partnerships and c) Twaweza

### OUTCOMES

1) **AGENCY**
- Access information
- Voice
- Monitor
- Influence resources
- Make things happen

2) **SERVICES**
- Education: money reaching schools, teachers teaching, leavers literate/numerate
- Health: health workers there, medical supplies affordable/reliable, vaccination up
- Water: greater access and affordable (equity)
- Others as determined by citizens

3) **KNOWLEDGE for global sharing**
- Informing programs
- Building global evidence base

### MONITORING & EVALUATION
3. Purpose, Goals and Objectives

Behave yourselves; I'll be back in a few hours

But excuse me maam, the code says you need to teach us for 6 hours each day
3.1 Purpose
By promoting wide access to information, citizen engagement, and public accountability, Twaweza will enable millions of ordinary citizens in East Africa to:

- exercise agency – i.e. access information, express views and take initiative to improve their situation and hold government to account
- access basic services (primary and secondary education, primary health care, clean water) that are of better quality, and exercise greater control over resources that have a bearing on these services

This is an ambitious endeavor that seeks to catalyze deep change, and at large scale, across Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. We recognize that this sort of change takes time and requires sustained engagement. Twaweza is therefore designed as a long-term initiative with a minimum ten-year timeframe. Within this frame overall goals and specific objectives and benchmarks have been established at years 5 and 10.

3.2 Overall and specific goals (within 10 years)
Millions of ordinary citizens in East Africa, including those who live on less than $2 per day and/or are otherwise historically excluded\(^{22}\), are able to:

- access and communicate information related to basic rights and services, accountability and other related matters
- openly express and debate views on basic services/resources and issues of concern to themselves, and contribute to a better-informed public debate on these matters
- monitor service delivery and other public institutions, and elicit greater responsiveness from government
- exercise influence over the management of public resources to provide effective and equitable service delivery
- have better access to improved basic service delivery (basic education, primary health care and water)

The specific goals, subject to confirmation and completion after the baseline is completed, are shown in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>5 year outcome measures</th>
<th>10 year outcome measures</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Citizen agency</td>
<td></td>
<td>Will (at later stage) develop 10 year citizen agency outcomes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>Access to information</td>
<td>Quality and diversity of voices covered in media significantly improved as compared to baseline. 40% of young people, men and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>Exercising voice</td>
<td>20% of young people, men and women in 75% districts have increased opportunities to express their views and opinions in a public sphere/to public body</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>Monitoring services and government</td>
<td>10% of young people, men and women in 50% districts have increased opportunities to monitor services/public bodies and use the findings to promote improvements</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>Making change happen</td>
<td>10% of young people, men and women in 50% districts have an increased sense of being able to make change happen, and can cite an example of having done so in the last 12 months</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 2 | Basic services | Will track progress towards 10 year goals |
| 2.1 | Basic education (primary and secondary) | - 85% of teachers in school show-up and teach  
- 90% of disbursed funds for schools reach there  
- 80% of children able to read and write at their level (Uwezo) |
| 2.2 | Basic health (primary health care and public health/prevention) | - 85% of health workers show up and deliver care  
- 90% basic meds available at clinics  
- 85% DPT/Hb3 immunization coverage  
- X% experience better health |
| 2.3 | Basic water (access and affordability) | - 90% urban and 70% rural have access to piped or cover water within 30 minute fetch time  
- X% experience improved water security |
| 2.4 | Other changes | - made by citizens (with a particular focus on poor and other historically excluded people) on issues of importance to them |

| 3. | Knowledge | New knowledge generated and disseminated about  
- how information and citizen agency contributes to change  
- how to stimulate state responsiveness and accountability to citizens  
- how interventions can be scaled up and sustained  
- how to promote learning that informs and improves practice |

These goals will be achieved through support for three types of related program activities that enable ordinary citizens to access, generate, use, debate and communicate information, and through an explicit learning initiative that seeks to reflect
on and draw lessons from the program engagement. The program components are: 1) expanding broad access to information by ordinary citizens; 2) strengthening media independence, plurality, quality and reach; and 3) enabling citizens to monitor government and public institutions at local and national levels. The specific result areas to be achieved within these three program areas are as follows:

3.3 Specific (intermediate) Objectives (within 5 years)

Core program result areas

1. Access to information
   - More ordinary citizens are able to access information about their rights, responsibilities and entitlements related to basic services, public resources, governance and other issues of interest to them.
   - Available information is popularized and disseminated widely.
   - Sources and content of information are more diverse, as are vehicles for transmitting information, especially at local levels.
   - Citizens have more opportunity to generate and disseminate information and views, including through use of new technologies.
   - Twaweza establishes a one stop information center on basic service delivery and accountability, providing useful comparative information and being used.
   - Clear evidence that information access is contributing to action and accountability.

2. Quality media
   - More in-depth and accurate reporting, with deeper investigative journalism and follow-up.
   - Improved quality of writing and better researched articles, with increased triangulation of sources.
   - Greater diversity of voices, particularly of and by poor/rural/excluded communities, in the media.
   - Increased reach of media, particularly in rural areas.
   - Enhanced and better informed debate of major public issues through media.
   - Clear evidence that media is contributing to action and accountability.

3. Monitoring/public watch
   - Greater understanding of citizens’ right to and value of monitoring service delivery, government performance and public resources.
   - More practical options, tools and means for monitoring available to citizens.
   - Increased monitoring undertaken at both local and national levels.
   - Increased knowledge about/independent verification of the relationship between policy/laws/budgets and practice, and the effects of policy on people.
   - Clear evidence that public monitoring is contributing to action and accountability.
Learning result areas

4. Learning and communication

- Practices and culture of learning developed and promoted among partners.
- Learning across sectors, partners and countries promoted, knowledge and effective practice enhanced.
- Evidence of the extent to which Twaweza and its partners have contributed to the achievement of its objectives collected and analyzed.
- Evidence, insights and lessons generated about citizen agency and public accountability dynamics, such as how information contributes to accountability and better service delivery, and how interventions can be scaled up generated.
- Lessons of Twaweza effectively documented, communicated and debated in the public domain.

These objectives will be further refined and corresponding interim indicators developed in the annual plans, which will be completed by mid-December for work commencing the following year.
4. Program components

Hey can’t you see we are busy with national priorities

Our national priority is people. How can we help you?
Twaweza will focus on three core program domains as follows:

- Making practical information available at community levels;
- Deepening media quality, plurality, reach and independence;
- Enhancing citizen monitoring through ‘public watch’ activities;

In addition we will support partners and will ourselves be involved in:

- Learning, documentation and effective dissemination of lessons

Below we outline an extensive menu of the type activities and initiatives Twaweza will consider supporting within these four program components. The menu is not meant to be exhaustive; not all activities listed below will be undertaken and others that emerge in the program period will be supported. Moreover, while the three sets of activities are described here as distinct, in practice they are closely linked and mutually reinforcing. That is why Twaweza will support the development of strategic goal focused partnerships that work together to create an ecosystem of change, employing a range of interconnected activities. Within this, implementing partners will shape the specific mix of engagements they employ.

4.1 Making practical information available at community levels

Twaweza seeks to increase access to information at various levels, but primarily to rural communities, in contexts where there is no electricity, no public libraries and where literacy levels are low. The foremost task of Twaweza will be to make accurate information reliably accessible in formats that are user friendly and practical to ordinary citizens, and particularly women and young people.

Twaweza will stimulate the flow of information from top to bottom, bottom up and horizontally. These involve the national information loop (e.g. involvement in budget processes, public watches), the national to local loop (e.g. getting central information to the communities, getting community information to the top) and the local information loop (e.g. concrete, relevant information on local services and accountability). While the focus is on the demand side, partners will be encouraged to enhance and complement government systems and information flows rather than to supplant them.

The key focus will be on expanding channels and options for information flow, and the means by which citizens can use these to access the information they care about – rather than supplying information based on a particular need determined at a particular moment. Partners will be supported to identify appropriate technology infrastructure, establish easy to use platforms, make connections with content providers and help create the right incentives to make it function. To stimulate new ideas Twaweza may consider launching competitions to identify powerful innovations to make information broadly accessible in the region.

Experts from organizations who have done similar work will be requested to support this effort as appropriate. Ways in which local entrepreneurs can benefit from providing quality and unbiased information will be explored to create an incentive to maintain updated information flow, such as where providing information attracts clients for their adjacent businesses. To reduce costs, efforts will wherever possible ‘piggyback’ on
existing infrastructure and networks rather than setting up new stand-alone project sites that are expensive to replicate at scale and difficult to sustain. While Twaweza will learn from numerous similar attempts worldwide, we understand that setting up dynamic, inter-active demand driven information systems at scale will be difficult and require considerable innovation. Partners will therefore be supported to take risks and experiment with different ways to solve this ambitious challenge.

Some of the specific types of information activities we will consider for support are:

**Expanding information flows to citizens**
- Support and compel central and local governments, and in particular government’s oversight institutions such as parliaments and national audit offices, to make information available to citizens in a meaningful and timely manner (e.g. by building on the experience of the International Budget Project partnership network).
- Translate and popularize (into local languages, more readable text and illustrations) important policy, budget, programmatic information and news related to citizen agency, basic service delivery and resource management issues, and support large print runs to enable materials to reach large numbers of citizens (such as the work done by HakiElimu and Hakikazi in Tanzania and the Uganda Debt Network).
- Expand number and strengthen vitality of information points at community levels, including public libraries and primary schools, faith based centres and informal entrepreneur sites such as TV/video viewing locations, or mobile displays that are available on set market days (e.g. KRC in Rwenzori Uganda, ward based information centres in Thailand supported by UNICEF, or the MSSRF village knowledge centres in Pondicherry, India).
- ‘Piggyback’ supply of information on existing distribution systems of consumer goods, health and education supplies; as well as communication circulars of government, faith based organizations and trades unions (building on the experience of some of the successful mosquito net and condom distribution social marketing programs in East Africa).
- Enhance existing initiatives and explore possibilities of using new technologies to enable citizens to access a wide array of information (such as being able to do a ‘mini-search’ using SMS, for other potential uses see recent publication on uses of mobile phones for development by mobilactive.org).
- Promote school based and youth involved reading and action clubs (such as Jane Goodall’s *Roots and Shoots* or *Students Partnerships Worldwide*).

**Expanding information flows among citizens and upwards**
- Expand use of new tools to enable citizens to generate, document, transmit and display information within and across communities, including through the use of new technologies (such as supplying young people with low-cost cameras to

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23 See www.unfoundation.org/vodafone/communications_publication_series.asp
photograph their realities, expanding mobile monitoring such as that practiced by bungesms.com, establishing display walls at local markets).

- Support web-based news and comment platforms (e.g. blogs) that have wide reach or the potential to be used by actors who have wide reach (such as Jambo or Jamii Forums\(^{24}\) to weblogs with reader comments like Pambazuka News\(^{25}\) and Global Voices\(^{26}\)).

- Sponsor public essay and drawing competitions on topical issues to generate citizen views and foster public debate (similar to ones organized by HakiElimu and ministries of education in the region).

- Enhance quality and equity of ongoing survey data undertaken by national bureaus of statistics and other major agencies, and enable findings to be communicated broadly in accessible and meaningful formats (e.g. Uganda Bureau of Statistics seeking to present its data spatially and in a multi-layered format, or recently completed Views of Children exercise linked to the poverty monitoring system in Tanzania).

- Establish a one-stop information shop (see box) on basic service delivery and resource management accountability issues, initially housed within Twaweza, that would regularly collect information, enable comparisons across geography, sectors and time, present information in an accessible visual manner and serve as a key resource for government, civil society, media and donors (such as the multi-dimensional social mapping Human Development Atlas in Brazil or IFMR in India).

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**One-stop shop on basic services and accountability**

Twaweza will establish an in-house one-stop information shop on basic services, resources and accountability that turns complex data into easy to use information. Key elements include:

- All information available in one place (located in house or links provided to other sources), web-based, with a strong search mechanism
- Information presented in a clear way, simple and comparable across geography, sectors and time, and disaggregated whenever possible; particularly through visualization of data
- Wherever possible information provided in English and Swahili to enhance access
- Basic analysis undertaken and information ‘layered’ to explore linkages between different datasets and elements (e.g. is there a link between fund disbursements and teacher attendance?)
- Popular summaries and analytical digests on key issues, produced and distributed in physical form to those with limited internet access
- Linkages with media, parliament and research institutions developed, for securing information and for disseminating it beyond the edge of the net
- Country focus, but with regional comparisons where possible
- Informing action taken by partners and serving as repository for systematic data, evidence and lessons generated through Twaweza
- Using the platform for exchange of information and policy debate, in a manner that deepens citizen engagement on public issues

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\(^{24}\) See [www.jamboforums.com](http://www.jamboforums.com) or now jamiiforums.com. Weblogs are written by ordinary citizens, and increasingly used by CSOs and journalists looking for broader spaces to write the stories they cannot tell in the regular media. The readership is wider than individual users since internet becomes an (intermediary) source of information for media, research institutes and government.

\(^{25}\) See [www.pambazuka.org/en](http://www.pambazuka.org/en)

\(^{26}\) See [www.globalvoicesonline.org](http://www.globalvoicesonline.org)
Creating an enabling environment for access to information

- Underwrite independent research on how access to information is enabling change and monitoring access and its effects in practice.
- Support development of a right to information policy framework (drawing on international experience as appropriate), and the establishment of mechanisms for its enforcement.
- Support broad awareness and debate about the right to information and how it can be used in practical ways, including the tools and options to put it into practice.

4.2 Deepening media quality, plurality, reach and independence

The recent growth of mass media (FM radio, TV and newspapers) in East Africa presents a powerful opportunity to inform and engage with citizens. Media is unrivalled in its daily reach and its ability to command public attention. As the situation analysis shows, in recent years in all three countries it has become one of the most potent forces for change and accountability. We view media as a public good – like schools, roads and clean air – that are essential to development and democracy. However, left to market forces alone, the economics of media house operations and the political pressures upon them make media prone to several fundamental limitations. Mass media suffers from poor quality, insufficient investigative journalism, inadequate representation of rural issues and ordinary voices, and poor reach. An analysis of the recent election related violence in Kenya, for instance, clearly demonstrates the harm caused by an unbridled media environment. While many organizations have tried to deal with the problem through training, the core constraint is institutional and economic rather than technical lack of skills. Media independence is also under threat in all three countries, through government efforts to introduce restrictive legislation, the reality and fear of government censorship, and increased consolidation of media ownership.

Twaweza will support efforts that deal with these challenges, taking into account Twaweza’s overall concern with citizen agency, public service delivery and resource management. Existing and growing media initiatives in the region will be considered, and we will work to complement rather than duplicate them. Interventions that will be supported will focus on mass media with wide reach, and will seek to strengthen parts or all of four main limitations: quality, plurality, reach and independence.

Some of the specific types of media activities we will consider for support are:

Deepening media quality

- Support media organizations to produce quality news magazine and investigative journalism programs (similar to Sanglap in Bangladesh, Talk Talk in Nigeria and BBC’s Panorama, potentially in collaboration with the BBC World Service Trust).
- Strengthen the investigative journalism output of mass media, including by subsidizing costs related to establishing and running investigative units.

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27 See http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/trust/pdf/Kenya_policy_briefing_08.pdf
• Support production of quality content by a core unit or small web based unit that is syndicated broadly or whose content can be used by other media houses (such as the Uganda Radio Network, Idasa’s program for community radios in South Africa or the online newspaper El Faro28). This may involve convergence of old and new media.

• Subsidize high quality public service adverts and films for radio and TV that inform citizens on key issues and stimulate public debate (such as adverts by HakiElimu and Women’s Dignity in Tanzania, and PSI in Kenya or film by MKSS in India). Includes reproduction and distribution of content through media, road shows, local video shops and YouTube.

• Help establish independent national media funds in Kenya and Uganda such as the one recently established in Tanzania (see box) and managed by Hivos, tailored to the specific contextual needs in each country.

• Support editor’s guilds and other bodies to promote ethical and quality standards in journalism, including triangulation of information and practical ways to counter corruption in media.

• Strengthen linkages with think tanks and other sources of independent analytical information (such as the Tanzania Governance Notice-board29 or the Mars Group in Kenya30), and developing mentorship programs for practising journalists and editors.

In Tanzania this set of activities will be undertaken in collaboration with the Tanzania Media Fund and synergies for joint action will be explored.

**Strengthening media pluralism**

• Support media to better cover rural communities, women, young people and other voices that have been historically marginalized, including triangulating views of political/national leaders with those of ordinary citizens (such as Sauti ya Watu on TBC in Tanzania and Chini ya Mti on KTN in Kenya).

• Support citizen journalism efforts that enable citizens, particularly in exclusionary contexts such as rural areas or the slums areas of Kenya, to produce and transmit content for both mainstream and alternative media (building on Hivos’

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28 See www.elfaro.net
29 See www.repoa.or.tz/content/blogcategory/10/43/
30 See www.marsgroupkenya.org
southern Africa wide citizen journalism program) including through the use of technologies such as mobile phone SMS.31

- Expand affordability and practical access of ordinary citizens to participate in talk and call-in shows, write letters to the editor, link with local press clubs and in other ways be heard through the media (such as Ekimeza in Uganda) or linking people’s forums such as Bunge la Mwananchi and Youth Agenda to the media in Kenya.

**Expanding media reach**
- Support for availability of newspapers at local levels such as primary and secondary schools, faith based institutions and public libraries at district levels, and exploring ways in which production and distribution costs can be lowered so as to make this more affordable.32

- Expand availability of affordable radios at local levels, including ways of reducing or eliminating battery costs, such as through the use of solar powered or wind-up radios (e.g. Freeplay33).

- Support policy measures that create incentives for broadcasters and internet service providers to provide coverage to underserved rural areas.

- Support initiatives that enable convergence of old and new media and amplify their comparative advantages, and in this way expand quality and reach of media to citizens.

**Promoting media independence**
- Enable state broadcasters to make the transition to become independent public broadcasters with autonomy from the State (possibly in collaboration with BBC World Service Trust and the Media Institute of Southern Africa).

- Support research and policy and development of frameworks to safeguard freedom of the press and media independence, against excesses of both the State and private sector consolidation of ownership.

- Foster independence of editors in relation to media owners, including development of codes and firewalls.

**4.3 Enhancing citizen monitoring through ‘public watch’ activities**

Development efforts tend to concentrate on the level of planning, and less on monitoring what is actually happening. But there is often a large gap between plans and practice; and it is the latter that affects people’s lives and that can animate community action.

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32 Note that “a 2002 study in India found a strong, significant and positive correlation between newspaper circulation levels and government responsiveness, a 1% increase in newspaper circulation resulted in a 2.4% increase in public food distribution and 5.5% increase in calamity relief expenditures. Reported by Besley, T. and Burgess, R. (2002) cited in Media and Good Governance Briefing, DFID, May 2008. It may be that newspapers are more effective for severe situations rather than day to day functioning of social services.

33 See www.freeplayfoundation.org
Moreover, available information tends to be aggregated at national or district levels in a manner that is difficult to make sense of at the level of ordinary citizens, and that can mask large inequities between communities. For example, the poorest quintile often receives a disproportionately smaller share of public spending and has limited access to basic services. The generation of practical public knowledge that compares actual reality in relation to policies and across communities can lead to organizing for accountability, including pressure to make systems work for people.

There is growing knowledge internationally and in the region of how public monitoring is empowering citizens to create momentum for change, including to challenge inequities in service delivery. Building on these innovations, Twaweza will support partners to enable citizens and their associations to monitor practices at both community and national levels. This includes monitoring the implementation of policies, laws and promises in practice, receipts and expenditures in relation to budgets, the extent and quality of social services, inequitable access to basic social services, and the (differentiated) effects of inclusion/exclusion on different groups of people. Particular emphasis will be placed on linking local with national, by using local data to provide clearer disaggregated data to the aggregated national picture of service delivery, as well as to expose the weaknesses in the long chain between national and local levels. To avoid turning monitoring into an abstract or mechanical exercise, Twaweza will encourage community monitoring efforts to concentrate on aspects that affect citizen lives on a day to day basis, such as the quality of water and health services, and to have the monitoring linked to practical tools for recourse.

Finally, monitoring oversight institutions such as parliaments, national audit offices, ethics secretariats and the media can be very important, because failure or biases on their part can adversely undermine public interest. As part of enhancing the overall ecosystem of public accountability for services and resources, Twaweza will consider support for efforts to monitor and report on the performance and objectivity of these types of oversight bodies.

Some of the specific types of activities that will be considered for support include:

**Monitoring at community level**

- Monitor the money at the end service delivery level (such as the capitation grants for education, constituency development funds) and enabling citizens to compare and report on these against commitments.
- Monitor the quantity and quality of key service delivery components, such as availability of textbooks and desks, the number of functioning water and sanitation points, and availability of medicines.

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35 See for instance Social Watch globally [www.socialwatch.org](http://www.socialwatch.org) and in national chapters, the work of MKSS [mkssindia.org](http://www.mkssindia.org), Public Affairs Center Bangalore [www.pacindia.org](http://www.pacindia.org), Priia [www.pria.org](http://www.pria.org) in India, MUHURI, UDN [www.udn.or.ug](http://www.udn.or.ug) , Hakikazi [www.hakikazi.org](http://www.hakikazi.org) and HakiElimu [www.hakielimu.org](http://www.hakielimu.org) in East Africa.
Monitor the performance of service delivery staff, such as whether teachers and health workers show up to work on time and whether they are attending to students and patients, as well as their conduct towards clients.

Monitor basic outcomes such as education transition rates, literacy levels, trends in disease incidence

Monitor human rights violations and citizen actions to respond (e.g. www.ushahidi.com)

Monitor availability of information at community levels, such as on major national laws, policies, and budgets, as well as data on local levels such as funds received, revenues collected, and health and education performance data.

Monitor the practical opportunities for recourse that are available on the issues listed above, including what happens when citizens take action to improve the situation (successes, negative consequences).

The specific issues that will be monitored would be primarily determined by the concerns of local actors, though efforts will be made to achieve some uniformity within countries and the region to enable comparisons. The accent will be on designing tools that are simple to use by ordinary citizens and that require minimal or no intervention by intermediary agencies (such as ‘scorecards’ used in Bangalore India and by Hakikazi Catalyst in Tanzania). Data generated is meant to be used, shared and debated at the community levels, rather than only sent upwards for national use. Citizens will also be enabled to communicate information to and demand accountability from their elected representatives (such as is being done by the bungesms.com project in Kenya36). At the national level emphasis will be placed on being able to compile and analyze data and produce accessible reports quickly, including as feedback to communities that generated the data showing how they fare in relation to others. Recent software that allows information to be shown spatially with different overlays can be particularly versatile.

**Monitoring at national level**

Many of the community monitoring efforts described above can be compiled to provide a national monitoring picture. In addition, other potential monitoring activities are:

- Monitor budgets to assess consistency with policy and between different levels of the budget chain (allocations, disbursements, actuals, revenues and expenditures, audit) and priority setting in relation to citizen interests. This may also include ‘revenue watch’ type activities, particularly in relation to terms and contracts in extractive industries and tourism.

- Monitor value for money and priority setting issues (such as the number of and cost of running fleets of vehicles in government ministries, and outlays on public buildings)

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36 See www.bungesms.org
Monitor government promises through various means (legislation, speeches of leaders, international and national policy commitments such as the MDGs) and performance against these.\textsuperscript{37}  
Monitor ownership of land and other major assets, and their values, especially where these are transferred from public to private hands.

**Monitoring oversight institutions**

- Monitor the performance of parliaments in relation to process (MPs attending sessions, adherence to democratic procedures such as readings of bills), analysis of performance (number and types of bills passed, functioning of parliamentary committees, outcomes of parliamentary probes) and potential conflicts of interest (use of CDF funds, levels of self pay and benefits).\textsuperscript{38}
- Monitor national audit offices for quality, timeliness and consistency of work; level of follow-up and accountability for audit queries, communication and accessibility of audit reports.
- Monitor other state oversight bodies such as ethics secretariats, anti-corruption bodies, and procurement regulation agencies in terms of effectiveness and transparency,
- Monitor mass media in terms of ownership of media, quality and depth of coverage, rural/urban balance and other equity issues, effective oversight and follow-up, potential biases and censorship practices, and levels of reach/accessibility.
- Monitor CSOs in terms of effectiveness of citizen engagement and representation, ability and performance to further public interest and in particular the interests of historically marginalized people.

As noted above, the three sets of program components – access to information, media and public watch – are synergistic and mutual reinforcing. In practice, specific strategic partnerships and initiatives are likely to employ a set of activities across these three areas in accordance with their goals and adopted strategies. The activities listed above provide an indicative sense of the types of interventions that will be considered for support, as part of a larger ecosystem of interventions, rather than stand-alone initiatives.

### 4.4 Learning and communication

Learning, documenting and effectively disseminating what works (and what doesn’t) is a central element of Twaweza’s approach. The primary purpose for doing this is to learn from one’s own practice, so as to deepen knowledge and further improve practice.

\textsuperscript{37} For instance HakiElimu produces an annual booklet on government promises compiled from commitments by key leaders and invites the public to do their own monitoring against these promises. Media has often used this compilation to follow-up.

\textsuperscript{38} See for instance [www.TheyWorkForYou.com](http://www.TheyWorkForYou.com) in the UK or [www.mzalendo.com](http://www.mzalendo.com) “Eye on Kenyan Parliament” in Kenya. Both enable users to easily search Hansard records and retrieve information based on their MP, constituency or theme, as well as create space for debate and comment.
Secondarily, these lessons can also be of value to others. During the course of its first five years Twaweza will generate a solid body of contextual lessons, good practices, insights and tested approaches that can leverage resources and action in East Africa and be of value outside the region.

The country assessments show that institutional capacity is weak across all sectors. Numerous capacity building efforts appear to have limited effect because they tend to focus on training and technical aspects, when the core constraint is often institutional/political and incentive-related in nature. Capacity building is often driven by extrinsic motivation, ways of acquiring credentials or sitting allowances, which are far divorced from organic learning or improving practice.

Twaweza’s approach is to promote learning-by-doing, where capacity is linked to and developed in the course of undertaking work, by continually reflecting on one’s practice, listening and learning, taking risks and making adjustments as needed. While it is difficult to do, Twaweza staff and mentors will support efforts to develop learning and reflective culture within some partner organizations and help leaders create the space and incentives necessary to promote this culture. Where appropriate and requested, mentors, students, consultants and/or interns will be linked with organizations to support learning and documentation. This sort of ‘accompaniment’ is often more effective than formal short courses or workshops.

Specifically, Twaweza will foster a culture of learning by a) establishing a pool of mentors in East Africa who will both serve as a resource to partners and critically reflect on the Initiative, b) supporting placement of local and/or international university (Masters and PhD) students among partners whose job is to facilitate generation and documentation of lessons, c) exploring ways in which to partner organizations can cultivate cultures of learning (including leadership, practices, tools and incentives). Within Twaweza a senior manager and member of the management team will lead the learning program and support the Learning and Communication Program Officers in each of the three countries.

The use of the term ‘learning’ (rather than ‘capacity building’ or ‘training’) is deliberate and meant to signal a shift in concept. Learning defined thus is crucial to the Twaweza concept – in many senses one half of initiative (with a prominent place in the organogram). Twaweza is about enabling large scale social change and documenting and communicating lessons about social change in a self-critical and reflexive manner.

The specific activities by which learning will be fostered include:

- A group of 15-20 experienced, strategic, politically astute and creative individuals in East Africa will be recruited to form a pool of mentors. Implementing partners will be able to draw from the pool to critique their thinking, develop their work conceptually, and make it more creative and effective. This approach allows for a flexible, responsive, contextually aware and long term ‘coaching’ relationship that

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is often more effective than fixed term courses or one-time consultancies. Mentors will either be on ‘retainer’ to provide specific support or brought on board to provide specific task related services. Support will be demand driven rather than ‘imposed’, and depending on the needs mentors may be brought on the front end or at later points of a particular strategic partnership. Mentors will also be involved in some cases in initiating or helping to craft a partnership.

The role of mentors and consultants

Potential mentors are thoughtful, creative, inspirational and resourceful women and men who desire to contribute to powerful change. These are people able to substantively support partners and Twaweza overall at a higher strategic, conceptual and learning level. We met some during the country visits, and have been developing an informal list of potential mentors. While most are unable to work full time for Twaweza, some will consider time to Twaweza related work provided a) they believe in its value/ importance, b) are given adequate notice, and c) are well remunerated (i.e. Twaweza engagement would provide an alternative to the fragmented consulting they often do for conventional donors).

The pool of mentors will be grown slowly over time. The duration of mentorship at each organization will vary based on need and fit, but typically these will be flexible longer-term relationships. Engagements may include supporting partners to analyze the contexts of their work and develop a theory of change, develop a policy position or communication strategy, or broker links among key partners. Mentors may also agree to be ‘on-call’ to organizational leaders to respond to critical opportunities and challenges as they arise. Twaweza will also enable mentors to meet with each other, reflect on, write-up and communicate lessons and challenges. In this sense mentors are crucial to the Twaweza’s intellectual and strategic development. At the same time, this engagement will provide thought leaders much needed space to reflect on the state of affairs and what needs to done. The terms of engagement of mentors are yet to be worked out, but are likely to include a clear contract of expectations and a combination of retainer and responsibility based remuneration.

In contrast, consultants are more likely to be recruited for shorter term, task oriented assignments in response to specific needs, such as to develop an accounting policy and system, develop a website, evaluate progress or facilitate organizational development. Twaweza may also recruit consultants to support staff to undertake due diligence and related tasks, such as organizational assessments and audits.

- Cross learning exchanges will be promoted between partners and similar organizations. These will usually be based on getting a task done (e.g. Citizen’s Guide on tax revenue written, or advertising campaign on better quality of health services designed) to enable focus and action, rather than exchange visits that are vaguely designed and do not lead to any change.

- Key agencies (see Annex 4) with specific sets of skills and experiences in Twaweza related issues will be requested to provide local partners with tailored expertise, ongoing mentoring and access to their broad network of partners. Here too the focus will be on tailoring support around specific completion of goals and learning by doing rather than general ‘capacity building’. In turn the agencies will have opportunity to learn from the Twaweza experience and deploy lessons in their contexts.

- International and East African Masters/PhD level students will be placed at partner organizations (for 3-9 months) to facilitate learning and documentation of lessons. These will be done in a rigorous and accessible manner, with an equal emphasis on the analytical critique and compelling narratives (‘telling stories’).
• Linkages with international learning networks such as Logolink and academic institutions working on these sorts of issues will be explored through e-learning platforms, physical exchange at key meetings and sharing of publications.

• Partners will be supported through the mentors and other means, to develop or strengthen a culture of internal learning and knowledge generation within their organizations, and to create incentives that recognize critical reflection. Potential components include establishing journal reading groups, weekly learning sessions, creating time for learning, incorporating learning and development of learning plans as part of staff assessments, and transforming the nature of regular meetings.

Communication of learning and lessons is a fundamental value. Twaweza sees learning as both an internal and public exercise. It will foster ways in which lessons can be shared and debated in the public domain, in a manner that is highly accessible, interesting and practical. Each partner organization will be encouraged to share lessons in its own style. In addition, potential ways in which the Initiative itself will share lessons include:

• A regularly updated website that contains information about Twaweza partnerships and initiatives, profiles or links to the work of partners and lessons learned. These may include analytical reports, case stories, field observations, and vignettes. Interested partners and participating citizens will be encouraged to write pithy essays, ongoing blogs or brief one-time observations. Links to interesting work inside and outside the region will be provided. Information will be organized to allow easy navigation and search.

• Partners, mentors, placed students and participating citizens will be encouraged to contribute to a weekly column in leading newspapers and talk shows on TV/radio, as well as use other opportunities to convey insights in the public domain. Publication in academic and professional journals will also be encouraged, particularly where these have wider readership and influence.

• Existing forums in the three countries (e.g. Policy Forum’s monthly breakfast talks in Tanzania) will be requested to debate lessons openly, as well as at selected international physical forums (e.g. the CIVICUS World Assembly) and virtual forums (e.g. the Communication Initiative/Drum Beat website, the KMforDev list).

• A series of briefs and ‘stories’, and an annual print publication of insights, essays, reflections, cartoons on what works and what doesn’t – highly creative, practical and interesting – will be produced.

• A short film, produced annually, that communicates the Twaweza concept, experience and lessons in a compelling manner to a general audience (i.e. not only for the ‘development’ community).

In addition to the above, the Learning and Communications Manager will be responsible for developing other innovative and effective means of fostering learning and reflection, documentation of lessons and communication.
5. Governance and organizational culture

From the bottom of my heart
a donation for a classroom

Keep your donation; we'd rather
have you pay fair taxes
5.1 Values and principles
Twaweza will seek to reflect and practice sound principles of effective and transparent governance. The five key values that will guide our staff and organizational culture are:

- **Responsibility and Initiative**: We will cultivate among ourselves and our partners an ethic of taking responsibility and initiative, where we strive to achieve our objectives as best as we can and do what is needed because we find it important, not needing to wait to be pushed from the outside. This involves trying out different approaches and calculated risk-taking, where we seek to find innovative solutions to intractable challenges, and learn from both our failures and successes.

- **Reflection and Learning**: We will actively seek to avoid the twin traps of doing something just because we are used to doing it, and of becoming so busy that we no longer reflect on what we are doing. Among ourselves and our partners we will seek to develop an explicit culture and practice of stepping back and learning, of being open to see what is ineffective or not working, drawing out lessons and insights, communicating these, and using them to challenge and modify our practice.

- **Effectiveness and Accountability**: Twaweza is borne from a sense that much development work is ineffective; hence accountability is central to our purpose. We will seek to be accountable first to the citizens of East Africa, in terms of the relevance and impact of our efforts, and in being responsive to their views, concerns and ideas. Second, we will be accountable to our stated purpose, goals and objectives, and to our mentors, advisors and donors in achieving these objectives. Third, we will be accountable to each other in the support and honest feedback we provide to enable each one of us to be motivated and effective.

- **Transparency and Communication**: Except for a small range of information that needs to remain personal and confidential, we will be transparent throughout our work. This will include information on the partnerships we support, achievements and limitations, progress reports and audited accounts, assessments and evaluations. Lessons will be documented in formats that can be easily shared and accessed. Most materials will be available freely to the public through our website.

- **Ethical Integrity**: From the outset we will develop a culture that recognizes that we are stewards of resources meant for public good, that we need to use with great care and responsibility. This will involve ensuring we avoid actual, potential or perceived conflicts of interest; insisting on value-for-money, and high disclosure and transparency requirements. There will be absolutely no tolerance for corruption or use of entrusted position or power for illegal private benefit.

Twaweza policies, systems and procedures will be developed to reflect these values and will draw from the strong foundations in place at key East African institutions and Hivos.
5.2 Organizational Structure

**Supervisory Board**
The Board will be the highest governance body of Twaweza. It will approve the overall long term (5 year) strategy and budget, and scrutinize annual plans and reports (including audited financial reports). It will engage with Twaweza at a higher strategic level, by providing feedback to proposals and reports; inform its conceptual and intellectual development, and link it with relevant international endeavours. The Board will appoint, support and hold accountable the Head of Twaweza. It will also oversee the appointment of independent evaluation entity and its terms of reference.

The Supervisory Board will consist of about 10 members: 5 experts in areas related to Twaweza (3 regional/1 from each country and 2 international) and 5 donor representatives (every donor who provides $10 million+ towards the first five year budget will be entitled to a seat). The Twaweza Head will be accountable to the Supervisory Board of Twaweza overall, and to the Hivos Director of Programs and Projects (who is also a member of the Supervisory Board) on a regular basis.

The first Board members will be formally elected at the joint donors' meeting in May 2009, but advanced communication about potential members will be undertaken in Q1.
of 2009. Non-donor Board members will serve for two years terms, which may be renewed once; however in order to stagger appointments at the first meeting about one half will be selected to serve two-year terms and the other half to serve three-year terms. The Board will normally meet physically once a year in May, usually in East Africa, over two days (one day formal business, second day site visit and participating in key debate). In addition, the Board will normally meet virtually through a conference call mid-year to discuss the half year updates, though in the early establishment years this may require a physical meeting likely to be held in Europe or the USA. The Board may, at its discretion, meet more often or invite other donors or experts to attend its meetings.

The main roles of the Supervisory Board are spelt out in Annex 1; the full terms of reference of the Board will be drafted and discussed virtually between Q4 2008 and Q1 2009, and formally adopted at the first Board meeting in May 2009.

**Key management positions**

The Twaweza management team will consist of three core positions:

- **Head of Twaweza:** The initiative will initially be led by Rakesh Rajani, who will be responsible for the overall strategic direction and success of Twaweza. He has a proven track record (see Annex 7) in leading strong initiatives and developing organization capability of change, most recently through HakiElimu, a leading public engagement organization in Tanzania. Rajani will have lead responsibility for interacting with and be accountable to the Supervisory Board (overall) and the Hivos Director of Program and Projects (on a regular basis). Rajani will lead the management team, sign off on all major decisions, and represent Twaweza to the outside world.

- **Program Manager:** His/her prime responsibility will be to direct and manage the overall programs and operations, including grantmaking. Furthermore, he/she will supervise and support program and administrative staff to undertake their roles. Together with the Head he/she will develop an overall strategic approach to identify partners and issues in the region. He/she is part of the management team.

- **Learning and Communications Manager:** He/she will work closely with the Head on the learning and monitoring elements of Twaweza. He/she will be responsible for supporting staff and partners to develop a culture and practice of learning and reflect on strategic effectiveness and document lessons learned. He/she will also be the main liaison with the independent evaluation entity. The Learning and Communications Manager is part of the management team.

Separation of these three roles is deliberate. Freeing up the Head from the day to day executive and operational functions will enable him to focus on the strategic and relationship building aspects, to read widely and reflect at depth on Twaweza effectiveness, and communicate. Having a separate senior full time Learning and Communications Manager (who is a member of the management team) will ensure that the learning components a) have a sufficiently high priority and profile in Twaweza and b) are not undermined or constrained by operational challenges. Having two strong supporters on the strategy and learning side, the Program Manager will be able to craft
a program that emphasizes depth, quality and creativity that are essential for achievement of Twaweza objectives.

The detailed responsibilities of the Board, management team and key staff are provided in Annex 1.

**Staffing**
The organizational structure (see diagram above) reflects a desire to establish a strong core capacity and ability to bring in people to achieve Twaweza objectives with quality. Twaweza will ‘work lean’ with a total of 18 program and support staff across all three countries. This is a deliberate choice to avoid ‘building an empire’, keep internal costs and transaction time reasonable, and maintain a ‘collaborative spirit’ within a relatively flat structure that is difficult to do in a ‘heavier’ organization. This will be possible because of the following features of our approach:

- **Quality over quantity:** We will seek to recruit few highly capable and motivated staff, and provide a terrific work environment and excellent remuneration.

- **Local knowledge:** Country coordinators and assistant POs are likely to have local origins, speak the main local language, understand their contexts and be well networked (different from an expatriate donor officer who typically requires several years to get up to speed).

- **Brokering support:** Instead of doing all the support and monitoring work themselves, staff will identify and bring in mentors, consultants, students and resource organizations (see Annex 3) to provide an ecosystem of support as needed. These may be short or long term relationships, such as ongoing mentorship and tailored support from IBP, SNV or TCDC. Grant management will be supported by experienced Hivos program officers using proven tools.

- **Staffing support:** Where organizations lack capacity to do core work that requires staffing, partners will be supported to recruit their own in house staff to do so (e.g. a two year staff contract for someone to do communications within the teachers’ trade union). This promotes identity and internal capacity.

The core idea here is that Twaweza will not work in isolation; and that by linking with a broad array of potential resources and expertise we can provide more effective support and monitoring than trying to develop that capacity internally. Nevertheless, as the initiative grows the situation will be carefully monitored; if needed the staff size will be reviewed in consultation with the Supervisory Board.

Recruiting and retaining capable staff, including a strong senior management team, will be a difficult challenge. This task will be given priority in late 2008 and early 2009 once funding commitments are secured. Twaweza will also seek to create a vibrant work environment and competitive remuneration so as to attract the best candidates.

**5.3 Legal responsibility**
Hivos (see Annex 2) will provide an institutional home for Twaweza and will be legally responsible for it. The initiative would have ideally been housed within an established
East African institution – but we were not able to identify one able to manage this scope of work. Hivos was therefore chosen for this task because of its values, high standards and proven track record of 30 years of grantmaking in East Africa. Moreover, while Hivos will have overall legal responsibility, Twaweza will be positioned as an independent initiative, with its own mission, projects and identity.

The main Twaweza office will be based in Dar es Salaam within Hivos Tanzania, a legally registered as a not-for-profit company in Tanzania, who will also employ staff and be responsible for all legal undertakings within the country.

To have a swift start as well as a strong and reliable backbone, Twaweza will work as much as possible within the existing framework of Hivos’ organisational policies, systems and procedures. Hivos’ internal procedures and regulations are ISO 9001:2000 certified, and accounts are audited by PriceWaterhouseCoopers.

5.4 Grantmaking process
Twaweza will make use of Hivos’ rich experience of grant making. Hivos methods of grant management and monitoring have been tried and sharpened over the last forty years leading to the thorough, well-thought grant mechanism of today. All Hivos’ internal procedures and regulations are ISO 9001:2000 certified. In 2002 and 2006 The Dutch Government ranked Hivos’ performance on organisational and programmatic quality first out of over 140 development organisations. The assessment covered partner selection, programmatic relevance, efficiency and result delivery.

In 2007 Hivos disbursed and monitored grants to 838 civil society organisations. The average grant amount was USD 90,000 annually, but some grants were as high as USD 1,000,000. Although precise data are not available it is estimated that approximately one third of the grantee organisations work in the rural areas. While Twaweza approach and grant sizes will be somewhat different and larger than the Hivos norm, Hivos systems are adequately robust to manage this.

Supervision of the grant administration and administrative organisation of Hivos Tanzania – and thus Twaweza – will be the responsibility of the Hivos monitoring and evaluation department (TEC). This department also develops and safeguards general monitoring processes and evaluation policy of Hivos. Twaweza will make use of the Hivos project administration software and related reporting programs.

From proposal to grant
Twaweza will actively seek out initiatives, organisations, persons or projects that will contribute to its overall objectives. At the same time Twaweza will be open to unsolicited proposals; but no requests for proposals will be issued. We will set out the overall
guidelines and criteria for grant applications, and engage actively in shaping strategic partnerships together with potential grantee partners, who will develop the detailed activities they will implement, thus ensuring relevance and ownership.

Every proposal will be thoroughly assessed including a visit to the applicant if it concerns a new partner. The assessment will focus on strategic relevance, thematic relevance, organisational viability, strengths of governance and operating systems, as well as the contribution to Twaweza Program components and objectives, and inclusion of an equity perspective.

The main engagement with potential partners will be undertaken by the country coordinators (who will be the main contact points for partners) in consultation with the Program Manager, within an overall strategic framework approved by the Head. Coordinators will be assisted by Hivos staff and experienced consultants to undertake basic organizational assessments and due diligence. To ensure transparency and accountability, grant approvals will be approved by the Head upon the recommendation of the Program Manager, and where the amount is above $350,000 further approval will be required from the Hivos Director of Programs and Projects. Annual plans (and substantive deviations to it) will be approved by the Hivos Director of Programs and Projects.
6. Monitoring and Evaluation

we’re out of medicines, hurry along now

Not so fast – we have been monitoring how you divert meds to your private pharmacy!
As reflected in the section on values and principles above, accountability is a core internal Twaweza concern rather than an externally imposed requirement. We view monitoring and evaluation as important processes through which to strengthen learning, program effectiveness and accountability for results, among its partners and itself. Two aspects will be established at Twaweza from the outset: 1) a program to foster learning, reflection and documentation among partners and 2) a series of monitoring and evaluation tools and processes to measure and assess overall progress. The learning aspect has been described in the program section 4.4 above. The second aspect is outlined below.

Monitoring and evaluation will be fostered at three levels: 1) the grantee/partner, 2) the strategic partnership, and 3) Twaweza overall. Each subsequent level will build on a previous level.

6.1 Monitoring and Evaluation of Partners

For the first grantee/partner level, Hivos has well established systems to support grantees to develop and use monitoring systems and undertake periodic evaluations. This usually involves annual plans and budgets linked to annual narrative and audited financial reports focused on results and basic indicators. Hivos prefers to strengthen a partner’s own system and practice rather than require conformity to its own separate formats, provided basic standards are met. Examples and software will be provided to organizations that need them. Comprehensive reporting that includes all of the organization’s work rather than project reporting only will be generally encouraged, though given Twaweza’s interest in working with private sector and other non-traditional partners this may need to be modified on a case by case basis. Follow-up visits to discuss plans, reports and lessons with partner organizations will be undertaken at least once a year and more often as needed, while being mindful of limiting transaction time and costs to the partner organizations. Information on grants and reports of grantees will be available on the Twaweza website.

Periodically (every 3-5 years consistent with a partner’s own planning cycle) Hivos will collaborate with grantees for whom Twaweza constitutes a substantive aspect of their work and their other donors to conduct an external evaluation. The specific terms of reference of the evaluation will be worked out jointly with other parties, but will generally focus on program effectiveness and impact, as well as organizational vitality and accountability. These evaluations are expected to generate higher level lessons to inform future organizational strategy. The emphasis of the M&E will be to track outputs and outcomes, and their reach and extent, and to examine which inputs and processes have been more effective at contributing to this change.

It is important that each partner grantee sees the added value of monitoring results as a means to test the success of chosen strategies. Therefore M&E is of concern both to the partner and Twaweza, and will be approached from a perspective of reciprocity. Care will be taken to design tools that are flexible and can be integrated into the partner’s ordinary work, that are not experienced as overly cumbersome or heavy by partner staff. This is essential to ensuring the quality and sustainability of monitoring, and to foster internal ownership of the process. The underlying principle of this M&E
method will be to balance rigor, accountability and transparency with flexibility and responsiveness, without losing sight of ultimate objectives.

6.2 Monitoring and Evaluation of Strategic Partnerships
Twaweza's unique feature is its strategic partnership approach that seeks to create the critical ecosystem to leverage larger change. Since the partnerships will be built around specific goals and tasks, measurement here will be focused on change against these goals and the key intermediary outputs leading up to the goals.

Several methods will be used. First a partnership-wide picture will be developed, using simple tools, by building on the organizational monitoring done by individual partner organizations described above. Second, indicative survey samples will be considered to measure baselines and progress against the goals—which may be administered by the organization or external consultants as may be appropriate. Third, the use of feedback forms and their analysis will be encouraged. Fourth, the learning and reflection exercises that will be promoted are also expected to contribute towards program monitoring. Fifth, the M&E of Twaweza overall described below will shed insight into the relative effectiveness of different strategic partnerships and its specific components. The value of such monitoring, specific tools for it and the needed human resources will be discussed with potential partners from the outset. A combination of country coordinators, the learning program officers, mentors and/or specialized consultants will support the work, but one person from either within or outside the partnership will be designated as overall responsible for monitoring the strategic partnership. This person will also be responsible for producing an overall annual report on the performance of the strategic partnership.

6.3 Reporting, Monitoring and Evaluation of Twaweza overall
The third and final level of M&E is Twaweza overall. This will be organized in two major components: 1) evaluation and measurement of outputs, effects and outcomes and 2) annual planning and reporting.

The first component will track progress in relation to Twaweza’s higher level goals of enhancing citizen agency and improving service delivery and related management of public resources, at the key points along our theory of change. Twaweza will focus on collecting reliable data on fewer indicators rather than many for each key point. Both quantitative and qualitative data will be gathered. Data will be collected for each of the three countries and disaggregated to the district level, in relation to gender, and other aspects as appropriate and to the maximum extent feasible. Where possible, indicators across the three countries will be compared. The compilation, analysis and communication of the data will also be one of the core functions of one-stop information shop housed within Twaweza.

The main categories and types of indicators in the results chain, consistent with our theory of change are described below:
a) **Baseline**

In 2009 baseline data will be compiled on both citizen agency and service delivery aspects by an independent entity (see below). For some indicators – such as number of cell phone subscribers, spread of immunization and access to piped water – reasonably reliable information is available from household and demographic health surveys, though from different years across the three countries. Here too the quality of the data may need to be verified through further sampling work – for instance to ascertain how many reported cell phone users are ‘active’ or how many of the piped water points actually function.

For other more qualitative and unusual indicators where data is not collected through established surveys, new data will need to be collected for the baseline. To some extent this will be informed by compiling available evidence, such as smaller sample studies on access to information, media reach, amount of funds reaching schools, and teacher and health worker attendance. But other aspects, such as ability/self-efficacy of citizens to effect change or literacy/learning levels among children are likely to need primary research.

b) **Key interventions**

Measurement at this level will assess the extent to which Twaweza has implemented its planned work, and its effectiveness in terms of quality and reach. This will cover the strategic partnerships and initiatives it has brokered, and over time evaluate progress towards the partnership goals. It will also include progress in relation to the one stop information shop. These will be measured annually.

c) **Citizen agency outcomes**

Measurement here will ascertain the effectiveness of Twaweza partner interventions in enhancing citizen agency preconditions (access to information, and media quality, plurality and reach) as well as agency itself, (ability of citizens to monitor public resources and services, and use the findings to promote improvements and effect change in basic service delivery and other aspects of importance to them). While change in citizen agency is a long term endeavour, we expect to be able to begin to see effects of interventions in year 3 (2011), and will continue to measure in two year intervals thereafter (years 5, 7 and 9).

d) **Service delivery and other ultimate outcomes**

In our theory of change, citizen agency is an end in itself, and expected to contribute to improved service delivery outcomes over the medium to long term. Twaweza will therefore measure key service delivery preconditions (e.g. teachers and health workers showing up to work, funds and medicines reaching facilities on time) and actual outcomes. These ultimate outcomes that we are interested in are both ‘hard’ (e.g. access to piped or covered water, levels of literacy, lowered incidence of illness) as well as ‘soft’ (such as life skills, sense of health, or water security). The soft outcomes are more subjective in nature and difficult to measure, but are nonetheless important because they reflect citizen’s experience of wellbeing and personal efficacy that is at the heart of the Twaweza concept. The precise nature of
these measures and methods for data collection will be developed carefully in conjunction with the independent entity.

Moreover, in addition to the identified service delivery areas, we expect citizens to ‘employ’ enhanced access to information and agency to bring about changes in other areas of importance to them, as determined by themselves. The Twaweza M&E framework will be designed to capture these other effects through an methodology such as the ‘most significant change’, where citizens are asked to assess and explain the most significant changes that they have experienced over a period of time.

e) **Learning processes and outcomes**

As explained above, learning and communication of lessons is a distinct Twaweza objective. We will promote learning practices that help partners develop a culture of learning, develop and disseminate lessons, and use them to improve practice. Through this process Twaweza expects to generate a solid body of new knowledge and contribute to informed debate on the role of citizen agency in bringing change, how public services and governments can be more responsive and accountable, and how interventions can be scaled up and sustained, as well as how best to promote learning.

The main categories, types of indicators and likely frequency of measurement are summarized in the table below, and further elaborated in the metrics frame overleaf:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Type of indicators</th>
<th>Likely Frequency</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intervention outputs and effects</td>
<td>Number, types and reach of partnerships and initiatives brokered and their outputs. Extent of progress towards and effects of partnership goals.</td>
<td>Annual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizen agency effects and outcomes</td>
<td>Major changes in access to information, media quality and reach, citizen monitoring of public services and resources effects and outcomes. Ability of citizens to and use the findings to promote improvements and effect change.</td>
<td>Baseline, years 3, 5, 7 and 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service delivery &amp; other outcomes</td>
<td>Major changes in basic education, primary health and water outcomes and preconditions to outcomes. Other changes of importance to/as determined by citizens</td>
<td>Baseline, years 5, 7, 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning outputs and effects</td>
<td>Independent entity in place, M&amp;E framework finalized and functional, mentors network established and working. Learning practices, lessons learned, documented and communicated.</td>
<td>Year 1 establishment, and then ongoing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Current status** *(2008/9)*

To improve on the current situation …

**State of agency**
- Access to information
- Ability to voice
- Opportunity to monitor
- Capability to make change

**State of services**
- Basic education quality & equity
  - At least 15 major partnerships (3-4/year) and 10 initiatives (2-3/year) brokered and supported to:
    - Expand broad access to information, esp. in rural areas, by increasing comm. options
    - Strengthen media independence, plurality, quality and reach
    - Enable citizens to monitor government, public resources and service delivery and use the findings to promote improvements
  - Scale-up actions undertaken that affect large ecosystem of change that contributes to enhanced citizen agency
- One stop information shop
  - One-stop-information shop established, functioning and informing action

**Measurement & evaluation**
- Independent entity to measure progress recruited and metrics framework developed
- Baseline undertaken 2009
- Progress measured, documented and communicated throughout
- Evaluation undertaken early 2013

**Learning & communication**
- Mentors network and other learning measures functioning at 3 levels
- Clear evidence of learning & reflective practice in partners
- Lessons effectively documented, communicated and debated in the public domain.
- Knowledge generated & shared

**Service delivery outcomes** *(2018)*

… which in turn will lead to better services (and quality of life outcomes?)

**Basic education (primary and secondary)**
- 85% of teachers show-up and teach
- 90% of disbursed funds for schools reach there
- 80% of children able to read and write at their level (Uwezo)

**Basic health (primary health care and public health/prevention)**
- 85% of health workers show up and deliver care
- 90% basic meds available at clinics
- 85% DPT/Hb3 immunization coverage
- X% experience better health*

**Basic water (access and affordability)**
- 90% urban and 70% rural have access to piped or covered water within 30 minute fetch time
- X% reduction in water insecurity and Y% in water-borne illness*

**Other changes (made by citizens self-determined priorities)**
- to be assessed by asking citizens

*to be developed clearly later

**Key interventions** *(2009-2013)*

… Twaweza will broker these interventions …

**Strategic partnerships and initiatives (grants)**
- At least 15 major partnerships (3-4/year) and 10 initiatives (2-3/year) brokered and supported to:
  - Expand broad access to information, esp. in rural areas, by increasing communication options
  - Strengthen media independence, plurality, quality and reach
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**Independent entity**

While monitoring and documentation at the organizational and strategic partnership level will inform this component, Twaweza will engage an independent external party from the onset to conceptualize, coordinate and undertake the work. This party will be charged with developing a robust monitoring and evaluation framework and tools to assess progress against results, in terms of quantity (reach, extent) as well as quality (depth, significance of change). The evaluation framework will include conducting a baseline in year 1 and an evaluation early in year 5, as well as surveys and other means throughout the course of implementation.

The evaluating party will be chosen in consultation with the Supervisory Board by early 2009. Key criteria include understanding of the citizen agency and public accountability concept, intellectual depth and experience with evaluation of social change and the relevant tools for it, and keen understanding of the East African context. As with the previous levels, the core concern will be to measure effects related to overall impact. Because Twaweza’s work is done in an open environment engaging and influencing multiple actors (rather than a closed project site) issues of attribution will need to be carefully worked out. Measurement of quality factors, such as satisfaction with service delivery and greater ability to hold leaders answerable will need to be developed. Preference will be given to work with an academic institution engaged in development practice because of the potential to link up with graduate students, including the medium term placements described in the learning program. Potential candidates include the citizenship group at the Institute of Development Studies Sussex (headed by John Gaventa), Keystone Accountability based in South Africa and London, or scholars such as Lant Pritchett of Harvard University. In all cases partnerships between the international entities and East African university departments or think tanks will be encouraged.

Keen attention will be given to documentation in accessible formats and broad dissemination of findings, for both academic and non-technical audiences. The accent will be on both accountability for results and learning, with openness to capturing successes as well as treating ‘failure’ as an opportunity to learn and try something new.

**One report-one budget-one report**

Twaweza will compile one common set of plans, budgets and reports for the Supervisory Board/donors. The purpose is to provide a comprehensive picture to all donors of the initiative, and to reduce the reporting time so that Twaweza staff can focus energies on the achieving results. Twaweza will produce an annual plan with corresponding budget each year at the start of the program year, which will be shared with all donors. The annual plan and budget will elaborate on the indicative directions in this proposal, and specify in more detail the activities to be undertaken and how funds will be spent. Requests for adjustments to program and budgets (e.g. due to under expenditure in previous years, or a change in approach in response to lessons learned) will also be submitted at this time.
At the completion of the year, against that annual plan, two common sets of reports will be produced – a comprehensive narrative and audited financial report annually (around April) and brief mid-year progress reports (around August) – that will be submitted to all donors.

- The **mid-year reports** will be brief, of about 10 pages in length, and will cover the January to June period. They will provide a succinct account in point form of progress and challenges, as well as an (unaudited) budget vs. expenditure report for the same period.

- The **annual reports** will be detailed, and seek to meet all reasonable general donor requirements. The narrative report will provide a comprehensive account of progress made in relation the program proposal and annual workplan. It will be highly analytical and reflective, and provide a substantive discussion on the effectiveness of Twaweza strategy, lessons learned and implications for future work. The financial report will conform to the International Financial Reporting Standards (IFRS) and be audited by an internationally reputable audit firm.

The annual narrative and financial reports will be fully public documents. In addition to Twaweza donors, the reports will be distributed to key partners and published on the Twaweza website.

The common annual reports and other major issues will be discussed with the Twaweza Supervisory Board at their annual meetings in mid May. In addition a virtual meeting by telephone conference may be organized in September to discuss the mid-year reports. To the maximum extent possible exchanges regarding reporting will be handled in these meetings rather than bilaterally so as to minimize transaction costs, and to foster mutual dialogue among the donors. Donor parties will have an opportunity to establishing the standards and structure of the reports, but no separate reports to suit the requirements of individual donors will be provided. Bilateral donor missions and visits will be generally discouraged, though donors may participate in ongoing work where this will not cause disruption or unduly influence outcomes.
7. Risk Management

It’s wonderful that all is so well in the villages ...
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Potential Risk</th>
<th>Likelihood</th>
<th>Mitigation Measures</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1. Governments may seek to restrict Twaweza if it is seen as threatening its interests or too anti-government | Low to Medium | • Avoid the limelight, work in the background, support local partners to be in the driving seat in assessing risks and determining action.  
• Enable partners to emphasize quality and accuracy at all times, and get ‘own houses in order’ to reduce vulnerability.  
• Support work that is fair and evidence based, rather than anti-government for its own sake or partisan to any one political party.  
• Build working relationships with government agencies and leaders to create greater understanding and buy-in, and support when needed.  
• Secure buy-in from major donors within the region who are respected by governments. |
| 2. Governments may restrict (old and new) media space and operations, and in this way significantly limit room for Twaweza type work. | Medium | • Working with broad coalitions, promote adoption and especially implementation of progressive laws, regulations and standards on freedom of the press, internet and other communication; promote anti-monopolistic regulation.  
• Support partners that can challenge restrictions and assist media houses and journalists when restricted  
• Support work that focuses on citizen change rather than criticizing government for the sake of criticism, and ensure advocacy is informed by evidence and solid analysis |
| 3. Reach/impact of new media may be limited due to poor access and high costs (particularly for low income/rural people). | High | • Focus on more affordable new media (e.g. mobile phones).  
• Promote linkages between new and old media as appropriate (e.g. mobile phones and radio).  
• Piggyback on existing powerful media networks. |
| 4. New type of partners (e.g. trades unions, private sector) may not be convinced to be part of Twaweza, fearing government backlash or simply being unconvinced of value. | Medium | • Build relationships on the basis of identifying and promoting mutual interest  
• Show examples of like-minded organizations that have picked up a non-conventional role and benefited from it.  
• Involve trusted brokers and other actors that are trusted and equally versatile in different partnership contexts. |
| 5. Citizens are reached with the information but do not turn into agents of change (remain passive). | Medium | • Profile examples of like-minded organizations that have picked up a non-conventional role and benefited from it.  
• Create options/expand choices so that if some things don’t work or are not preferred others will  
• Involve trusted brokers that can switch easily between domains.  
• Make the appeal engaging and creative |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Partners are unable to go to scale using the Twaweza approach; dominant CSO concept ‘corrupts’ and frustrates work</th>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>6. Medium</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Promote problem-solving focused learning by doing, supported by mentors.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Start with stronger organizations with wide networks to promote good practice.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Support organizations in the East African region on conceptual and strategic development through mentoring.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Secure strong team of mentors and supporters who have credibility within society and can inspire others.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Public watch and monitoring activities are frustrated by authorities' refusal to cooperate or share information.</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>7. Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Build awareness for the concept.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Develop different options so that if some things don’t work others may</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Appeal directly and create multiple points of engagement so that they cannot be easily undermined or controlled.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Twaweza is unable to develop the deep strategic partnerships and program effectiveness at scale because of limited internal capacity</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>8. Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Build a lean but highly capable team from the outset; and create an insuring work environment with good remuneration.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Build a strong network of mentors and consultants who can work with partners and follow-up.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Focus on fewer partnerships that can go to depth rather than doing too many scattered activities.</td>
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<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
8. Budget

Twaweza budget 2008/9-2013

- Grant Programs: 74%
- Operational Costs: 6%
- Staff Costs: 10%
- Contingency Reserve: 1%
- Monitoring & Evaluation: 3%
- Learning & Communication: 6%

Twaweza 2008/9-2013 Budget

- Total Program Costs
- Total Staff/Operational Costs
- Contingency Reserve
## TWaweza! East Africa Indicative Budget (USD) Estimates

### Description | 2008-9 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 | Total | %
---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---
#### 1 Grant Programs
1,1 Strategic partnerships | 2,000,000 | 4,000,000 | 8,000,000 | 11,000,000 | 10,000,000 | 35,000,000 | 74%
1,2 Strategic individual initiatives | 750,000 | 1,500,000 | 3,000,000 | 3,250,000 | 3,000,000 | 11,500,000 | 650,000
1,3 Exploratory research & analysis | 100,000 | 150,000 | 150,000 | 150,000 | 100,000 | 650,000 | 12%
1,4 Core information analysis and comm | 350,000 | 500,000 | 600,000 | 700,000 | 750,000 | 2,900,000 | 6%
#### Subtotal | 3,200,000 | 6,150,000 | 11,750,000 | 15,100,000 | 13,850,000 | 50,050,000 | 74%
#### 2 Learning & Communication
2,1 International TA (IBP, Idasa, etc) | 50,000 | 80,000 | 120,000 | 150,000 | 120,000 | 520,000 | 52%
2,2 EA Mentor Pool | 80,000 | 120,000 | 150,000 | 200,000 | 200,000 | 750,000 | 15%
2,3 Exchange Visits | 60,000 | 100,000 | 150,000 | 150,000 | 150,000 | 610,000 | 6%
2,4 Students documenting learning | 20,000 | 40,000 | 50,000 | 50,000 | 40,000 | 200,000 | 2%
2,5 Supporting culture of learning | 150,000 | 250,000 | 400,000 | 600,000 | 700,000 | 2,100,000 | 20%
#### Subtotal | 375,000 | 615,000 | 910,000 | 1,195,000 | 1,250,000 | 4,345,000 | 6%
#### 3 Monitoring & Evaluation
3,1 Internal planning, monitoring & review | 30,000 | 50,000 | 60,000 | 65,000 | 65,000 | 270,000 | 6%
3,2 Independent studies | 50,000 | 75,000 | 100,000 | 125,000 | 150,000 | 500,000 | 15%
3,3 External evaluation | 250,000 | 160,000 | 130,000 | 160,000 | 300,000 | 1,000,000 | 30%
3,4 Supervisory Board annual meetings | 24,000 | 24,000 | 24,000 | 24,000 | 30,000 | 146,000 | 5%
#### Subtotal | 354,000 | 309,000 | 314,000 | 374,000 | 545,000 | 1,916,000 | 33%
#### 4 Staff Costs
4,1 Salaries (for 18 staff) | 899,167 | 1,064,250 | 1,144,069 | 1,229,874 | 1,322,114 | 5,659,474 | 83%
4,2 Benefits Pension/Health | 179,833 | 212,850 | 228,814 | 245,975 | 264,423 | 1,131,895 | 10%
4,3 Staff development | 15,000 | 25,000 | 40,000 | 50,000 | 40,000 | 170,000 | 3%
#### Subtotal | 1,094,000 | 1,302,100 | 1,412,883 | 1,525,849 | 1,626,537 | 6,961,369 | 10%
#### 5 Operational Costs
6,1 Office rent and office running costs | 100,000 | 150,000 | 170,000 | 185,000 | 200,000 | 805,000 | 13%
6,2 Communications | 55,000 | 70,000 | 80,000 | 80,000 | 90,000 | 375,000 | 6%
6,3 Travel and transport | 50,000 | 75,000 | 90,000 | 95,000 | 95,000 | 405,000 | 7%
6,4 Hivos management fee | 375,000 | 309,000 | 318,270 | 327,818 | 337,653 | 1,667,741 | 26%
6,5 Assets/ equipment | 100,000 | 40,000 | 40,000 | 80,000 | 50,000 | 310,000 | 5%
6,6 Consultants/temp assistance/Misc | 25,000 | 50,000 | 60,000 | 70,000 | 60,000 | 265,000 | 4%
#### Subtotal | 705,000 | 694,000 | 758,270 | 837,818 | 832,653 | 3,827,741 | 6%
#### Total Staff/Operational Costs | 1,794,000 | 1,996,100 | 2,171,153 | 2,363,667 | 2,459,190 | 10,789,109 | 16%
#### Total Program Costs | 3,929,000 | 7,074,000 | 12,974,000 | 16,669,000 | 15,645,000 | 56,311,000 | 83%
#### Contingency Reserve | 120,000 | 200,000 | 200,000 | 200,000 | 200,000 | 920,000 | 15%
#### GRAND TOTAL | 5,848,000 | 9,270,100 | 15,345,153 | 19,032,667 | 18,304,190 | 68,000,109 | 100%
Annex 1: Governance – Board, Management Team & Key Staff Roles

Roles and responsibilities

**The Supervisory Board shall:**
- Approve the long-term (5 year) Program Strategy and Budget
- Endorse the annual workplan
- Approve the annual narrative reports and audited accounts
- Appoint Twaweza Head and hold him/her accountable
- Provide strategic feedback to Twaweza
- Appoint the financial auditors and their fees
- Approve Twaweza independent evaluation TOR and team
- Appoint new members of the Supervisory Board

**The Hivos Director Program and Projects shall:**
- Be an ex-officio member of the Supervisory Board
- Take overall legal responsibility for Twaweza (on behalf of the hosting agency)
- Delegate day-to-day responsibility of Twaweza to the Head
- Recommend candidates for the position of Head to the Supervisory Board
- Hold the Twaweza Head accountable on a regular basis
- Approve overall administration and financial policies, systems and procedures
- Approve all grant making contracts over 350,000 USD/year
- Together with the Head, recommend appointment of management team staff to Hivos General Director and endorse appointment of other Twaweza staff (as employees of Hivos Tanzania)

**The Head shall, in consultation with the management team as appropriate:**
- Provide overall conceptual and strategic leadership
- Promote Twaweza values and principles to guide staff and organizational culture
- Ensure adherence to agreed organisational policies, systems and procedures
- Ensure annual/quarterly work-plans and corresponding budgets, and annual reports and accounts are prepared on time and with quality
- Serve as Twaweza spokesperson and approve publications, statements and other public pronouncements
- Together with the Hivos Director of Programs and Projects recommend appointment of management team staff to Hivos General Director and appoint all other Twaweza staff (as employees of Hivos Tanzania)
- Support and supervise the Program Manager and Learning and Communications Manager
- Initiate annual appraisal/feedback of the Program Manager and Learning and Communications Manager
- Approve all grant making contracts up to 350,000 USD/year and recommend contracts above this threshold
Twaweza! East Africa

- Serve as key link with independent evaluation team/process
- Liaise with the Supervisory Board and ensure that its Annual Meetings are well organized.

**The Program Manager shall:**
- Direct and manage the overall programs and operations, including Grantmaking
- Recommend grants for approval to the Head
- Monitor and evaluate the overall progress of programs, operations, and grants
- Take lessons learned into account and adjust program operations accordingly
- Take the lead in identifying key partners together with the country coordinators
- Recommend recruitment of staff and prepare their job descriptions
- Supervise and support staff to undertake their roles and initiate annual appraisal/feedback of staff who report to him/her
- Manage preparation of annual annual/quarterly work-plans and corresponding budgets, and annual reports and accounts
- Guide and approve detailed activity plans, budgets and expenditures
- Supervise and manage the implementation and interpretation of organizational policies, systems and procedures
- Liaise with Hivos HQ in relation to quality assurance, monitoring and evaluation of grants
- Support the Head in preparing the Annual Meeting with the Supervisory Board and other key responsibilities.

**The Learning and Communications Manager shall:**
- Be responsible for developing, fostering and managing culture of learning and innovation within Twaweza, its staff and partners.
- Support country coordinators to reflect on strategic effectiveness and document lessons learned
- Support country coordinators to (and in some cases directly) support program partners to develop a culture and practice of learning within their own organizations
- Supervise and support junior learning officer to undertake his/her role and initiate annual appraisal/feedback
- Manage linkages and long term support of mentors to program partners
- Coordinate placement of doctoral/masters students in partner organizations to document and communicate learning
- Produce and publish interesting/creative materials on lessons learned, and effectively communicate these with key audiences
- Advise the management team on how to strengthen program effectiveness
- Manage the Twaweza website and library/electronic resources database
- Support the Head in communication and other key matters.

**The Country Coordinator shall:**
- Analyze the country situation in relation to Twaweza themes, identify constraints and opportunities, including through on the ground travel and engaging with ordinary citizens
- Take a lead role in developing a country strategy and program to further Twaweza objectives
• Develop and sustain a diverse and creative network of contacts
• Take the lead in identifying key partners and staff in the country together with the Program Manager.
• Broker strategic partnerships and initiatives, and associated grant-making assessment portfolio.
• Manage country-level grantmaking in accordance with Hivos standards, with support of Program Manager.
• Foster a culture of learning within the country program, office and partnerships, and support the L&C Officer to play his/her role effectively.
• Document and communicate lessons, take lessons learned into account and adjust program and operations accordingly
• Recommend recruitment of country level staff and prepare their job descriptions
• Supervise and support staff to undertake their roles and initiate annual appraisal/feedback of staff who report to him/her
• Manage timely preparation of regular plans, budgets and reports.
• Head the country office and represent the Twaweza Initiative in country (except possibly in Tanzania).
• Manage the implementation of organizational policies, systems and procedures
• Liaise with Twaweza Head office in relation to quality assurance, monitoring and evaluation of grants
• Support the Twaweza management team as needed.

The Learning and Communications Officer shall:
• Develop and foster a culture of learning and innovation within country program, staff and office.
• Support program partners to develop a culture and practice of learning within their own organizations, strategic partnerships and initiatives.
• With the guidance of the Country Coordinator, manage linkages and long term support of mentors to program partners.
• Manage placement of doctoral/masters students in partner organizations to document and communicate learning.
• Produce and prepare for publication interesting/creative materials on lessons learned, and effectively communicate these with key audiences.
• Document lessons learned and support country coordinators on strategic effectiveness.
• Advise the L&C Manager on lessons learned and how to strengthen program effectiveness.
• Actively contribute to the Twaweza website and library/electronic resources database.
• Play a key role in M&E of program partners and Twaweza country level engagement; liaise with independent evaluation entity.
• Serve as the first point of information contact for Twaweza in country; clearly communicate Twaweza to external audiences.
• Support the Country Coordinator and Management Team in communication and other aspects as needed.
Annex 2: What is Hivos?

The Humanist Institute for cooperation with Developing Countries (Hivos) is a Dutch development agency based on humanist values. Hivos has 40 years of experience as a development organisation and a grantmakers that stands for quality, continuity and reliability, as well as versatility, innovation and individual choices. Hivos has supported development processes mostly by providing substantial financial and institutional support to civil society organisations and initiatives in the South. Core activities also include advocacy and knowledge sharing. Hivos provides partners with technical advice and is actively involved in organisational development.

Annual income of Hivos in 2007 was 148 million USD of which 134 million USD was spent on Program activities. In 2007 Hivos supported over 800 organisations in more than 30 countries amongst which 165 partners working in Human Rights & Democratisation (25.4m USD, 2007) and 68 partners working in ICT & Media (9.3m USD, 2007). 6% of the Hivos Program budget goes to gender organisations; additionally gender monitoring has been mainstreamed into the other sectors. Hivos has established regional offices in Indonesia, India, Costa Rica and Zimbabwe. Furthermore in Africa Hivos have representatives in Kenya (for the Eastern African Region), Zambia, Tanzania, Mozambique and South Africa.

Hivos has seven thematic programs that operate under the leadership of a Program manager in virtual, global teams of Program officers. The teams are responsible for formulating and implementing policy in their respective fields within the overall framework of the Hivos strategic plan 2007-2011. The sectors are: Sustainable Production (22% of Program budget), Financial Services (incl. Micro Credit; 15%), Human rights and Democratisation (19%), Hiv/Aids (11%), Gender (6%), Arts and Culture (5%), Media and ICT (7%), Development education and campaigns (8%), and knowledge programs (7%).

In 2007 Hivos employed 191 staff members of whom 78 work in regional offices. 45% of staff is not Dutch by birth. Hivos attaches great importance to gender mainstreaming in both its’ own internal policies as in its’ grantmaking and capacity building activities. 67 % of the Hivos staff at Head Office is female. In management positions the share of women came is 50% including regional directors. Furthermore gender equality is one of the seven thematic areas in which Hivos works.

The Hivos Supervisory Board, the highest governance level, oversees the Board of Directors and the overall functioning of Hivos. Day-to-day management is the responsibility of the Executive Director and the Director of Programs and Projects. Management further consists of four Heads of Bureaus and the Head of the department of Audit, Evaluation and Quality control (TEC). The management team is further complemented by the Executive Directors of the Hivos Regional Offices.

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**Hivos’ accountability**
- Customized annual reports for the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, EU, UN Global Fund;
- Public Annual and abridged Annual Report (Dutch, English, Spanish);
- Hivos Online: news/profiles of Hivos’ and partners’ work
- Hivos Virtual Office: full insight into payment and reporting cycles for partners
- Hivos Magazine (Dutch) and Hivos International (English/Spanish)

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40 Conversion rate 31 December 2007: 1 Euro is 1.46 US dollar
Annex 3: Potential Key Resource Organizations

Below we provide brief summaries about some of the most creative organizations around the world working on aspects related to Twaweza. They are well networked agencies whose influence and reach extends across many sectors and countries. All of them have also pioneered or introduced important innovations in citizen agency or public accountability related issues. They bring a wealth of experience, knowledge and innovation that can be of help to Twaweza and its partners. We have been in communication with several of these organizations during the development of Twaweza, and benefited from insightful comments and ideas. Over the course of the next five years Twaweza intends to develop and maintain open, critical relationships with these organizations, with following objectives in mind:

- to have the organizations serve as resources to Twaweza partners in the conceptualization, development, implementation and evaluation of their work or initiatives through consultancy, technical and organizational support and other means
- to enhance learning through hosting study visits/exchanges, publications, feedback on ideas, and other joint learning efforts
- to undertake joint work or coordinate actions together with Twaweza partners where appropriate
- to learn lessons from the Twaweza experience and share/use them in their contexts as appropriate, and in this way amplify the impact of Twaweza's work

The list of organizations below, presented in alphabetical order, is illustrative and not complete. Twaweza has not formally discussed partnership with all of them and some may not become involved; conversely others may be added to the list as imitative develops.

**BBC World Service Trust** [www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/trust](http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/trust)

**General:** The BBC World Service Trust is an expert organization for using media and communications to reduce poverty and promote human rights. They aspire to a world where individuals and civil society use media and communications to become effective participants in their own political, economic, social and cultural development. Their strategies include:

- Assessing the information and interaction needs of individuals and communities.
- Strengthening the media sector by building professional capacity and infrastructure.
- Producing creative programs in multi-media formats that inform and engage audiences around key development issues.

The Trust is actively involved in East Africa in, among other aspects, monitoring the impact of media, studies on assessing the state of media, and supporting the transformation of state broadcasters into public service broadcasters.

**Twaweza:** The Trust could work with media organizations to improve reach and quality of media, and advise on ethical and media independence issues. In addition the Trust is very interested in the Tanzania Media Fund concept, in following its progress and the potential expansion of the concept in other countries. The Trust was recently awarded a large DFID Governance and Transparency grant to strengthen media in the region, which provides an important opportunity for collaboration.
Idasa www.idasa.org.za

General: IDASA is probably Africa’s leading independent public interest organization committed to promoting sustainable democracy based on active citizenship, democratic institutions and social justice. Idasa works on many programs, of which some are closely linked to Twaweza objectives. Three examples: the Community & Citizen Empowerment Program aims to empower communities and citizens to shape the course and condition of their lives through effective engagement in social and political processes. The Media@IDASA covers a range of democracy-related media, including radio, print publishing and electronic communications. The Political Governance Program aims to build and strengthen democratic institutions and relationships between elected representatives, appointed officials and citizens in order to enhance meaningful engagement between governments and citizens. In addition its recently established democracy school provides opportunities for mutual learning.

Twaweza: Idasa can strengthen our work by sharing their extensive and experience on citizen organizing and other Twaweza related issues through their sharing publications, hosting exchange visitors, fostering learning by extending the democracy school concept to East Africa, and providing technical advice to partners.

International Budget Program (IBP) www.internationalbudget.org

General: IBP aims to nurture the growth of civil society capacity to analyze and influence government budget processes, institutions and outcomes. The IBP is interested in working with those organizations that focus on the impact of the budget on poor and low-income people in developing countries or new democracies. The overarching aim of the project is to make budget systems more responsive to the needs of society and, accordingly, to make these systems more transparent and accountable to the public.

Twaweza: IBP is already active in East Africa and has many strong organizations in its partner network, many of whom are also Hivos partners. The joint country assessments that have informed this proposal were conducted jointly with IBP, who has also been involved in shaping the Twaweza concept from the outset. IBP is also moving towards the same type of country level ecosystem or critical mass concept as Twaweza’s, and joint work in several areas will be worth exploring. Specifically, IBP can support partners on issues of revenue and expenditure tracking, and making this information available in a reliable, transparent and useful manner. In turn Twaweza can support IBP to strengthen the citizen agency component, and by its presence on the ground in the region.

LogoLink www2.ids.ac.uk/logolink/index.htm

General: LogoLink is a learning initiative on citizen participation and local governance. It is a global network of practitioners from civil society organizations, research institutions and governments. The network aims to deepen democracy through greater citizen participation in local governance. LogoLink encourages learning from field-based innovations and expressions of democracy which contribute to social justice.

Its principal aims are to:
- Create spaces for reflection, learning and exchange among and between partners.
- Focus on field-based innovations and expressions of democracy which contribute to social justice.
- Contribute to making relationships between citizens and governments more participatory and inclusive.

Twaweza: Logolink can strengthen our work by extensively sharing, and actively introducing their lessons learned into our partnerships and initiatives, especially on making relationships
between citizens and governments more participatory and inclusive. The network has its roots and still maintains connections with the citizen engagement work at IDS Sussex, with whom Twaweza also intends to cooperate in student exchange and other areas. Twaweza partners may find it useful to join with the network. In turn Logolink’s presence in East Africa is likely to be strengthened through engagement with Twaweza.

Open Democracy Advice Centre (ODAC) www.opendemocracy.org.za

General: ODAC’s mission is to promote open and transparent democracy; foster a culture of corporate and government accountability; and assist people in Southern Africa to be able to realize their human rights. ODAC seeks to achieve its mission through realizing the right to know so that it makes a material, tangible difference in the lives of the poor, and thereby contributes to social and economic justice. ODAC was a leading member of the movement for the right to information in South Africa, and is currently involved in advising both governments and CSO actors across several African countries on these issues. One of its strengths is its ability to work with both governments and progressive CSOs, and to help build a consensus approach.

Twaweza: ODAC brings strong conceptual expertise and practical knowledge on right to information aspects, including from its previous work in East Africa. It can support partners to strengthen citizen access to information through legal and programmatic work. In addition, ODAC was recently awarded a large DFID Governance and Transparency grant to strengthen transparency in education in the region, collaboration on which may provide an important link to enhance service delivery in this sector.

Open Society Institute East Africa (OSIEA)

General: OSIEA supports bold social justice work in East Africa, particularly Kenya, and is seeking to expand work in the other two countries. With its all East African staff it has quickly been able to develop relationships with key players and ‘read the signs’ of major issues and opportunities. OSIEA has not been afraid to support somewhat controversial issues and people, and is pushing the envelope on the types of groups that are funded, such as well respected Bunge la Mwananchi in Kenya. It is also able to respond relatively quickly and flexibly – for instance within days during the Kenya post-election crisis.

Twaweza: OSIEA provides Twaweza with linkages to a progressive and largely grassroots community in East Africa. Its flexibility and focus on human rights and justice links well with Twaweza’s citizen agency approach. In turn Twaweza may be able to provide useful connections to OSIEA in Tanzania and in ways to engage directly with larger numbers of citizens.

Panos www.panos.org.uk

General: Panos is a global leader on the role of communication and media for development. It promotes the participation of poor and marginalized people in national and international development debates through media and communication projects. They have a regional office in Uganda, and a strong center in London. Panos London’s work is focused on four key areas:

- Debate: generating public debate on key issues
- Voice: helping poor people to make their voices heard.
- Advocacy: communication at the heart of change
• Media: strengthening local, national and global capacity on freedom of information and communication.

Twaweza: Panos could work with media organizations that are linked to Twaweza – and with other partners – to stimulate thinking and improve quality of communication. Their niche lies with voice and media. An advantage is their experience and local presence in the region.

An International Centre for Learning and Promotion of Participation and Democratic Governance (PRIA) www.pria.org

General: The mission of the Indian organization PRIA is to work towards the promotion of policies, institutions and capacities that strengthen voices and participation against the marginalization of communities. The idea is to improve their socio-economic status through democratic governance. PRIA’s mission is to reach out, through such governance, to everyone in society and to ease their participation in the governance process. PRIA’s project interventions are focused at achieving two clear impacts: effective voice of new leadership and transparent and accountable self-governing institutions. PRIA and its President Rajesh Tandon are also actively involved in regional and international networks to bring about the realization of social and economic rights through strengthened citizen engagement. Learning and development of citizen agency and public accountability have been core PRIA concerns for 26 years.

Twaweza: PRIA’s extensive global network and Asian experience provides opportunities for exchange and learning for Twaweza partners, particularly on large scale citizen organizing for change. It can offer both conceptual strength and practical tools, including numerous publications. Its explicit focus on learning and capacity development can also be helpful in informing the Twaweza learning program.

SNV www.snvworld.org

General: SNV supports local actors to strengthen their performance in the effective realization of poverty reduction and good governance. Their advisors listen, connect, advise, facilitate and exchange expertise. SNV has on the ground offices in Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda, and a strong regional office in Nairobi, all involved in local governance and service delivery issues. One of their key areas of work is improving access to and quality of basic services. In education SNV focuses on better management for effective education (skills and training, infrastructure and support). Another focus is on better accountability (e.g. by involving citizens in the operation of schools). Within the health sector they work on establishing accountability for services delivered and their contribution to improve health of the population, for example by encouraging community health associations (with participation of women) to co-manage primary health care centers. In water SNV has carried out mapping surveys of the functionality of water points, and is exploring how the information can be used to stimulate greater accountability.

Twaweza: With its governance expertise, SNV can play a meaningful role in helping to enhance quality and quantity (access) of basic services such as health care, education and water as well as overall government accountability to its citizens. Furthermore, SNV can facilitate the on-the-ground brokering of initiatives that links with their core expertise, as well as linking with governments in the region with whom they have good relations. Lastly, SNV can support the key agents of change and mentors that work in our ecosystem.

Tactical Tech Collective www.tacticaltech.org

General: Tactical Tech (TTC) is a strategic Hivos partner with a track record in introducing technology into advocacy. TTC believes that new technologies have significant potential to enhance the work of campaigners and advocates, giving them the tools to gather and analyze...
information and the means to turn that information into action. TTC has programs on skill and movement building. Their core areas are:

- Finding effective ways for marginalized communities and rights advocates to create and disseminate information.
- Increasing the participation of marginalized communities on issues that affect them.
- Providing advocates and communities with skills and tools to create independent information and to turn this information into effective action.

Twaweza: Given Twaweza’s core focus on information, TTC can bring specific expertise and tools to aid partners achieve better information and technology management. A key project to learn from is the Asian TTC project in which mobile phones are used to get information to sex workers and get their voices and opinions to decision makers and civil society.

Tanzania Media Fund

**General:** The Tanzania Media Fund (hosted by Hivos) is a multi-donor basket fund that supports journalists to conduct high quality investigative journalism. Individual journalists as well as media houses can apply for the grants. Attached to each grant is a training component (Media Up) through which journalists can develop capabilities in relation to the specific subjects they are dealing with. Besides grants and training, the fund also provides insurance and legal defense for journalists conducting investigative journalism.

Twaweza: The TMF concept for strengthening media is largely consistent with Twaweza’s view (some of the same people were involved in both initiatives). For Tanzania, therefore, program area 2 on media strengthening will be undertaken by TMF and Twaweza will concentrate its media efforts in Kenya and Uganda, including using the TMF experience to inform development of similar media funds in the two countries. TMF and Twaweza also share an office in Dar es Salaam, allowing for practical sharing of resources.

Training Center for Development Cooperation (TCDC) [www.mstcdc.or.tz](http://www.mstcdc.or.tz)

**General:** TCDC is a long-time training center for development cooperation serving East Africa and based outside Arusha, Tanzania – close to the headquarters of the East African Community. It offers courses on development issues, tailor-made learning opportunities and space for retreat and reflection. TCDC is refining and focusing its mission to become a ‘democracy center’, offering critical skills and collaboration opportunities for advancing citizen participation, local government accountability and improved service delivery in the region.

Twaweza: TCDC can be a leading partner to Twaweza’s learning program, offering expertise and physical space for reflection and learning among partner staff. Its evolving focus on local governance and democracy connects well with Twaweza’s concern of achieving better service delivery and resource management for citizens.

Uwezo East Africa (currently based in Dar es Salaam and Nairobi, later also Kampala)

**General:** Uwezo, meaning capability in Swahili, is a recently established independent initiative that seeks to promote citizen engagement in monitoring learning outcomes in East Africa. Its main aim is to strengthen the quality of education by building a broad movement focused on redefining quality in terms of learning outcomes rather than inputs. Loosely based on the successful experience of the Annual Status of Education Report (ASER) in India (see [www.pratham.org](http://www.pratham.org)), the initiative was started with support from the Hewlett Foundation, one of Twaweza’s founding funding partners. In the interim set-up phase Uwezo is administratively managed by Hivos.
Twaweza: Uwezo’s theory of change is similar to Twaweza’s, and provides an opportunity to collaborate in improving education. Their approach to undertake large scale monitoring in education using volunteer action can provide important lessons for extending similar work in health and water, and in enabling citizen involvement.
Annex 4: Reviewing Paris - On CSOs & Aid Effectiveness

1. The current interest in aid effectiveness is timely. We know from our own personal experiences, from the facts of chronic impoverishment, millions still not reading, women still dying from childbirth, and increasing inequalities that the aid business is not working well. Responsibility applies to all of us – governments, donors and civil society alike – and often I sense that we CSOs are the least effective of them all. So I celebrate attention to aid effectiveness, because implicit in it is recognition that things are not well, and that we must get them right.

2. But with all the attention the Paris Declaration has received, it is easy to lose sight of a simple point – that the purpose of aid effectiveness is not aid effectiveness, but households escaping impoverishment, and people realizing concrete changes in their lives. Paris is only the plumbing; the purpose is water and to have thirsts quenched. The problem with donors and governments is that they seem to have lost sight of the purpose of aid – so that countless months are spent drawing up assistance strategies and performance matrices which measure the extent to which aid is harmonized or the percentage which is provided in budget support, as if these in themselves were the goals of development.

3. A useful way to approach the Paris Declaration may be to put it aside for a moment, start with the core purposes of development, and then work backwards to what kind of plumbing we need. For many of us this would be ordinary people having the ways and means, the options, to live a good life, to get the basic services they need, to secure livelihoods, to have voice and to have their rights respected. To make things happen, rather than just have things happen to them. In short, ‘citizen agency’.

4. Citizen agency is not only the purpose – or the ends – of development and democracy, it is also its most effective means. People who are in good health and well educated, confident and secure, able to access opportunities within a level playing field, enjoy access information and express themselves – are the people who can makes things happen, fight injustice and unfairness, thrive. Historically we find that all the important changes – women’s equality, stopping slavery, ending apartheid, respect for gays and lesbians, concern for the environment – have been driven not by declarations in Paris or New York or Accra, or government schemes or NGO projects, but by socio-political movements of capable, committed and courageous people. The focus of our efforts, and for the Paris review for that matter, should be how do we enable capable, committed and courageous people to do their thing, to unleash their potential.

5. When I think in these terms an immediate observation is how the business of development is so out-of-touch from the reality of people’s lives – it is as if there are two separate worlds – lived reality on this side, and the aid industry on that side. The connection between the two is hardly organic. In Tanzania, when I have asked ordinary people to define development, often I am told that ‘it is to be sensitized and get an allowance’. I cannot imagine a more effective way to erase citizen agency. Demands for an allowance makes sense where people see no intrinsic value in development – you see it is a game that brings money, and you see that people running the game are making money from it, so you try to get your piece of it too. We offer sitting allowances as a bribe for people to show-up to our events, because otherwise they wouldn’t, and we wouldn’t be able to fill our boxes to show success. I am increasingly convinced that development, whether done by governments, donors or NGOs, however well-meaning, is too often all too corrupting.
6. My pessimism about the aid industry is surpassed by my enthusiasm for what happens on the 'lived realities' side of the column. When people are not ‘doing development’ sitting in workshops being sensitized and drawing up recommendations that go nowhere, there is suffering but there is also wonderful stuff happening. Recently in Uganda I learned of powerful debates on FM radio stations – where people discuss what matters to them, use meager resources to send in an SMS, rally against the corrupt politicians and say what should be done. This has enabled people’s voice to be heard and fostered public debate in a manner that is historically unprecedented. Or in Tanzania we see an equally unprecedented public stir about the use of natural resources, that is driven by and that drives the media and Parliament to uncover more of the truth. The events have led to the Governor of Central Bank being fired, the Prime Minister resigning, the cabinet dissolved and in the reshuffle seven big ministers losing their posts. Mining contracts with most powerful companies are being reviewed. Stolen billions from the Central Bank are being recovered. A powerful ex-minister is under investigation for corruption. Donors have been forced to amend how they play their game. And most importantly, among the people, there is a clamoring for transparency and accountability, and an understanding that government must work for them, which can no longer be suppressed. These powerful currents have little to do with the aid business; they have been driven by other forces. We need to connect with those forces.

7. So what does all this mean for the Paris Declaration? First, we need to recognize the high level of our irrelevance, of development as we know it and do it. Second, we need to understand that the aid architecture and our work will become relevant to the extent to which it can enable citizens to connect with the public domain, to find ways to make government and public sphere their own, to have aspirations and pursue their dreams, practically.

8. How? Here are three suggestions:

- **Practical information for everyone:** Information is indeed power – not the abstract supply-driven kind, but information that is concrete, practical, user-friendly. By definition this has to be demand driven and responsive. This is not national enrolment rates, but about who is going to my school and who isn’t, and how that compares with the neighboring schools and schools in the capital city. It is not pre-packaged notes on local government policy, but practical stuff on how my council can be a vehicle to improve my community and how I can get rid of a corrupt leader. It is about ordinary people having the ability to search whatever they want and getting the information in a quick, reliable and affordable manner. Imagine Googling using SMS from your cell phone.

- **Quality and independent media:** Mass media done well – newspapers, TV and in particular radio – can get information to people, create space for citizen views to be heard and debated, and hold governments publicly to account. Despite many constraints, media is doing an amazing job in many countries. Amartya Sen has famously declared that no country with a free press has had a famine. So what’s really important is to keep media free and independent (from undue state or commercial interests), to help it have real quality and reach, and to have it reflect diverse voices. Investing in a pluralistic and free media is probably the single most important thing one can do to facilitate change.

- **Citizens monitoring government:** Governments are meant to do things for and on behalf of the people, but most people have little means to know or track what the government is actually doing. Access to information and independent media will help; but in addition we need to develop a fabric and tools for citizen monitoring of public bodies and public resources. In recent years, through the International Budget Program (IBP) and others, we
I have seen some terrific work on analyzing budgets and tracking revenues and expenditures – so that people know how public monies are allocated, distributed in practice, and used. This work needs to be expanded and extended to see whether people get services, who benefits and who is excluded, and how it changes lives. This is not a technocratic exercise, but one where people really can know what they are interested in, discuss among themselves, and find practical recourse to addressing concerns. A basic indicator of human progress has to be the extent to which people can monitor what their governments are doing, follow-up, and have the power to do something about it.

9. This conception defines development in the contestation and cooperation between citizens and public institutions. Information is the lubricant that helps fuel and massage this political dynamic, and one that, because it puts matters in the public domain, exposes matters and allows citizens to exercise influence over the state. When private, individuals are only as powerful as their wealth or personal connection, but when public the equation can dramatically change. The true work of civil society is not technical or capacity building (that awful phrase) or handouts or lobbying or advocacy, but to lubricate the ways and means in which citizens can exercise power.

10. The problem with the Paris Declaration offers a managerial set of technocratic solutions when the core reason development isn’t effective is not poor management or lack of harmonization or high transaction costs or lack of mutual accountability, but because the political dynamic between states and the citizenry is warped, and public institutions are either captured or dysfunctional or too weak to be a corrective. As a set of management tools, I have little problem with Paris. But what it seeks to take on and solve has its roots in something far more fundamental and ambitious.

11. For CSOs it would be a mistake to just complain about the Paris Declaration as ignoring civil society or taking away money from it or giving too much or too little control to donors, or worse moan that we were not involved in the process. These constraints aside, several aspects of Paris make sense to me in the plumbing of supporting governments. Moreover, it has been argued (and the donors in Tanzania have agreed) to apply the Paris principles for support to strategic CSOs – it certainly makes the job of an NGO head easier to have only one proposal, one budget, one set of reports and one set of processes, all designed by itself, to use with its donors. But the core point is that all this getting the plumbing right does not solve the challenge of whether any of us are doing the right thing.

12. The Paris review offers us at least two opportunities: One of them is to situate the Paris plumbing in terms of its larger context of accountability to citizens. The other is to take a hard look in the mirror. Many of us would be far more relevant and effective if we got our houses in order than rally against the powers that be that can brush us aside anyway. If we had the ability to inform and be informed by citizens, at scale, and transform ourselves into resources for individual and collective citizen action, those capable, committed and courageous people – the organic stuff not more workshops and allowances – then the powers would have to pay attention to citizens. This is the stuff of enabling citizens to claim and reclaim their democratic mandate and constitute the powers that be in themselves. In the elegant slogan of the Kenyan-American US Democratic Party presidential candidate, we will know we have arrived when the citizens know and feel that “we are the ones we have been waiting for”.

Rakesh Rajani, 5 June 2008, The Hague. This is a revised version of a presentation prepared for the ‘Missing Link’ conference on the role of civil society in aid effectiveness.
There has in recent years been a growing realization of the potential impact of public access to information and the ability of citizens to use the information to demand accountability in improving service delivery. This was also the theme of the 2004 World Development Report which was named *Making Services Work for Poor People*. The report argument connects the need to improve service delivery for the poor with the need to empower the poor gain control of the quality of the services to which they are entitled:

“To often, services fail poor people – in access, in quantity and in quality. But the fact that there are strong examples where services do work means governments and citizens can do better. How? By putting poor people at the center of service provision: by enabling them to monitor and discipline service providers, by amplifying their voice in policymaking, and by strengthening the incentives for providers to serve the poor.” (World Bank 2004, 1)

The realization by influential actors in international development, such as the World Bank, that it is important to engage local communities and civil society in the monitoring of service delivery came at a time when a number of success stories of civil society initiatives were receiving international acclaim.

Notable examples include:

- **The Right to Information campaign and social audits by MKSS in Rajasthan, India.** Through their lobbying and community work, MKSS managed to gain access to the financial records of rural development funds and to engage the intended beneficiaries in scrutinizing the records. The process of public hearings, developed by MKSS, unearthed massive cases of fraud and embezzlement and led to recovery of large amounts of funds and disciplining of officials responsible. MKSS also successfully lobbied the provincial government to adopt a Freedom of Information Act. Another success was registered when the public auditor’s office in Rajasthan started sharing its findings with MKSS, after being frustrated by non-action by the authorities on its recommendations. (Ramkumar 2007)

- **The participatory audits by Concerned Citizens of Abra for Good Governance (CCAGG) from the province of Abra in the Philippines.** CCAGG was started by a group of volunteers with the backing of professionals, such as engineers and accountants and have specialized in investigating public works, such as roads and bridges. They have documented a large number of non-performed and sub-standard works and presented their evidence to the authorities, which has often resulted in dismissal of public officers responsible. In recognition of their successes, the Ministry of Public Works and Highways has started demanding verification from CCAGG before paying for major public works and CCAGG has also entered into a formal agreement of cooperation with the National Commission on Audit. (Ramkumar 2007)

- **The Citizens Report Cards of the Public Affairs Centre (PAC) in Bangalore, India.** The ‘report card’ on public services was created by a group of civil society institutions under the umbrella of PAC. Bangalore residents were asked to rate the institutions of service delivery in the city with which they had had direct experiences, and to provide details of different
aspects of their experience, such as staff behavior, solicitation of speed money and quality of services. The results were published and considerable publicity was accorded to what the findings showed was a very poor quality of services, and particularly the rankings, which enabled the public to compare the performance of different institutions. The Citizens’ Report Cards have since become a regular feature of public monitoring in Bangalore and there has been a significant improvement in the quality of public services that has been attributed to the citizens’ feedback through the report cards. (Paul 1998 and www.pacindia.org)

These three cases have all documented significant impact as a result of citizens’ feedback to authorities on the use of public monies and the quality of public services. All three build on mechanisms which have been created by engaged citizens ‘on the ground’ and which have grown organically to become the important agents of change that they turned out to be.

A different, more conventional development type initiative that is often cited as a demonstration of the power of information is the public information campaigns that were inspired and documented by the pioneering Public Expenditure Tracking Studies (PETS) in Uganda. A first PETS conducted in 1996 showed that in 1995, only 26% of the cash transferred from the central government to the schools actually made it to the schools. After these findings were made public, a number of initiatives were started, including a massive public information campaign that included posting publicly and advertising in newspapers when transfers were made to schools and informing school committees of their entitlements. These efforts, combined with a general strengthening and streamlining of the financial systems and oversight, contributed to an improvements in the integrity of the system, and by 2001, 80% of the funds reached the schools (Reinikka and Svensson 2003 and Hubbard 2007).

A more recent case from Uganda is an experiment on the impact of using report cards to improve community monitoring and provide incentives for better health service delivery at the community level. Using surveys of health service providers and users, and also scrutiny of records at health facilities, report cards were developed showing how assessments of several aspects of the performance of the health services in the communities. These report cards were presented to the communities by trained facilitators, largely taken from local CBOs, and the communities were assisted to provide feedback to the health providers on their recommendations and priorities. One year into the Program, it was documented that there had been a large increase in the utilization of the health facilities and hat basic outcome indicators, such as child mortality and weight-for-age gains of infants, had improved significantly (Björkman and Svensson 2007).

These inspiring success stories demonstrate the potential of access to information when the information helps the citizens to assess the performance of public service providers and/or identify concrete cases of mismanagement. The impact from these types of initiatives comes either directly, from citizens demanding that authorities take action, or indirectly, through the information causing informed debate at the local, provincial and national level which in turn provides incentives for service providers to improve their performance and also helps them identify problem areas in order to better meet the citizens’ concerns and preferences.

A cautionary note
Inspiring as the success stories cited above are, and there are others, it is nevertheless striking that there are not more such stories. The potential of public information campaigns and citizens agency have been recognized for some time and considerable resources have been channeled into attempting to replicate earlier successes, particularly in the last 5 years. Still, there has not
been the dramatic duplication in success stories that one might have expected. Note, for example, that 4 of the 5 cases cited in this brief note, had already started ten years ago.

Why has it been so hard to replicate these well designed and effective interventions? Any deep-going analysis of this question but a few observations will be provided.42

- There has been a tendency to underestimate the complexity underlying the above successes. Simply providing information or facilitating report card exercises is not likely to have much of an impact unless it is informed by the local institutional and political context. Simply placing information on a notice board, for example, is not likely to have much of an impact if the information is not understandable to the intended audience (see, for example, Mushi et al 2005).

- There has been a tendency to focus on starting new initiatives, “pushing money out the door” at the expense of follow up and careful reporting and assessments of experiences. Two results of this has been uncritical reporting of success and poor learning.

- Success seems to be more likely to be forthcoming when bottom up demands for change or action are formally or informally linked up with top-down enforcement from official authorities—in creating an overall ecosystem of change. Particularly Supreme Audit Institutions have proved to be good, strategic allies of citizen groups (see for example cases cited by Ramkumar and Krafchik 2007).

Lastly, responding to the oft-repeated call to address the need for a theory of change, reference is made to the string of researches that have been sponsored by development agencies, such as DFID’s Drivers of Change and SIDA’s Power Analysis. These have sought to go beyond the technocratic approach of more conventional development theory, in order to understand the political economy of development. One consistent finding in a now rich body of such political economy study is that the domestic political debate is one, if not the key driver of change (see Dahl Østergaard et al. 2005 and Leftwich 2006). It should be clear that access to information and citizens’ ability to act on and respond to public information are key ingredients to sparking and sustaining a meaningful domestic debate on the key issues of change in society.

The Twaweza approach may be well placed to take these challenges into account. Its local basis, medium to long term time frame, and explicit commitment to independent assessment and learning are all important features of approaching this work with the rigor it requires. It would also go a long way towards providing further evidence of what works, for how long and under what conditions.

References


42 This question is considered in some more detail in a forthcoming piece titled "Follow the Money: Beyond PETS" (Sundet, Forthcoming).


  http://www.internationalbudget.org/SAlsandCSOs.pdf


*Geir Sundet, August 2008 (gsundet@gmail.com) for Twaweza*
Annex 6: 24 common questions about Twaweza

The development of the Twaweza concept has been an iterative process over the last year. It has benefited from extensive written and verbal input from many actors during this time, most recently on the draft that was circulated in July 2008. Written comments on this draft from donors and key partners have been consolidated in the accompanying document. The feedback has been taken into account in the revised proposal. In addition some of the more commonly asked questions have been compiled and responded to below for easy reference and clarity.

The list below is not exhaustive, but it elaborates on and clarifies most of the major issues raised. At the same time, it may be helpful to note that we do not have all the answers. The Twaweza approach, while based on solid experience and clarity of method, is also somewhat experimental. It seeks to try out new things, learn in the process, make modifications as needed and continue. Moreover, while Twaweza's broad parameters (access to information, citizen agency, and basic service delivery) are clear, within this frame the approach is highly flexible, responsive and iterative, and much of the detailed content will be developed with partners rather than being pre-determined. Given this nature, it may be less pertinent to assess whether Twaweza has figured it all out, and more important to assess its ability to be reflective and resourceful, and intelligently figure out the uncertain aspects as it unfolds.

1. How has Twaweza come about and informed its development? How do you know Twaweza is needed?

Twaweza has twin origins. First, it draws from over 15 years of civil society work done in Tanzania, and in particular the experience of Twaweza's Head in leading the Kuleana Centre for Children's Rights, HakiElimu and the (NGO) Policy Forum. This work links policy engagement with expanding the space for citizen voice on the ground; enabling citizens to better claim their rights, follow-up and secure increased transparency and delivery of basic services. The overall lesson from this experience, corroborated by emerging evidence from other countries as well, is that enabling citizens to have access to information and engage with monitoring and public work is essential to enduring social change.

Second, Twaweza emerges from the desire of several US based foundations, the International Budget Partnership (IBP), SNV and Hivos to expand their work in transparency, accountability and citizen agency in East Africa. Instead of each actor going its own separate way, Twaweza offers an opportunity to contribute to strategic, scalable work – facilitated by an entity and people based in the region. In this way we see Twaweza less as a conventional proposal submitted for donor funding, and more as a joint initiative with donors to do powerful work in the region.

The Twaweza concept has been informed global development experience and by country assessments in Tanzania, Uganda and Kenya undertaken between February and August 2008. The assessments have been undertaken jointly by Hewlett, the IBP, and Hivos.

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43 This annex on FAQ was first written to accompany an earlier draft of this document. Subsequently many of the key clarifications articulated here have been incorporated in the main text, but the annex is reproduced here in full to provide easy access to responses to specific concerns.

44 See for instance Bellagio meeting in June 2008 get URL

45 The country assessments are being finalized. The main take home messages are included in the situation analysis section of the revised Twaweza proposal.
following a common TOR. Over 160 people have been consulted in the process across different sectors, including community level visits. The country assessments confirm the need for deepening and joining up work in this area and the value of having an East Africa based institution to catalyze this work, and have informed Twaweza's approach.

The Twaweza concept has gone through many drafts and received comments from about 75 thinkers and practitioners across East Africa and globally. These include a wide range of people from civil society, academics, researchers, government, media, donors and others. This process of consultation and candid feedback will be maintained throughout the life of the initiative.

2. How will Twaweza work with government? While you work on the demand side don’t you also need to enable the supply side to respond? Isn’t informing the public the responsibility of the government?

The focus on citizen driven action does not mean that Twaweza will work in isolation or apart from government. Rather, Twaweza partners will seek to help citizens reclaim government and animate public institutions (such as village councils, school committees, government oversight institutions), and over time to help develop a new, more responsive ‘compact in practice’ between citizens and the state/elected representatives. Twaweza’s demand-side focus is designed to complement and revitalize the many supply-side governance reforms underway in East Africa supported by the World Bank, UNDP, DFID and others (with significantly more money than the Twaweza budget). In this way Twaweza will concentrate on the larger gap and its comparative advantage, as well as avoid duplicating work done on democracy and systemic issues by other programs such as the local government, public sector and public financial management reforms in all three countries, ‘Deepening Democracy’ in Uganda and Tanzania, GJLOS in Kenya and ATIP in Tanzania.

In addition, Twaweza will consider partnership with government institutions where they seek to enhance citizen accountability – such as by providing information to citizens, involving citizens in social audits to complement conventional audits, and expand forums for citizen voice in monitoring and policy processes.

A central Twaweza feature is the collection, analysis and dissemination of information – both by enabling partners to strengthen flow to/from citizens and Twaweza’s internally housed one-stop information house. These roles seek to amplify and deepen meaningfulness and access of public information, in a manner that complements and challenges government, rather than supplant it. Nevertheless, historical norms and the legal environment are such that it will be a long time before governments will play this role themselves. Moreover, regardless of the level of government openness, independent analysis and communication of public data remains a crucial aspect of democratic accountability. Twaweza will therefore simultaneously seek to have governments share information widely and reliably, such as through public notice-boards and better record keeping, and undertake independent analysis and communication, such as through translation of budgets and entitlements into local languages and popular formats.

3. Citizen action, monitoring is important, but don’t you need to work on laws, policies and systemic change?

The country assessments, particularly in Tanzania and Uganda and to a large extent in Kenya, showed that the countries have generally good laws and policies, and that “the problem is implementation”. We were cautioned that ‘too much’ work on laws and policies (often in response to donor pressure) can offer an illusion of progress but in fact overwhelm bureaucracies’ abilities to deliver, and ‘confuse’ donors with a plethora of reforms such as on ethics and anti-corruption in Uganda.
Twaweza partners will promote greater understanding and advocacy on legal frameworks and systemic policy issues as they relate to core interests, but the work is likely to concentrate on enabling implementation and monitoring the effects of policies. This stance also recognizes that there are other CSO and donor actors engaging governments on policy reform, whose efforts should not be duplicated. Instead, Twaweza will focus on the clearly identified need to improve implementation, and in the process generate the public scrutiny and engagement necessary to animate policy making and hold it accountable.

4. **Individuals are embedded in deep structural and cultural forces that undermine their agency. On their own they can do little. How will Twaweza enhance their agency? How will this lead to change on a larger scale?**

This is partly a chicken and egg dilemma that underlies many types of change. Structural aspects and historical inequities clearly constrain citizen space and action; at the same time it is only people that can change structures. Our choice of citizen agency is based on our theory of change, confirmed during the country assessments, that enabling citizens to access information, stand up for themselves, demand rights, exercise accountability and take responsibility for change is perhaps the most important priority in the region. This view also recognizes that public pressure can animate public reforms and accountability. The process is already underway, and needs to be deepened. During the country visits, particularly in Kenya and Tanzania, we witnessed numerous ways in which citizens are no longer accepting the status quo, and speaking out and beginning to rattle established norms and structures. What is needed is to enable pockets of action here and there to link up and constitute a critical mass, which is why Twaweza advocates for an ecosystem approach to social change. Within this we will urge partners to create a more level playing field for citizens who have been historically marginalized.

5. **The proposal is hard on CSOs. You are critical of intermediary organizations, yet you will work with some. Please clarify.**

The earlier language about CSOs in the proposal may have given a misleading impression about their roles within Twaweza and has been modified. Let us clarify.

All three country assessments show that overall NGOs/CBOs a) are weak and ineffective, b) have limited reach, c) are trapped in a ‘workshop and allowance culture’, d) are seen to be formed to chase donor money and e) are not perceived by most citizens as representing their interests or providing practical help. Moreover, NGOs tend to suffer from elite capture that may supplant and undermine civic action, and exclude those who are not able to play the ‘development game’. The implication of this insight means that an approach that conflates citizen action with NGOs/CBOs and relies entirely on them is likely to fail or at best limit progress to small pockets.

At the same time, the country assessments show that there are notable exceptions – some NGOs are doing powerful work and are able to undertake certain functions (such as monitoring impact or analysis) that while not sufficient in themselves are critical piece of an overall ecosystem of change. For example, while media or trades unions may be far more effective in reaching citizens countrywide, they are likely to need NGO(s) to assist with conceptualizing the work, analyzing data, developing tools and popular materials, etc.

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46 See draft study on Dar, discussions with OSI in Nairobi.
47 Examples are FHRI, ACODE & KRC in Uganda; HakikiElimu, Hakikazi and Policy Forum in Tanzania; IEA, CGD and MUHURI in Kenya.
NGOs able to play a strategic role within an overall countrywide ecosystem of change are therefore crucial actors within the Twaweza approach. We will focus on brokering partnerships which play up the comparative advantage of such NGOs, and link them with other types of actors who have other comparative advantages, leading to an overall synergistic effect and critical mass that is more than the sum of its parts. This is likely to have greater impact than an approach where NGOs are expected to play roles that they are not good at.

That said Twaweza’s bias will be to create space and opportunities for citizens and change agents themselves to take action, rather than necessarily relying on NGOs/CBOs to do so on their behalf. This means, for instance, enabling ordinary citizens (as individuals and in groups) to access information themselves, monitor entitlements and service delivery, and be heard through the media. This is what we mean by the term ‘direct engagement by citizens’. This does not preclude NGOs/CBOs that are perceived by citizens as effective or other informal means of collective action; it just does not foreclose or ‘gatekeep’ space by assuming that the only way to citizen action is one which is mediated by formal NGOs/CBOs.

6. Twaweza wants to work with existing networks. What networks of this nature currently exist in each of the three countries, which are credible and have broad coverage? Are these the ones that can serve as a primary entry point?

Each country has broad networks of roughly similar types, but that differ in their histories, public legitimacy, agendas and interests, leadership and effectiveness. These include faith based institutions (Islamic and Christian), trades unions (particularly teachers), mass media (particularly FM radio), cell phone networks, consumer good distribution chains, and public education and health service centers. Each network comes with its strengths, weaknesses and complications and these vary across the three countries; while some may be powerful partners others will not want to collaborate with Twaweza. Negotiating partnerships will be a complex process that requires judgment and calibration; the key point is that the energy will be worth expending because where this succeeds the impact is likely to be very large. HakiElimu’s experience in Tanzania is one indication that this approach can be effective. The country assessment period was too short to identify specific networks with confidence, and these would emerge from long-term negotiations involving country coordinators and partners.

7. Why should private for profit companies bother to be part of Twaweza?

Private companies would be involved from three basic motivations: a) they make profits from the partnerships, b) as a way of improving their image, and/or c) wish to contribute to development as part of their CSR and in their long term interest. In all cases companies are likely to only involve themselves in relatively non-controversial aspects (except media). Concrete examples include:

- Funding for investigative journalism and programs, development and broadcasting adverts. HakiElimu and now the Tanzania Media Fund have done this successfully. Media companies have appreciated support to do their work better, rather than expected to provide coverage or publicity for a particular entity.
- Allowing information to be ‘piggybacked’ on their products and or networks, often at zero or marginal additional cost to themselves, such as leaflets in laundry soap packets or messages on school exercise books, or educational SMS messages on cell phone networks during non-peak hours such as those used by TGNP.
- Companies joining to enhance transparency where they see this as both improving the business environment and citizen wellbeing (such as in relation to access to health services).

Throughout Twaweza’s approach will be to identify areas of mutual interest rather than expecting private companies to ‘line-up’ behind civil society interests.
Companies that deal in harmful products, such as cigarettes, or that are seen to harm public interests will not be involved.

8. **Why should different organizations with varied interests work together – when they have different goals, interests, and operating styles? Is the ecosystem open to work together and with Twaweza?**

   This is a key challenge. Crafting partnerships will take great skill and time on the part of Twaweza staff and mentors. Several principles will guide this work. First, Twaweza will focus on a limited set of partnerships over five years in order to be able to invest the time needed. Second, Twaweza will not force partnerships or ‘shotgun marriages’; rather we will facilitate partnerships to emerge organically where partners recognize a confluence of interest and see them as adding value to their own work (win-win). Third, the emphasis will be on each partner **doing its own work** in recognition of and communication with the others in the ecosystem, rather than **joint work** where the operating style or poor performance of one can undermine another.

   The partnerships will initially be brokered by Twaweza team members, but thereafter, where needed, support will be given to agencies or persons to play the communication and coordination roles **within** the partnerships. This approach enhances the ownership and identity within the partnership rather than Twaweza, and helps build capacity.

   The role and added value of Twaweza is one of brokering, connecting, enabling, and learning; not supplanting or managing or coordinating their work.

9. **Why is there no language about capacity building? How will you strengthen institutions?**

   The country assessments show that institutional capacity is weak across all sectors. However, numerous capacity building efforts appear to have limited effect because they tend to focus on training and technical aspects, when the core constraint is often institutional/political and incentive-related in nature. Many capacity building efforts (among all sectors) are driven by extrinsic motivation, ways of acquiring credentials or sitting allowances, which are far divorced from organic learning or improving practice.

   Twaweza’s approach is to promote learning-by-doing, where capacity is linked to and developed in the course of undertaking work, by continually reflecting on one’s practice, listening and learning, taking risks and making adjustments as needed. While it is difficult to do, Twaweza staff and mentors will support efforts to develop learning and reflective culture within some partner organizations and help leaders create the space and incentives necessary to promote this culture. Where appropriate and requested, mentors, students, consultants and/or interns will be linked with organizations to support learning and documentation. This sort of ‘accompaniment’ is often more effective than formal short courses or workshops. Thoughtful risk-taking and learning from what does not work will be encouraged, as well as knowledge sharing and communication. Details are provided in the proposal.

   The use of the term ‘learning’ (rather than ‘capacity building’ or ‘training’) is deliberate and meant to signal a shift in concept. Learning defined thus is crucial to the Twaweza concept – in many senses one half of initiative (with a prominent place in the organogram). Twaweza is about enabling large scale social change and documenting and communicating lessons about social change in a self-critical and reflexive manner.

   See for instance the conceptions of learning promoted by the South Africa based group CDRA, www.cdra.org.za.
10. Building the strategic relationships envisaged takes a lot of skill and work, who will pull it off? Don't you need more staff? How will you find the capable staff you need?

Twaweza will ‘work lean’ with a small core team. This is a deliberate choice to avoid ‘building an empire’, keep internal costs and transaction time reasonable, and maintain a ‘spirit’ within a relatively flat structure that is difficult to do in a ‘heavier’ organization. This will be possible because of the following features of our approach:

- **Quality over quantity**: We will seek to recruit few highly capable and motivated staff, and provide a terrific work environment and excellent remuneration.
- **Local knowledge**: Country coordinators and assistant POs are likely to have local origins, speak the main local language, understand their contexts and be well networked (different from an expatriate donor officer who typically requires several years to get up to speed).
- **Brokering support**: Instead of doing all the support and monitoring work themselves, staff will identify and bring in mentors, consultants, students and resource organizations (see annex in proposal) to provide an ecosystem of support as needed. These may be short or long term relationships, such as ongoing mentorship and tailored support from IBP, SNV or TCDC. Grant management will be supported by experienced Hivos program officers using proven tools.
- **Staffing support**: Where organizations lack capacity to do core work that requires staffing, partners will be supported to recruit their own in house staff to do so (e.g. a two year staff contract for someone to do communications within the teachers’ trade union). This promotes identity and internal capacity.

The core idea here is that Twaweza is not working in isolation; and that by linking with a broad array of potential resources and expertise we can provide more effective support and monitoring than trying to develop that capacity internally. Nevertheless, as the initiative grows the situation will be carefully monitored; if needed the staff size will be reviewed in consultation with the Supervisory Board.

11. How will Twaweza work with mentors and consultants? What’s the difference between them? How would this work in practice? Will they have time?

Potential mentors are thoughtful, creative, inspirational and resourceful women and men who desire to contribute to powerful change. These are people able to substantively support partners and Twaweza overall at a higher strategic, conceptual and learning level. We met some during the country visits, and have been developing an informal list of potential mentors. While most are unable to work full time for Twaweza, some will consider time to Twaweza related work provided a) they believe in its value/importance, b) are given adequate notice, and c) are well remunerated (i.e. Twaweza engagement would provide an alternative to the fragmented consulting they often do for conventional donors).

The pool of mentors will be grown slowly over time. The duration of mentorship at each organization will vary based on need and fit, but typically these will be flexible longer-term relationships. Engagements may include supporting partners to analyze the contexts of their work and develop a theory of change, develop a policy position or communication strategy, or broker links among key partners. Mentors may also agree to be ‘on-call’ to organizational leaders to respond to critical opportunities and challenges as they arise. Twaweza will also enable mentors to meet with each other, reflect on, write-up and communicate lessons and challenges. In this sense mentors are crucial to the Twaweza’s intellectual and strategic development. At the same time, this engagement will provide thought leaders much needed space to reflect on the state of affairs and what needs to be done. The terms of engagement of
mentors are yet to be worked out, but are likely to include a clear contract of expectations and a combination of retainer and responsibility based remuneration.

In contrast, consultants are more likely to be recruited for shorter term, task oriented assignments in response to specific needs, such as to develop an accounting policy and system, develop a website, evaluate progress or facilitate organizational development. Twaweza may also recruit consultants to support staff to undertake due diligence and related tasks, such as organizational assessments and audits.

12. What is the evidence to justify your focus on access to information and citizen agency?
First, we view access to information, and citizen voice and agency as basic human rights and as ends of development in themselves. They are both crucial elements of the human experience of freedom and dignity. Second, we also see these as instrumentally useful in enabling citizens to secure their rights and better quality of life, including access to quality basic services. In our conception, citizen agency is both an end in itself and an effective means to reach that end. In turn, better services, more effective use of public resources and accountable governments contribute to citizen agency. The argument for this twin perspective is probably best articulated in Amartya Sen’s *Development as Freedom*[^49], and is further outlined in the theory of change section of the proposal.

There are several examples of how information access and citizen agency have brought change.[^50] The Uganda PETS in education and more recent work on use of citizen score cards in health provide some of the more compelling evidence on the effectiveness of this work.[^51] Hard evidence of information access and citizen agency efforts, however, is limited. In part this can be explained by the fact that this is a relatively new area of work, and because social change of this sort with clear causality chains is extremely difficult to establish. Nevertheless, the upshot of the available evidence in the literature and our experience at HakiElimu and Hivos (as well as IBP and other partners) suggests information access and opportunities for community monitoring and voice can bring change, provided certain other conditions are at play. Better understanding of why efforts work in some cases and not in others is worth pursuing.[^52] Twaweza’s ecosystem approach that seeks to foster multiple reinforcing actions recognizes that a single act alone is not sufficient. Moreover, the different strategic partnerships that will be tried, the independent evaluation mechanism and the learning program together mean that Twaweza provides a pregnant opportunity to generate knowledge about how information access and citizen agency contribute to achievement of outcomes.

13. Will Twaweza work on improving/establishing access to information laws?
The country analyses showed that access to information laws need to be established in Kenya and Tanzania, and strengthened in content and implementation in Uganda. The experience in India, Mexico and South Africa among others clearly demonstrates the value of a progressive right to information law. At the same time the experiences in these countries also show that

[^50]: For example, IBP launched a ‘citizen’s guide’. It can be found at www.internationalbudget.org/resources/expenditure/IBP-Expenditure-Monitoring-Guide.pdf
[^51]: The original report from Reinikka ‘Do Budgets Really Matter?’ Evidence from Public Spending on Education and Health in Uganda’ can be found at http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=604999. The report from Svenson called ‘Power to the People: Evidence from a Randomized Field Experiment of a Community-Based Monitoring Project in Uganda’ can be found at http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=896174. Note however that recently a number of questions have been raised about the claims made about the Uganda PETS that suggest the results were less dramatic than is commonly thought.
[^52]: See for instance the work of Esther Dufo (http://econ-www.mit.edu/faculty/edufo/papers) and Abhijit Banerjee (http://econ-www.mit.edu/faculty/banerjee/papers). Some of the research is performed jointly.
successful operationalization of the law needs robust mechanisms and active citizens able to make use of the provisions in place.

Twaweza will not directly work on right to information (or other legislative change) for three main reasons. First, there are already several actors working on these issues (ICJ in Kenya, The Media Council and others in Tanzania) with support from Article 19 and others; and there is no need to compete with these efforts. Second, Twaweza needs to focus on its three core program areas which do not include direct legislative work. Third, US law prohibits non-profit foundation funds being used for such types of lobbying. Instead, consistent with its citizen focus, Twaweza will work to enable people to use better understand access to information issues, and use legal and other opportunities to access information.

14. What kinds of information will be supplied to citizens? How will you determine information needs of citizens?

Twaweza takes two main perspectives on this. At one level, partners will provide information that has a bearing on citizen agency and basic service delivery aspects, including policies and programs, budgets, experiences and news. The country assessments show that access to meaningful information, particularly in rural areas, is a real challenge. Emphasis will therefore be placed on making the information as accessible and concrete as possible, including through translation, simplification and popularization. Partners will create spaces for citizens to communicate information needs and design responses accordingly.

At another level, Twaweza will seek to expand the means through which citizens can access and communicate information. The core idea however is not to ‘identify or otherwise predetermine information needs’ needs at one fixed point and then supply them, but rather to create/expand/ lubricate channels by which citizens can access information that is of interest to them53— and use the same channels for providing information and opinions (two way stream). In part this will involve linking information sources (government, CSOs, media) with information users (citizens) through reliable channels. Because people’s interests and propensities vary, and because each pathway is likely to have its advantages and limitations, Twaweza will seek to expand communication options – so that if one method is not liked, does not work or faces resistance, another can be tried.

A potential concern is that such an ‘open’ approach to information content may be inappropriate for a development project. But the lines between useful and frivolous information is not always easy to draw, and it should be up to citizens to define their needs broadly rather than it being mediated by a ‘big brother’ organization. Moreover, some evidence that suggests that people who are able to use information tools for things that matter to them are more likely to also use them for ‘official’ work. The experience of one organization in Uganda found that nurses allowed to “gossip” and otherwise exchange personal information on facility issued PDAs were more likely to use them to monitor health data.54

15. There is so much information out there—but it is difficult to access, digest, use—and therefore hardly used. What will Twaweza do about it?

This is one of the key problems Twaweza will address. For getting information to the citizens, Twaweza will stimulate the partnerships to transform (existing) information into accessible, reliable and usable formats, making use of the potential of new technologies, and reaching out

53 You and I appreciate being able to use a search engine any time to get the information we want at a particular moment...
54 As described in a Vodafone Foundation report for the UN Foundation. It can be found at: www.unfoundation.org/files/pdf/2008/vodafone/tech_social_change/health_case2.pdf.
through multiple channels. Twaweza will build on the rich experience of HakiElimu and others to popularize experiences. We will also work with strong (inter)national resource organizations to actively assist this process.

Twaweza itself will create a one-stop-shop on basic services, resources and entitlements. The in-house shop will systematically compile all major information on the three basic services and overall governance issues, and where possible enable different datasets to talk to each other, and overlay information where possible. While Twaweza will proactively identify the major sets of data and information that will be regularly collected and the types of regular analyses undertaken, we will also actively seek ideas from ‘clients’. Strong links will be developed with bureaus of statistics, government agencies (such as audit offices), and other groups doing similar work in all three countries, such as REPOA and ESRF in Tanzania, IEA and the Mars Group in Kenya.

Other key elements of the shop include:

- All information available in one place
- Web-based, with a powerful and easy-to-use search mechanism
- Information presented in a clear way, simple and comparable, and disaggregated whenever possible
- In English and Swahili
- Building linkages with for example media and research institutions, both for getting information and for disseminating it beyond the edge of the net
- Using the platform also for exchange of information and debate, especially from local level upwards by making use of mobile phones
- Country focus, but with regional comparisons where possible.

Here too the idea is not to supplant government’s role in providing information, but to enhance it and make information more widely accessible in ways that governments are unlikely to do on their own. At the same time Twaweza will work with governments to communicate information more effectively.

16. How will you resolve the tension between being locally responsive and generating nationwide or region-wide comparable information and analysis?

Both have their value and can be accommodated. Monitoring tools will be designed that allow for a basic set of ‘standard’ information to be collected to enable comparability across districts and where possible countries. While information will be transmitted upwards, Twaweza will encourage its first use and verification to be at community level rather than simply be extractive. For existing information efforts will be made to see if the data can ‘talk’ to each other to enable comparability and analysis. To the maximum extent possible such information will be disaggregated and made available to lower levels, in a manner that is meaningful and relevant to citizens.

In addition, partners will also be encouraged to enable citizens to monitor and communicate other types of issues that would not necessarily be collected or be comparable at national level. The primary interest here will be to stimulate data collection and analysis for local action rather than national analysis.

55 The information shop will draw from similar initiatives elsewhere, including the TAMU proposal prepared by Geir Sundet. Tools developed by groups such as Tactical Tech and the Gapminder approach will also be used if appropriate.
56 Similar to HakiElimu’s monitoring tool.
17. Why take an East Africa wide approach? Why these particular three countries? Will you be doing joint work across the three countries?

The primary dynamic and drivers of change in each country are national, and this logic will underpin Twaweza’s approach. The bulk of the interventions will be national in scope rather than regional, and no joint work across the three countries will be arbitrarily forced.

That said, there may be occasions where linking work may be of value overall and to each country, such as in comparing the level of capitation grants sent to primary schools or the absenteeism of health workers across the three countries. Moreover, the three countries provide a valuable context for comparison. Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda have a shared history and economic, social and cultural ties. Their basic public and legal institutions are largely similar. In recent years the East African Community is being revived, with increasing economic (re)integration, including a one-region-one-price approach of telecom providers. In education there is already a region wide higher education council and interest in developing similar education standards for lower levels. These developments suggest that there is an emerging East Africa wide dynamic that will increasingly influence change at country level.

Perhaps the clearest advantage lies in promoting learning and exchange across the three countries. The country assessments have shown that each of the countries have excelled in certain areas and not in others, suggesting that there is value in learning from the good practices of each. Comparing progress can also instigate a friendly competition across the three countries that can help inform debate and pressure for change.

18. Why take a ten year time frame? Why ask for a five year commitment — wouldn’t it be more reasonable for Twaweza to get support for two years only first?

Twaweza is an ambitious endeavor that seeks to catalyze deep change among at least ten million citizens across Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. It seeks to bring about large scale change through promoting wide access to information and citizen engagement. During the country assessments experts clearly asserted that if donors are serious they need to be in this for the long haul instead of making short term commitments and expecting instant results. From our experience we also recognize that this sort of change takes time and requires sustained engagement. Therefore, Twaweza is designed as a long-term initiative with ten-year goals and five-year objectives. Twaweza wants to overcome the limitations of short-term project funding, and wants to work in complicated multi-party partnerships. To broker these, and get them working smoothly takes time as well.

19. Why are your outcomes not more specific? At what stage can we know exactly what you will work on and seek to achieve?

The overall outcomes have been modified from the previous draft. The basic thinking is that Twaweza provides clear long term (10 year goals), but maintains flexibility in relation to the specificity of its interim goals. The specific shorter term outcomes cannot be precisely determined by Twaweza, because these are to be responsive to local priorities that emerge organically through the strategic partnerships. Nevertheless, each year the annual plan will provide a more detailed indication of the outputs to be pursued, and the annual reports will provide extent of progress in contributing towards the overall long term goals.

20. How are you going to measure progress and demonstrate results?

Social change is always difficult to measure, takes time and requires sustained engagement. Therefore, Twaweza is designed as a long-term initiative with ten-year goals and five-year objectives. The focus will be on medium to long term outcomes rather than short term outputs.
Twaweza will make use of the proven experience and procedures of Hivos on these matters. Other key features include:

- An independent entity will be recruited from year 1 to develop an M&E framework and tools, and it will track progress across the first five years of Twaweza. Possible bodies being considered are IDS Sussex, ISS Den Haag and the Keystone Accountability Group.
- Annual surveys will be done on specific issues – such as to assess the increase in access to information, collect sample evidence of interventions, measure effects of monitoring, etc.
- Measurement may use ‘most significant change’ approach.
- Each supported group/partnership will be assisted to develop its own measurement - linked to the overall measurements, drawing from Hivos’ experience.

21. Is there sufficient absorptive capacity? Can organizations make use of the $56 million (out of the total $68 million) that will be re-granted? How does this compare to other funds?

If Twaweza was relying solely on NGOs and CBOs, absorptive capacity would likely be a constraint. But we will work with institutions with large reach – e.g. media, trades unions – and on activities that will involve significant scaling. To give one indicative illustration, simple production (at unit cost of 25c) and distribution/monitoring (at additional 25c each) of a booklet to each student and teacher in Tanzania alone would cost about $4m. In this light, and broken down over five years and three countries the sum is not as large as it seems – it averages to $3.7m per country per year.

In comparison, for instance, in Uganda the Deepening Democracy program has a budget of approximately $4m/year, the USAID Strengthening Multi Party Politics and Linkages programs $3.5m/year and the current EU Human Rights and Good Governance program also $3.5m/year. In Tanzania DFID has earmarked up to $10m/year for demand side accountability work and the Tanzania Media fund $2.5m/year. Hivos spends approximately $1.8m/year, per country on civil society building in the region.

The Twaweza budget reflects a gradual expansion of work. In year 1 (2009) work is likely to commence in Tanzania and one other country, with the third country coming on board in year 2 (2010).

22. Why Hivos? Why is Twaweza bringing in a Dutch entity to manage funds in East Africa? Wouldn’t it be better to have a more local organization? And avoid the perception that this is a foreign agenda?

Hivos has 40 years of experience as a development organization that stands for quality, continuity and reliability, as well as versatility, innovation and individual choices. In 2006 Hivos’ performance was ranked first out of the large Dutch NGOs on organizational and programmatic quality by the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The assessment covered partner selection, programmatic relevance, efficiency and result delivery. Hivos’ internal procedures and regulations are ISO 9001:2000 certified and Hivos currently manages 35 large contracts with EuropeAid, the Global Fund and other (inter)national foundations and companies, including the Tanzania Media Fund. Lastly, the organization already has an extensive (partner) network in East Africa developed over 30 years, a strong track record in social change and grant management, regional expertise and local offices. Making use of these existing structures and experiences – and the established working relationship with Rakesh Rajani - will give Twaweza a strong start from day 1.

57 See for example www.mande.co.uk/docs/MSCGuide.pdf for a useful guide to this approach.
Rajani requested Hivos to become involved in Twaweza after determining that there was no other truly local East African entity at present with the ability to manage this level of funds or complexity of program. Hivos was therefore requested to incubate the new initiative and provide a solid start. However, from the start Twaweza will be positioned as an East African Initiative with an East African identity, working together in an ecosystem with preference for local staff, known country coordinators, mentors and other players. Twaweza will be led and represented by an East African with a track record. Hivos (and other international entities) will provide the internal management, operational and structural backbone to enable the initiative to succeed.

23. **What is the long-term future picture? Will Hivos still be running Twaweza after 10 years?**
No, Hivos does not plan to be continuously running Twaweza. The idea is that Twaweza will become a fully independent within 5 years, Hivos and the Twaweza president will consciously work to ensure that systems and leadership capacity is built from day one, working towards this handover in time. From the start Twaweza will be branded as an East African Initiative, and not as a donor/Hivos program.

24. **How much funding commitment do you need in place before you begin and why? What happens if you end up using less or needing more funding?**
Twaweza can commence establishment (recruitment, program development, setting up offices) once a minimum of $40 million is pledged/ committed in principle. The ecosystem approach and envisaged scale mean that the initiative requires a sufficiently large level to have effect. Moreover, it will help to have significant commitments in place during recruitment of key staff so as to be able to convey a level of confidence and stability.
Annex 7: CV for Twaweza Head

**Rakesh R. Rajani**
PO Box 3503, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania
Tel: +255 22 2601022, Cell +255 754 264 240, Fax +255 22 2601096
Email: rrajani@post.harvard.edu

**Education**

**University of Ghent, Ghent, Belgium**
Certificate, *International Interdisciplinary Course on Child Rights*  
June and July, 1997

**Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA**
Master of Theological Studies (MTS)
*Independent concentration in Children’s Studies*  
September 1989 to June 1991

**Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts, USA**
Bachelor of Arts (BA) in Philosophy and in English & American Literature  
Graduated *Summa Cum Laude* with highest honors, Elected to *Phi Beta Kappa*  
Thesis on Liberation Theology and the Organization of Poor People’s Movements  
September 1985 to May 1989

**Work Experience**

**Twaweza! East Africa Citizen Agency Initiative, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania**
Head/Senior Associate, Hivos  
Setting up an initiative that will promote citizen agency and accountability in Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda by expanding access to information, improving media quality and supporting public watch opportunities at national and community levels. Estimated budget is $68 million over 5 years, prospective partners include Hewlett, Gates and Google Foundations (USA), Hivos and SNV (Netherlands), and DFID (UK).  
January 2008 to present

**The Hewlett and Google Foundations (USA), and Hivos (Netherlands)**
Senior Consultant  
Assisted foundations to develop their work in promoting 1) transparency, accountability, access to information and citizen agency and 2) quality education focused on learning achievements.  
September 2007 to present

**HakiElimu (‘Education Rights’), Dar es Salaam, Tanzania**
Founder/Executive Director  
Established and directed one of Tanzania’s leading civil society organizations. HakiElimu enables people to make a difference in education and democracy, by promoting access to information, public debate, citizen engagement and policy analysis and advocacy. The organization has served as a major force in public education, governance, human rights and accountability issues. Personally wrote or edited over 180 publications and media products at HakiElimu, served in the Public Expenditure Review (PER), Public Expenditure and Financial Accountability Review (PEFAR) and poverty reduction (MKUKUTA) processes, and advised on civil society and democratization matters.  
September 2001 to August 2007

**The Ford Foundation, Office for East Africa, Nairobi, Kenya**
Consultant  
Assisted the Foundation to explore the state of the education “pipeline” to higher education in Tanzania, Uganda and Kenya, and the voices of young people. The primary focus was on secondary education, with special attention to class, gender and historical disparities, quality aspects and the link between research and policy. Advised on strategy for grant-making.  
October 2000 to May 2001

**Senior Consultant**


Assisted UNICEF to develop a community based strategy to promote the space for participation for children and young people, especially as it is related to access to justice, governance processes and opportunities to secure livelihoods. Within this framework focused on democratizing education, with attention to sector reform and governance issues.


**Fellow**

Investigated links between child/youth rights and participation, gender, schooling and democratic culture, through a program of research, teaching and writing. Co-facilitated a working group on the conceptual aspects of child rights. Organized several seminars, including on the ‘political participation of children’, ‘youth political development’ and ‘debt and child wellbeing’. Co-taught a course on ‘democracy and child well-being’ at the Harvard School of Public Health.

Consultant to SIDA, and UNICEF headquarters and Uganda Country office on evaluating current programs and developing a human rights/participation based approach to programming, with special focus on basic education.

Kuleana Center for Children’s Rights, Mwanza, Tanzania January 1993 to June 1998

**Founding Executive Director**

Established a leading national advocacy organization for policy and program development in child rights, with a focus on promoting the status of children and young people and facilitating their right to self-expression in Tanzania. Main responsibilities included providing strategic leadership, supporting and supervising managers, designing effective programs, policy analysis, evaluation and fostering relations with key actors. Kuleana was awarded the 1999 Maurice Pate Award, UNICEF’s highest honor.

Kuleana Center for Sexual Health, Mwanza, Tanzania January 1994 to December 1995

**Director**

Established and led Tanzania’s first center for sexual health, linking concepts of health, sexuality, gender and human rights, with a focus on the active involvement of young people.


**Researcher and Consultant**

Designed and conducted situation analysis of the street children of Mwanza, based on a human rights framework, involving participation of the children as co-researchers.

African Medical & Research Foundation (AMREF), Mwanza, Tanzania February to December 1992

**Writer and Consultant (part time)**

Lake Secondary School, Mwanza, Tanzania

Manager

December 1991 to June 1992

Responsible for the overall leadership and management of a 1,700 student secondary school. Revamped school governance structures, promoted gender awareness and equity, strengthened academic preparedness, improved teacher-administration relations, introduced student government, developed the school's first learning resource center and taught an elective course on "creative thinking".

Shelter, Inc., Boston, Massachusetts, USA

Shelter Manager and Counselor

September 1989 to October 1991

Managed shelter for homeless families during evenings/weekends, provided counseling to both adults and children, developed special activity program for children involving local artists, advocated for housing rights, and facilitated sessions on AIDS and sexuality with shelter clients.

Haley House, Inc., Boston, Massachusetts, USA

Associate (part time)

October 1986 to June 1990

Worked with young, homeless African American men in a soup kitchen and community drop-in center. Developed new initiatives involving self-empowerment, literacy assistance, employment advocacy, and community awareness. From August 1989 to June 1990 worked as a live-in staff member at the soup kitchen.

Affiliations and Memberships

May 2008 to present

Member, Board of Governors
Aidspan (A Watchdog of the Global Fund on HIV/AIDS, TB and Malaria), Nairobi, Kenya

March 2008 to present

Member, Reference Group
International Budget Partnership, Washington, DC, USA

October 2007 to present

Member, Board of Directors
HakiElimu, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

April 2006 to present

Member, Board of Governors
Media Council of Tanzania, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

April 2006 to present

Advisor, Quality Educational Learning Outcomes Initiative
Bill & Melinda Gates/Hewlett Foundations, USA

Sept. 2005 to present

Fellow, Global Equity Initiative and Children and HIV/AIDS joint learning initiative
Harvard University, MA, USA

July 2005 to present

Director, Board of Directors
Association for the Advancement of Higher Education and Development (AHEAD)

February 2005 to present

Member, Governing Council
Foundation for Civil Society, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

January 2003 to October 2006

Advisor, United Nations Study on Violence against Children
NGO Group on the Study, Geneva, Switzerland and New York, USA

September 2002 to February 2007

Director
NGO Policy Forum, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

August 2001 to August 2007

Member, Public Expenditure Review Group
Ministry of Finance, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

September 2000 to August 2005

Fellow, Centre for Population and Development Studies
Harvard University, MA, USA
Research Associate, Common Security Forum  
*King’s College, Cambridge University, Cambridge, UK*  
September 1999 to June 2005

Editorial Advisor, International Child Rights Monitor  
*Defense for Children International (DCI), Geneva, Switzerland*  
June 1999 to June 2004

Member, Technical Steering Committee, Dept of Child & Adolescent Health & Development, *World Health Organization (WHO), Geneva, Switzerland*  
March 1995 to March 2002

Editorial Advisor, Sexual Health Exchange  
*Royal Tropical Institute (KIT), Amsterdam, Netherlands*  
January 1995 to June 2004

Resource Person/Consultant, National Study on Children in Need of Special Protection Measures, *UNICEF, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania*  
July 1996 to June 1998

**Papers, Publications and Presentations**

“Accountability is Political, not Technical: Citizen Monitoring of Government in Tanzania”, Presentation at U4 Seminar on Anti-Corruption, (Dar es Salaam, September 2007)

*Hard Questions: Where are We Headed?,* A collection of selected columns published in *The Citizen* and *Mwananchi* newspapers, editor (HakiElimu and Mwananchi Communications, Dar es Salaam, August 2007)

“Pretending to Progress: Education Reforms in Tanzania”, Presentation at a joint meeting of the Campaign for Education, CIDA and IDRC, (Ottawa, Canada, April 2007)


“How Open is the Budget Process in Tanzania? An international study”, public presentation (Dar es Salaam, October 2006)


“Fighting Corruption Effectively: Citizen Action and Civil Society Coalitions”, Presentation to Transparency International (Dar es Salaam, April 2005)


“Is Primary Education Heading in the Right Direction? Thinking with Mwalimu Nyerere”, *(paper presented at the University of Dar es Salaam Convocation, May 2003)*


“Is Extra Funding for Basic Education Making a Difference?” (A paper for the Research and Analysis Working Group, with Suleman Sumra, July 2002).
The Situation Analysis of Children in Tanzania, (United Republic of Tanzania and UNICEF, Dar es Salaam, December 2001)


“Research, Social Action and the Grassroots: Implications for REPOA”, (mimeo, with Marjorie Mbilinyi, April 2001)


The State of Education in Tanzania: Crisis and Opportunity, with Gitte Robinson, (Kuleana, Tanzania, September 1999)


Placing Children at the Center of Analysis: HIV/AIDS Programs in the Interests of Children, with Andrea Ledward, mimeo,

“Street Children Hijack the Urban Childhood Agenda”, paper presented at the Urban Childhood Conference, (Trondheim, Norway, June 1997)


Street Children of Mwanza: A Situation Analysis, with Mustafa Kudrati, (Mwanza, UNICEF and Kuleana, 1993)

In addition to the above, authored and/or edited over 200 other popular media materials including booklets, newspaper columns, editorials, radio programs, media programs and spots, posters and information sheets on issues such as sexual health, HIV/AIDS, education rights, child rights, child/youth participation, citizen engagement, corruption, accountability, budget transparency and civil society.

Languages: Fluent in Swahili, English and Gujarati.

Nationality: Tanzanian.