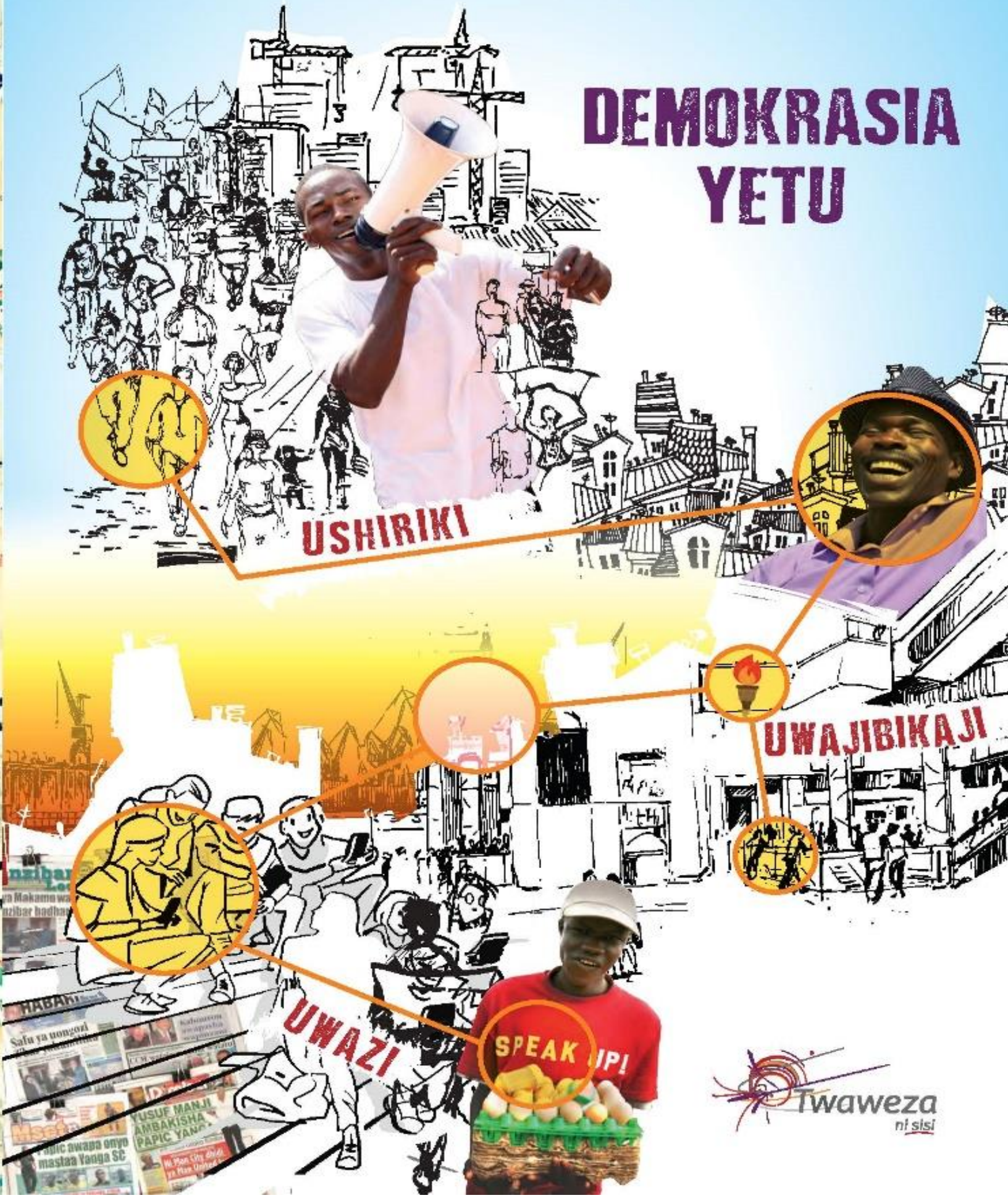
# DEMOKRASIA YETU



# Contents


| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Context Analysis | 2 |
| 2. Lessons from the 2015-2018 Strategy | 6 |
| 3. Key strategic decision: transitioning our basic education domain | 9 |
| What we set out to do and what we achieved | 9 |
| Transitioning our basic education domain | 10 |
| 4. Why Twaweza is well placed for this work | 11 |
| 5. Vision, Mission, Values | 13 |
| 6. Theory of Change | 14 |
| Our enduring vision and refined mission | 14 |
| Our strategic goals | 14 |
| Anticipated outcomes | 15 |
| Activities | 17 |
| Theory of Change | 17 |
| 7. Staffing | 22 |
| 8. Preliminary budget | 23 |
| **In detail** | |
| 1. Demonstrating how citizens come together and collectively address their problems | 25 |
| Demonstrating how citizens can come together to solve problems, productively influence the forces that shape their lives and encourage government to work for citizen | 25 |
| Key components | 26 |
| 2. Enabling citizen voices to be heard and taken seriously in decision-making | 29 |
| Collecting and amplifying citizens' views and voices and advocating for these to be heard and taken seriously in policy debates | 29 |
| Key components | 29 |
| 3. Promoting and protecting civic space | 32 |
| Using advocacy and strategic litigation to promote and protect open civic space | 32 |
| Key components | 32 |
| 4. Our learning strategy | 37 |
| 5. Governance and Financial Management | 41 |
| **Annexes** | |
| Annex 1 - Benchmarks | 46 |
| Annex 2 – Research and evaluation plan | 50 |
| Annex 3 – Monitoring Framework | 52 |
| Annex 4 – Theory of Change diagrams | 54 |
| Annex 5 - Bibliography | 68 |

## 1. Context Analysis

**Civic space is closing**

When citizens have the freedom to join together with others and to freely express their views, they can meaningfully participate in society. These freedoms give citizens the opportunity to transform from passive recipients to active participants in the political and development processes that affect their lives. This citizen participation promotes sustainable and socially equitable outcomes.

Civic space, defined as the 'level of protection of the core civil society freedoms of association, assembly and expression' is thus a central feature of open and democratic societies. It is also central to Twaweza's vision of *"an open society, built on the human impulse to make a difference; where information and ideas flow, citizens engage and authorities are accountable to the people"*. As such, we believe that the state has the duty to protect important rights and freedoms, including freedom of information and expression, freedom of assembly and association, human rights, and the rule of law to ensure the existence of effective civic space.

And yet, civic space, is under threat. Recent years have witnessed a sea change in global and domestic politics away from openness to authoritarianism. The Secretary-General of CIVICUS called it a 'global emergency of civic space' one that is 'universal, no longer restricted to autocracies and fragile democracies.[1]' The chief executive of the Open Government Partnership noted in September 2017 that we find ourselves in a 'time when democracy is under threat in many parts of the world, civic freedoms are under attack in over 100 countries, authoritarianism is on the rise, and trust in government is at an all-time low.'[2] Freedom House's recent report[3] warns that the world's nations are becoming more autocratic, more dictatorial, less open, and more repressive. The 2018 Press Freedom Index (Reporters without Borders) shows increasing open physical and verbal hostility towards journalists and the media across the globe.[4] Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania – where we operate – have not been immune to these trends.

In **Tanzania**, the government's actions indicate restriction of civic space. Three months into the new administration, it stopped the popular live TV and radio broadcasts from parliament. Shortly thereafter, political rallies and meetings were banned in almost all circumstances, "to ensure that people focus on development rather than on distractions like politics". Existing laws restricting the media have been strengthened and new laws introduced, including extensive state powers to control newspapers, broadcasters and even individual journalists. The Cybercrimes Act of 2015 has been widely applied against those who criticise the government on social media, and more recent regulations require bloggers to register and pay a steep license fee.

Our own comprehensive analysis of civic space[5] shows declines across all but one key dimensions of civic space. The drop is most pronounced in terms of freedom of assembly and association but freedom of expression and information, alongside rule of law and respect for human rights are also increasingly under threat.

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[1] http://sur.conectas.org/en/global-challenges-local-responses/

[2] https://www.opengovpartnership.org/stories/ogp-historic-opportunity-today-s-geo-political-context

[3] https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/freedom-world-2018

[4] https://rsf.org/en/rsf-index-2018-hatred-journalism-threatens-democracies

[5] *Publication forthcoming*

Our *Sauti za Wananchi* research shows that across a range of indicators of democracy, the majority of citizens say there is less freedom in 2018 than there was in 2015. About six out of ten citizens feel that freedom has diminished for opposition parties to hold rallies and speak their mind (64%); the media to criticise or report government mistakes (62%), and for independent groups to voice their views, hold meetings (58%). Half of citizens also feel they personally have less freedom to voice their own political views (54%).

In **Kenya,** evidence of increasing pressure on civic space such as regular threats and arrests of journalists and the arraignment in court of bloggers and social media enthusiasts who have criticised the government are worrying. More broadly, a Public Benefits Organisation Act that was passed in 2013 to revamp and streamline registration and enhance the dialogue between civil society organisations and the government has yet to take effect five years on. The cabinet secretary of the Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government has not published the law in the official gazette, despite several Supreme Court rulings requiring it to do so. As a result, Kenya's civil society organisations continue to operate in a legal limbo and remain vulnerable to arbitrary harassment from state organs.[6] But Kenyans are pushing back. In May 2018, a high court judge temporarily suspended 26 sections of a recently assented Computer Misuse and Cybercrimes Act, after critics argued that it violated Kenya's Constitution and infringed on freedom of expression, along with the rights to privacy and property[7].

Our analysis of civic space concluded that it was 'partially protected'[8]; meaning that although the country ratified relevant international treaties enabling domestic law to protect civic space, implementation was patchy and legal loopholes remain that potentially restrict citizens' rights.

Our Sauti za Wananchi surveys show that four out of ten citizens in Kenya think democracy in the country is being practiced to a small extent (40%) or not at all (4%). However, a mixed picture emerges regarding civic space. Seven out of ten citizens agree that their government respects freedom of expression (67%) and the freedoms of assembly and demonstrations (69%), but a large number (69%) also believe that the government interferes with media operations. Furthermore, half of Kenyans disagree (32%) or strongly disagree (18%) that there is equality before the law in Kenya.[9]

In **Uganda,** a 2017 Civicus report on civil society in Uganda noted 'a series of break-ins on the premises of civil society organisations (CSOs), in which CSO information has been stolen; attacks on the media, which have included physical attacks on journalists and the closure of private radio stations; the introduction of restrictive legislation, including on CSO operations, the media and the freedom of assembly; and increased restriction of peaceful assemblies, including through the use of excessive force to break up protests.'[10] More recently, the national discourse surrounding the late 2017 constitutional amendments was conducted in an atmosphere of restricted freedoms of assembly and expression.[11] Again citizens are pushing back: in 2018, there have been protest actions against social media and mobile money taxes, which led to some concessions from government.

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[6] https://www.devex.com/news/legal-limbo-leaves-kenya-civil-society-vulnerable-to-targeting-91059
[7] https://www.voanews.com/a/kenyan-court-suspends-key-parts-of-new-cyber-law/4416615.html
[8] https://twaweza.org/go/civic-space-ke
[9] https://www.twaweza.org/go/szw-governance-2017-ke
[10] https://www.civicus.org/index.php/media-resources/reports-publications/2753-addressing-civic-space-restrictions-in-uganda-what-role-for-the-upr
[11] http://www.monitor.co.ug/Magazines/PeoplePower/Age-limit-debate-freedoms-victim/689844-4173222-p3l4es/index.html

Our review of civic space[12] concluded that freedom of expression, freedom of association and assembly, and human rights and the rule of law are 'restricted'. Despite a fairly progressive set of laws and regulations governing these areas, some domestic laws restrict these rights and many of the more positive provisions remain un- or under-implemented.

Twaweza's Sauti za Wananchi poll found that less than half of citizens feel free to criticize senior government leaders, including the President and Prime Minister or even any government institution[13]. Six out of ten citizens feel that they do not have influence over government decisions and work[14].

**Citizen agency: wanted but elusive**

When citizens seek information, monitor and follow up on policy decisions and their implementation, attend meetings and speak out in public, and act to make positive change, they are exercising agency. How is that agency manifesting itself given the challenging civic space context?[15]

In Tanzania, an April 2018 survey found citizens saying that they are willing to participate in holding government to account, including working with others to raise an issue (97% are willing) and talk to the media (89% are willing). However, in the past year far few citizens actually did these things: 44% acted together and just 5% contacted the media. But 7 out of 10 citizens (71%) did attend government meetings in the past year. Citizens see attendance at decision-making meetings as the best way they can be involved in government (53%). However, few citizens are ready to take more assertive measures. One out of four (27%) say they would be willing to participate in a demonstration on an issue that does not please them while 65% say they are not. The main reason given for not wanting to participate in demonstrations is fear of violence or disrupting the peace (44%).

In Kenya, a 2017 Sauti survey found strong support for devolution[16]. Seven out of ten Kenyans (67%) think that there is more development in their area because of devolution. Despite the strong support for devolution, 7 out of 10 citizens also find it hard to meet county leaders (72%), influence county decision-making (69%) and to access information on county activities (73%). Just one in four report having attended a county government meeting (27%), higher than those who reported attending these meetings in December 2015 (19%). The main reason that citizens give for not attending the meetings is that they are not informed of them (30%). When attending these meetings, half of citizens report raising an issue (52%) or asking a question (52%); men are more likely to participate actively than women (58% raised an issue and 59% asked a question compared to 42% of women who did so).

A recent Sauti za Wananchi survey found that Ugandans have an active culture of seeking information from some government institutions[17]. In late 2017, the majority of citizens sought information from public health facilities (87%), public schools (79%), and village or Local Council I offices (62%). A significant minority also demand information from water suppliers (31%), government offices (27%) and political parties (23%). Most of these requests are for information about services, rather than more sensitive information about staffing, budgets and other resources. Ugandans also have faith in

[12] Publication forthcoming

[13] https://www.twaweza.org/uploads/files/SzW-UG-ATI-FINAL-EN-web.pdf

[14] https://www.twaweza.org/uploads/files/SzW-UG-Brief2c-Governance-FINAL.pdf

[15] The data for the following section are drawn from Twaweza's research into issues around governance, civic space and democracy.

[16] https://www.twaweza.org/go/sauti-ke-devolution-2017

[17] https://twaweza.org/go/ati-2018-ug

government institutions' responsiveness, more than 4 out of 10 believe that if they ask they will get the district development plans and budgets from their local authority (41%), details of how to report wrongdoing in government (48%), and how much capitation grant their school had received (50%). However, very few citizens are aware of laws that govern their information and communication rights including the Uganda Communications Act (2013) (3%), the Computer Misuse Act (3%) and the Access to Information Act (2005) and its regulations (1%). Additionally, few have ever heard of Barazas (community-based forums) (6%), the budget information website (4%) or the **Ask Your Government** platform (3%). Just one out of 50 citizens (3%) says they have participated in the local forums (Barazas).

In summary, the overall citizen agency picture – seeking information, monitoring delivery, speaking out in public and taking action – is complicated and generally weak. In Tanzania, citizens express a desire to hold government to account, but they do not act on it, partly for fear of disturbing the peace through assertive engagement. Kenyans support devolution but find it hard to access information and engage with local decision-makers. Many Ugandans seek information on public services, but few are aware of or use opportunities to raise their voice.

## 2. Lessons from the 2015-2018 Strategy

**What we got right**

1. We built bridges to government more deliberately. During our first strategy, we approached policy engagement casually, almost as a 'by the way'. Nonetheless, we achieved some success and so in our second strategic period, we adopted a more deliberate and concerted approach to influencing change through policy engagement. While we continue to be careful not to lose ourselves in the generous offer of pleasant meetings, conferences, workshops and roundtables, we do see the value of careful strategic policy engagement. We have applied a mix of approaches, depending on what we want to achieve and who we are targeting, and we monitor our efforts, mostly through outcome mapping. Along the way we have learnt some interesting things. We have found that it is possible to be publicly critical of the government – as long as it is balanced, and based on credible evidence – and at the same time collaborate closely at a high level. We learnt that with our public profile and credibility it is not difficult to meet influential leaders. And we learnt that, at all levels of government, there is an apparent appetite for and interest in rigorous data and evidence. However, being efficient in the art of policy engagement remains an elusive skill (and a challenge).

2. We amplified citizen voices more effectively. *Sauti za Wananchi* - Africa's first nationally representative mobile phone survey - has become a well-known brand in East Africa. Started in Tanzania 6 years ago, launched in Kenya in 2016 and since last year also in full swing in Uganda, Sauti za Wananchi is a clear success. "Minister, there are 2,000 citizens on the line!" was the headline for the first ever Sauti za Wananchi press release, and it is an apt summary for the aims and achievements of the platform. Similarly, a prominent activist in Tanzania recently described the initiative as "a finger on the pulse of citizens." Aside from producing topical data and insight, Sauti za Wananchi is designed to change public and official attitudes on the value of citizen opinions and perspectives, and their utility in decision-making. Sauti za Wananchi stimulates public debate, proven by the growing hours of radio and TV debate it generates, and it feeds insights and data to high level policy making bodies. Monitoring data show good coverage by media, broad public recognition of the brand and the data being referenced within government. Sauti za Wananchi is rigorous, independent and fair – and is perceived as such – which we believe has been essential in its acceptance.

3. We deepened our learning and shared it widely. As in the first strategic period, learning continued to be an animating principle for Twaweza. We accounted for coverage and quality, obtained feedback from the majority of our initiatives and used that information to shape our way forward. We regularly used feedback from critical friends on our work, evaluated selected individual programs on a variety of topics and tested and adopted new methodologies, such as outcome mapping, conjoint experiments and the 'mystery shopper' approach. Together with renowned international institutions, such as MIT Gov/Lab, Georgetown University, Princeton University, University of Gothenburg, the Institute of Development Studies, University of California - Berkeley, and in the region with the University of Dar es Salaam, Makerere University, the University of Dodoma and many East African consultants, we have conducted a wide range of research, of varying scales. All resulting publications can be found on our website. In 2016 the Research and Evaluation Advisory Group was initiated, a mix of East-Africa based researchers and activists with researchers from further afield, who are working on issues relevant to Twaweza. A highlight of our work in contributing to global knowledge through our monitoring and evaluation function was the 2018 Ideas and Evidence event in Dar es Salaam. We are also a member of the international Transparency and Accountability Initiative (TA/I), a small but powerful group of

implementing and academic institutions supporting south-based civil society governance initiatives. Our practice is infused with curiosity about whether we achieved our aims and how we can do it better. We intend to build on this and hone it further.

4. We asserted our independence. Of our three countries we have the most elaborate experience in Tanzania when it comes to bringing out critical findings and citizens' views. We have published findings that demonstrated good performance by the government and we were criticised by its opponents. And on the other side we showed people's experiences of food shortages and malnutrition when others stayed silent as ordered by the government. We provide critical yet balanced analysis of laws, policies and government actions and were invited to sit in on discussions in Parliament. We contend that the rigor we apply to our research and being transparent about it, combined with a politically independent posture, has given us some level of respect by friend and foe, and has raised curiosity for the next set of facts.

**What we got wrong**

1. We tried to do public agency from too far away. During the first strategic period we had learnt that information is crucial for change to happen, but is not enough by itself. "People must have the **ability** to act (whether this is knowledge, or skills or self-efficacy), they must be **motivated** to act and there must be **opportunity** to act" (Twaweza Strategy 2015 – 2018). In 2016 we started our Public Agency pilot in all three countries, an approach to bringing together citizens and local governments where the state apparatus meets people's realities at (sub-) district and county level. We used our formidable *Uwezo* network of district partners and volunteers to reach out to community and school level, selected an education issue relevant to parents, infused it with information collected by students and parents and organised spaces and processes in which citizens and authorities could co-shape decisions. The results have been disappointing. We assumed that the issue of teacher absenteeism, a substantial national and local problem, would resonate with communities across the districts. It did not. Additionally, delegating this delicate process to our district partners was insufficient and we had to spend more time in the districts ourselves than anticipated. We did not achieve notable changes in teacher attendance, though the pilots were too short term to enable firm conclusions. We have realised that to fully understand the dynamics of citizen – state interaction, we need to spend much more time in the villages and working along with communities on issues that are most relevant to them, there and then.

2. We went it alone too often. Twaweza in Tanzania has sometimes been accused of working too much in isolation. Although we made in-roads into working more in coalitions during our second strategic period, we still have some way to travel. In 2015 (Tanzania) and 2016 (Uganda), we worked with three other organisations to hold a series of debates during the general elections; we are active members of the Coalition for the Right to Information (CORI) and the Tanzania Education Network (TEN/MET); and we have initiated several joint actions with civil society partners on critical issues. Yet, there were a number of joint discussions and actions from which we were excluded, and feedback from key actors suggests that our reputation continues to be one of a lone wolf. Yet collective action, coalitions of unusual suspects and joint initiatives are all critical tools in the fight to protect civic space. Moving forward, this is an area on which Twaweza will have to deliberately focus.

3. We did not synergize our open government and basic education pillars as expected. In our Strategy 2015 – 2018 we made a deliberate choice to combine the domains of Open Government and Basic Education. We reasoned that promoting transparency, accountability and participation would become more concrete and tangible when focusing on a significant government service that is high on the

priority list of the general population. Because of Uwezo and KiuFunza, both successful large-scale programs, we already had a good number of education experts working in Twaweza and the choice for Basic Education was obvious. Based on an analysis, we selected four problem areas in education and five in Open Government to focus on. Looking back at the past four years the expected synergy between both domains did not really materialise. At the same time, we had to stretch our financial and human resources over a wide range of different issues. Though we have been successful in many ways and we are appreciated as experts in both fields by many key actors, our activities in Open Government have had limited overlap with those on Basic Education. The whole has not been greater than the sum of the parts.

## 3. Key strategic decision: transitioning our basic education domain

### What we set out to do and what we achieved

Our work in basic education was designed to tackle four ambitious and critical problems. First, schooling does not lead to learning as teachers, education administrators, policy makers, and the public (especially parents) do not focus on or measure core early grade competencies (literacy, numeracy and other core skills). Second, the curriculum is too ambitious, and teaching is too far ahead of children's learning levels, there is too little evidence on the effectiveness of curricula, and the available evidence does not loop back to inform and stir change. Third, teachers are not sufficiently motivated, supported and held accountable to ensure children learn. Fourth, the leadership, management and accountability of school systems are weak and unable to 'pull together' key constituencies (such as parents, teachers, school administrators, and the general community) to work in a concerted fashion to ensure that all children are learning.

We achieved two major victories in the basic education domain. First, through Uwezo, **we helped pivot the global and national debate about education from a focus on access and inputs to the primacy of learning outcomes.** A high profile demonstration of this pivot came in September 2017, when the World Development Report 2018 entitled 'Learning to Realize the Promise of Education' was published. Quoting our Uwezo reports, its first main message stated that 'schooling is not the same as learning.'[18] The effect is becoming increasingly visible in East Africa as significant resources are being channeled towards addressing the learning challenge through major initiatives such as the USAID funded Tusome Pamoja in Kenya, and the UK government-funded SESIL in Uganda and EQUIP-T in Tanzania among others.

Second, we **proved that teacher incentives improve learning outcomes**. Our KiuFunza experiment introduced a modest performance linked salary component based on objectively measured student test scores, worth about 3 percent of the annual teacher salary. We created a solid body of evidence showing that performance linked pay improves learning in a cost-effective way. KiuFunza "bought" student skills equivalent to approximately three months of business-as-usual learning progress, at a total cost (bonus plus measurement and management) equivalent to one month of teacher salaries. The Government of Tanzania showed tangible support for the specific policies tested in KiuFunza by adopting the direct payment of school grants to schools in January 2016 and by inviting Twaweza to design a scalable version of teacher performance pay using government data, payment systems and personnel.

We also made good progress in other areas. We used the positive deviance methodology to identify replicable school leadership practices that contribute to better learning. We pioneered the use of the Surveys of Enacted Curriculum (SEC) methodology for curriculum analysis, generating insights about the written, taught and assessed skills and knowledge in a range of subjects and ensuring buy in from key players in curriculum development. And through the Research on Improving Systems in Education (RISE), and working with world-class academic institutions, we are contributing to global knowledge on what works in reforming systems of education.

[18] http://www.worldbank.org/en/publication/wdr2018

## Transitioning our basic education domain

*The transition framework are articulated in a separate document.*

Our significant contributions notwithstanding, there remains substantial work to be done in realising our vision for a society in which children are learning the skills they need to succeed and to become the active citizens their countries need. Some of this work may entail providing alternative models of service delivery. This does not resonate with our approach to governance and the positioning of our work in education as demonstrative of some of the concrete benefits of open government and democratic processes. During the current strategic period, we were unable to actualise the theorised links between the education and open government domains – in effect we were managing and implementing two linked but distinct areas of work.

Rather than continue to navigate this contradiction, and stretch our resources across these two critical domains of work, each of which require their own technical expertise, we believe it makes sense to separate them. A sharpening of our strategic focus on citizen agency and the need to execute our refined mission with the requisite attention means that our valuable portfolio of education initiatives must be organised and managed in or as a separate entity, so that it can benefit from the focused attention and dedication that its strategic coherence, value and success to date demand.

We are committed to a transition process that is careful and responsible, and informed by the following principles:

1. Investing in telling the story and celebrating the success of Uwezo and KiuFunza, and their contribution to the global education discussion about learning
2. Identifying an appropriate organisational framework to take the education work forward.
3. Protecting the brand value and identities of Uwezo, KiuFunza and Twaweza given their close connection with each other.
4. Securing the leadership to advance the set of education initiatives.
5. Providing appropriate financial, management and systems resources during the transition period, including support with donor relations.
6. Proceeding in a timeframe that maintains an appropriate momentum towards completion.

## 4. Why Twaweza is well placed for this work

Over the past decade, Twaweza has developed four strong and unique assets which make us well-suited to carrying out the ambitious set of initiatives outlined in this strategy.

**1. We have exceptional, integrated, independent data collection platforms.** We pioneered Sauti za Wananchi, Africa's first nationally representative mobile phone survey in Tanzania and we have successfully rolled it out to Kenya and Uganda. Sauti za Wananchi has provided critical, new insights for governments and citizens on a wide range of issues and themes. It has helped capture and amplify public opinion (political polls), inform national discourse (food security, quality of service delivery) and shape public policy (simcard tax removal). Uwezo has demonstrated our ability to organise and deploy tens of thousands of volunteers across three countries to gather robust, high quality data from hundreds of thousands of homes with more than half a million children (in 2015). The volume of Uwezo's granular data helped craft and amplify a compelling message about the lack of learning taking place in schools, and helped shift the global discussion to focusing on learning. This has given us critical experience in pivoting granular local work into national and even international discourse. Both platforms have been tested for the robustness of their methodologies, and have also been used by third parties to inform their research and strategic work.

**2. We bring superior analytical skills and compelling communications.** We are good at analysing the data that we collect, connecting it to other sources and uncovering fresh new insights from the analysis. We also produce strong reviews of laws and regulations affecting transparency, accountability and participation and are able to communicate clearly in writing, graphically and in person, the essential issues and their wider implications both to policy actors and to a broad public. Media houses often seek our data, analysis and comment to enhance their coverage of issues ranging from government budget proposals, the quality of public service delivery to broader governance developments in security, constitutional issues and citizen assessment of government performance in general. When working in coalition with other organisations such as the Civil Society Budget Advisory Group (CSBAG) in Uganda, the Coalition on the Right to Information (CORI) in Tanzania, and the Parliamentary Initiatives Network (PIN) in Kenya), we are often nominated by peers to lead the analysis of the issues and to craft the communications and public or policy engagement strategies to promote common positions.

**3. We have strong convening power**. We have developed a reputation for being non-partisan, honest brokers. We are able to bridge the gaps between citizens and authorities, or different interest groups on an issue. The combination of our deep research experience, strong analytical and engagement expertise and demonstrable neutrality in [party] political matters, offer a level of trust and comfort to those whom we invite to engage with our work and with each other. Our initiatives have connected senior government officials (Ministers and permanent/principal secretaries, senior police and army officers, government spokespersons) with ordinary citizens in person at the local government level, and through media at the national level. We demonstrate how informed dialogue, even on contentious themes, can be done in an atmosphere of mutual respect and collaboration.

**4. We have extensive vertical and horizontal networks.** Through our network of Sauti za Wananchi respondents – 6,600 across Kenya Tanzania and Uganda - hundreds of institutional Uwezo partners and thousands of volunteers, we reach deep into our countries' populations and wide across locations. Through this network, we are able to feel the pulse of ordinary citizens and get a strong sense of their

lived experiences. Our convening power at national level allows us to feed these insights into public and policy debates. We also have strong global networks. Our research network spans some of the world's best universities (MIT, Georgetown, Berkley, Amsterdam, Copenhagen) and international research institutions (Global Integrity, CoPSAM, TAP, Accountability Research Center). Our extensive regional and global research network both enhances our research skills, as well as provides a global platform on which to share our practical lessons. On the global stage, we play an important role in shaping the direction of the Open Government Partnership (with a membership of 96 governments and several thousand civil society organisations) as a member of the Steering Committee, and the Global Partnership for Sustainable Development data (GPSDD), as a member of the Board.

## *5. Vision, Mission Values*

# Vision

We believe in an open society, built on the human impulse to make a difference; where information and ideas flow, citizens engage, and authorities are accountable to the people.

# Mission

1. **To demonstrate** how citizens can come together to collectively address their systemic development problems, and make government work better for them
2. **To enable citizens' voices**, **interests and experiences to be heard** and taken seriously in decision-making across multiple governance levels
3. **To promote and protect** open civic space which enables citizens to freely assemble or organise, speak and act

# Values

### Collaborative

We seek to work with and learn from others, to pursue common interests, knowing that most powerful things can only be achieved when we pull together our strengths.

### Transparent

We seek to practice what we preach, foster a culture of deep transparency, disclose all by default (except a narrow aspect that is private and confidential), be honest about failure and success, and share widely.

### Imaginative

We seek to think anew, reframe, wonder, imagine possibilities beyond traditional boundaries, and to spur unusual ideas, aspirations and action.

### Strategic

We value big challenges; appreciate the need think clearly through and make good judgments about scale, connection, implementation, impact and durability.

### Rigorous

We seek quality – attention to detail, clarity and elegance – in everything that we do.

### Curious

We are driven by a thirst for learning; to ask, know, understand, tinker and create.

## 6. Our Theory of Change

### Our enduring vision and refined mission

In the context of shrinking civic space and governments becoming less accountable to citizens, our vision not only remains powerful, but has become even more relevant:

> *We believe in an open society, built on the human impulse to make a difference; where information and ideas flow, citizens engage and authorities are accountable to the people.*

Across the region, citizens' most basic freedoms are partially protected or restricted. The very existence of civil society is increasingly under threat. This surfaces two connected problems for Twaweza to address:

1. Citizens are not able to solve their problems and/or exert productive influence over the forces that shape their lives; that is they have very little agency.
2. The conditions that enable such citizen agency – including access to information and freedom of expression and association – are weak and deteriorating.

With these problems in mind, we have re-articulated our mission into a sharper three-part statement of our purpose:

4. **To demonstrate** how citizens can come together to collectively address their systemic development problems, and make government work better for them
5. **To enable citizens' voices**, **interests and experiences to be heard** and taken seriously in decision-making across multiple governance levels
6. **To promote and protect** open civic space which enables citizens to freely assemble or organise, speak and act

### Our Strategic Goals

In our work we are driven by the following strategic goals, to which we anticipate contributing over this strategic period.

1. Citizens have the ability, willingness and opportunity to articulate their problems, come together to discuss them, express their views in the public sphere and take civic actions to address these challenges. They are acting, organising for change, and they use multiple strategies to do so. Twaweza is working through partners and directly to train, mentor, equip and inspire local change agents to address locally defined problems. Twaweza supports communities to problematize well and at the structural causes behind the local challenges, and ultimately promote more inclusive and active local governance structures.

2. Local and national government agencies operate in ways that take account of citizen concerns, voices and civic action, and are able and driven to act in response. These practices are slowly taking root and diffusing beyond the immediate community and into national discourse as Twaweza is working to amplify these stories, voices and ideas into public and policy debates and to persuade authorities to be responsive through advocacy and litigation.

3. Civic space is less restricted in regard to basic respect for free expression, association and assembly; access to information; and established rule of law, as Twaweza, directly and in concert with diverse coalitions, amplifies citizen perspectives, stories and challenges through media and directly to government officials, mobilises citizens and civil society to undertake joint actions, and engages in selective defensive litigation against government violations of rights.

## Anticipated Outcomes

Across all our work, we are working to achieve outcomes first at the level of specific targeted actors, and at a wider societal level.

We anticipate making some measurable progress on each of these by the midway point of the strategic period – after two years. They mark our direction of travel, what we think the described activities could begin to achieve. At the same time, we are cognisant of the need to leave room for relevant actors to define different pathways of change, particularly at the community level. Our theory of change encompasses this flexibility and inputs of relevant actors by embracing adaptive and collaborative management. Adaptive co-management allows careful and regular joint reading of the signals and opportunities for course correction.

We remain passionate about our own accountability and so more specific and quantifiable targets are attached as Benchmarks (Annex 1) and will be articulated on a project by project basis through the Idea Huddle and Decision Memo process.

This combination of wider directions of travel for the longer term combined with more concrete targets in the shorter term allows us to remain agile, and responsive to our contexts and citizens' own agendas and interests while continuing to hold ourselves to a high bar for delivering outputs and contributing to the intended effects.

We define our two key outcome areas of interest: citizen agency and government responsiveness along a non-linear but progressive, mutually-reinforcing continuum.

**Citizen agency:**

- access, generate information
- monitor services and processes
- speak out
- demand
- contribute (time, money)

**Government Response:**

- accept, acknowledge data, stories, voices
- seek more information
- targeted/individualised action, solution
- public verbal response
- opening up decision-making processes
- implementing existing policies and processes
- sharing practice, success – across and up
- changing policies, laws (if needed)

**Actor-level outcomes**

| | |
|---|---|
| Local change agents (in selected geographic areas) | • Animators and people's representatives mobilise citizen accountability actions and participation, problem-solving (TZ, UG)<br>• Animators and people's representatives request public information and engage in local government processes (TZ, UG) |

| | |
|---|---|
| MPs and DEDs and village government (in selected geographic areas) | ● MPs, councillors and local government officials participate in, endorse and institutionalize Twaweza / partner citizen agency processes and evidence collected (TZ, UG)<br>● MPs, councillors and local government officials escalate and/or respond to citizens' voices and challenges, entrench them in decision-making (TZ, UG) |
| Traditional (national and local) and online media | ● Individual journalists and outlets have increased and improved coverage of civic space issues, citizen voices and agency (KE, TZ, UG)<br>● New outlets arise which are independent, investigative, digital, evidence based, and popular (TZ)<br>● In selected geographic areas, community media facilitate citizen-government interaction and highlight local collective action and response (TZ, UG) |
| Specific ministries and institutions (including ministries of information, legal affairs, local government, communications regulators, service delivery ministries) | ● Government officials seek citizen views on policy and laws, have increased insights about citizen challenges (KE, TZ, UG)<br>● Government officials endorse, participate in and create spaces in which they interact directly with citizens (KE, TZ, UG)<br>● Government officials make decisions informed by citizen input (KE, TZ, UG)<br>● Government officials encourage their peers to create new spaces for interaction, citizen expression and action, and government responsiveness (TZ, UG) |

**Wider societal outcomes**

| | |
|---|---|
| **Citizens (in selected geographic areas)** | ● Citizens perceive improved space to engage with authorities for problem-solving and accountability; they are willing and able to hold leaders accountable. (TZ, UG)<br>● Citizens perceive improved government services, and improved accountability (TZ, UG) |
| **Media** | ● National media hold meaningful (informed and participatory) debates and dialogues on civic space and service delivery (KE, TZ, UG)<br>● National media cite evidence/data from a range of government and independent sources (KE, TZ, UG)<br>● National media pro-actively challenge legal repression of their work (TZ) |
| **Government processes** | ● The actions and processes and mechanisms implemented by (early adopter) government actors begin to influence other government actors and shape institutions, policies, laws and practice (TZ, UG)<br>● Parliamentary debates, including at committee level, on new laws governing access to information, freedom of expression and civic participation are more inclusive of citizen views and voices (TZ) |
| **Legal and policy environment** | ● Restrictive clauses in national and local laws governing access to information, freedom of expression and civic participation are used less, some have been amended. (TZ) |

| | |
|---|---|
| | • New laws governing these areas take more account of stakeholder and citizen views and are less restrictive (TZ) |

## Activities

Our contribution to achieving the goals and outcomes presented above will be grouped into three broad interventions:

1. *Demonstrating how citizens come together* – catalysing local change agents to lead collective community action, bringing government and citizens together, and spreading stories of success from community level across the country – in Tanzania and Uganda.

   The core of this work involves problematizing well, looking beyond the surface of how problems manifest locally to diagnose and address the structural challenges that perpetuate these problems. The effects will resonate beyond the selected areas in which Twaweza is galvanising this type of collective action through the amplification effect of Twaweza's work, pushing these stories into public and policy discourse.

2. *Enabling citizen voices* – collecting and amplifying citizens' views and voices and advocating for these to be heard and taken seriously in policy debates – in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda.

   The core of this work involves collecting nationally, and in some cases locally, representative views and experiences from citizens and injecting these into public and policy debates and spaces of interaction between citizens and leaders. Twaweza will also pursue more direct representation of citizen voices in decision-making and the collection of citizen views for direct persuasion.

3. *Promoting and protecting civic space* – using a range of advocacy tactics to press for change, including legal and policy analysis, infusion of data into public and policy debate, media engagement and working with coalitions, along with hard persuasion and strategic litigation – in Tanzania.

   The core of this work entails creating persuasive materials, injecting these into policy discussions and media using a range of engagement tactics and strategies. Working in peer and unusual coalitions will be central to successfully resisting the closing of civic space as will tactical and strategic litigation.

*Our interventions are deliberately highly connected:* hyper-local community engagements fuel national debates, unearth new ideas and shed light on unseen problems, amplifying the results and benefits of civic participation in service of protecting democratic space and demonstrating its value. Voices, curated by Twaweza or representing their communities more directly, will be infused into national and local discourse, again with a view to advancing the reclaiming of open civic space. And advances in pushing back against restricted civic space in turn reinforce, enable and catalyse citizen participation and voice. Each of the three interventions introduced above is presented in more detail in sections 6 to 8 of this strategy. How they link together is explained below.

## Theory of Change

The preceding sections of this strategy have outlined Twaweza's goals over the next four years and introduced the work Twaweza will carry out to achieve these goals. This is depicted in the theory of change diagram overleaf.

## PROBLEMS

**LIMITED CITIZEN AGENCY**

**SHRINKING CIVIC SPACE**

## TWAWEZA ACTIVITIES

**Locally**
**DEMONSTRATE COLLECTIVE PROBLEM SOLVING**
Train, activate local change agents collect representative views

share or directly link citizens' voices and stories with media and government

**AMPLIFY AND TRANSPORT CITIZENS' VOICES, INTERESTS, EXPERIENCES**
Amplifying citizen voices, concerns, experiences through media

Convene coalitions
Advocate | Litigate
**Nationally**
**PROTECT AND PROMOTE CIVIC SPACE**

PRESSURE

ENCOURAGE

GALVANISE

## OUTCOMES

**CITIZENS:**
**(local change agents and communities)**
Act | Participate
Solve problems jointly
Mobilise | Endorse
Express Voice

**LOCAL GOVERNMENTS:**
**(MPs, District Executive Directors, village/street governments)**
Respond | Adopt
Endorse

**MEDIA:**
**(content, journalists, local / national, digital / traditional)**
Respond | Adopt
Endorse

**NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS:**
**(ministries of information, local government, justice)**
Engage | Promote | Respond
Propose laws, policies, systems

VALIDATE

MODEL

## STRATEGIC GOALS

**Citizens** have the **ability, willingness and opportunity** to articulate their problems, come together to discuss them, express their views in the public sphere and take civic actions to address these challenges. They are **acting, organising for change,** and they use multiple strategies to do so.

**Local and national government agencies** operate in ways that **take account of citizen concerns, voices and civic action**, and are able and driven to act in response. These practices are slowly taking root and **diffusing** beyond the immediate community and into national discourse

**Civic space is less restricted** in regard to basic respect for free expression, association and assembly; access to information; and established rule of law

## BIG BETS

**TANZANIA:**
Local influences national (conversation, media, policy)
Progressive government actors are inspired and spread ideas and practices

**KENYA, TANZANIA, UGANDA:**
Citizen voices generate public debate and influence policy decisions and discussions

Our work – and the effects we expect to see from it – can be thought of in three interconnected spheres. The first is the local sphere, where real-life issues are felt, contested and prioritised, and solutions are negotiated. The second is the public debate sphere, where the art and craft of advocacy and communication are used to amplify the lessons, ideas and challenges that arise from the local sphere at national level, driving a wider democratic agenda. The third is the policy sphere, where targeted engagement with regulatory entities and policy makers shapes laws and policy and encourages leadership that builds social norms that protect civic space.

Our work to demonstrate how citizens come together will involve working with partners to support local citizen groups, diagnosing core issues in their community and problem-solving around them, particularly through involving and collaborating with local authorities. It is also a critical demonstration of how democratic processes lead to better development. From the view of the governed, their voices are heard and relevant problems addressed hence increases their willingness to participate in implementation of development decisions. From the view of the government, it confers legitimacy, increases co-operation rom citizens and shows effectiveness.

But we will not be satisfied with a few examples of locally-driven positive change. Instead, we will employ the processes and pro-social outcomes from local levels as a persuasive tool to drive a wider development and democracy agenda. We will advocate at national level, and communicate widely through the media, the nature of the local problems, the nature of the participatory process to arrive at solutions, and the results achieved (as well as challenges faced). We are not seeking replication as such but rather the amplification and pivoting of local success into national discourse.

Moreover, we will retain our role as the amplifier of citizen voices and experiences in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda: in addition to the lessons from the local problem-solving efforts, we will collect, curate and disseminate widely nationally-representative citizen views and experiences on the state of the nation, public services, and core democratic values. In Tanzania and Uganda, this platform will also play a role as a sounding board for the issues and problems we engage with locally, allowing us to sense-check how widespread the problems (and possible pathways to solutions) are. In a world where public discourse is increasingly regulated and squeezed, resulting in fewer independent and dissenting voices, this gathering and curation of citizen voices remains a core component of our business.

All the local work and the impassioned communications and advocacy could achieve little or no effect if the overall national frameworks which protect democratic values and open civic space are used to do the opposite. In Tanzania, we will actively push against this trend by protecting the space that remains, and attempting to regain lost ground. We shall form coalitions with a variety of actors, and use a range of soft persuasion to communicate, advocate and engage directly with relevant government entities. Hard persuasion, particularly strategic litigation, will be our last option (with relevant partners and coalitions) to protect and promote civic space -- all the time being grounded in the local participatory work.

We will purposively select areas ripe for local engagement with supportive antecedent conditions in order to expand our knowledge of how progressive, reform-orientated government officials can have a transformative effect and how the actions of a small number of motivated, active citizens can galvanise systemic social change.

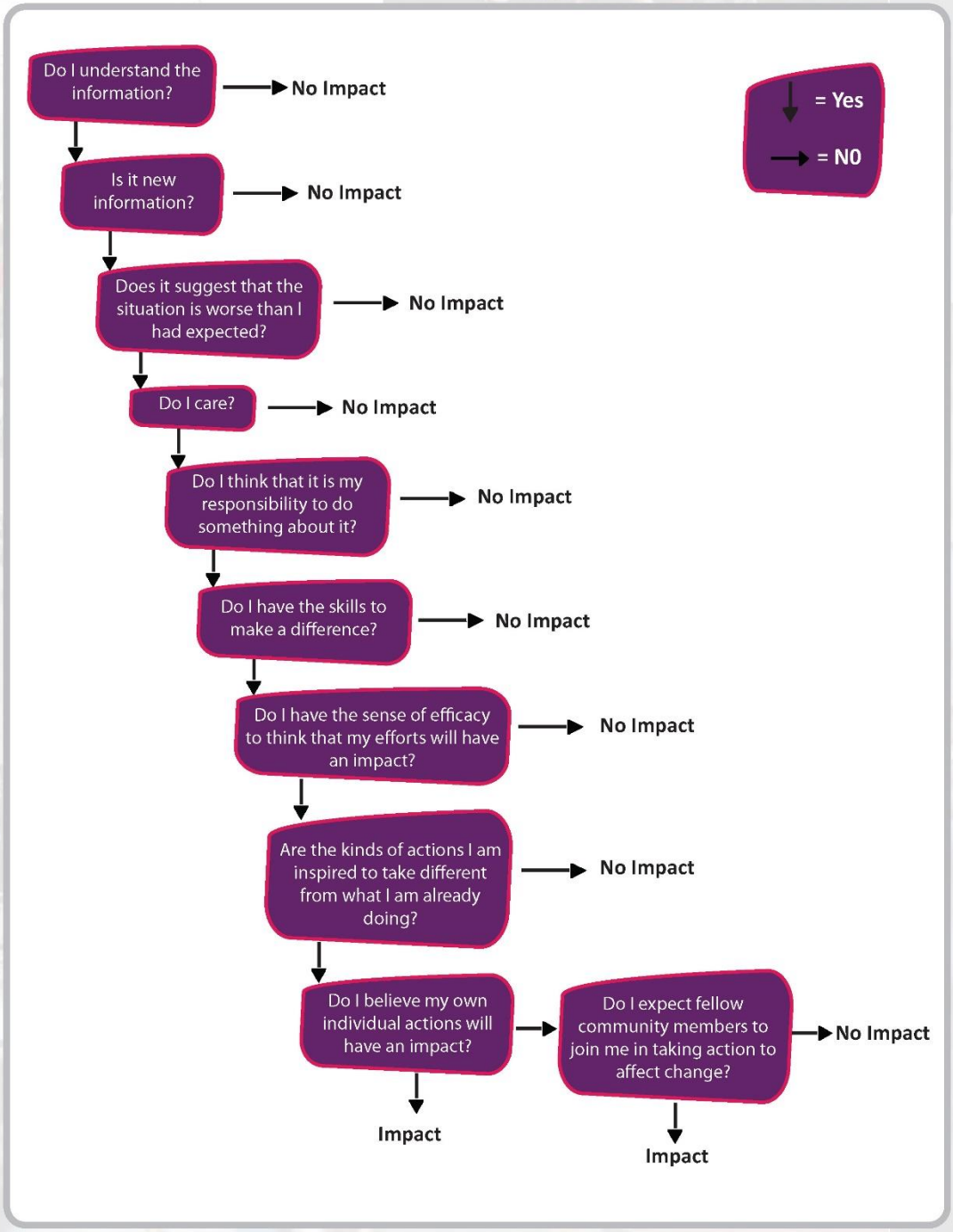
Scale or diffusion is envisaged as the permeation of positive practices from specific people and stories into wider discourse and ultimately practice: champions in local government and among service

providers are inspired and in turn inspire others. They may even be encouraged to push for reforms or systemic changes. By amplifying ideas, stories and evidence in the media and through direct communication to citizens, we give them wings. Through the efforts of local change agents or the positive effects of the community engagement, more and more citizens may be encouraged to reclaim democratic deliberative spaces. And through our government-facing advocacy we push for changes in the rules that govern the game (policies, laws, plans, budgets) or the shifts in thinking and knowledge that may cause smaller re-orientations in the system. These pathways in turn form the basis of some of our big bet hypotheses in this third strategic period, in essence the lessons we want to learn: how can we support progressive government officials to spread new practices; what is the relationship between discourse in the public and policy, local and national, spheres; and how can we spark and cultivate collective action?

Naturally these activities follow different pathways of change in the three different countries, dependent on context but also on the particular subset of activities Twaweza is implementing in each country. The above describes the trajectory of the 'full' package of work, applicable to Tanzania. Annex 4 contains slightly amended versions of the theory of change for each country.

A particularly important insight from previous strategic periods concerns the potential enablers and barriers to action among citizens. This can also be adapted to analyse government officials.

# Translating information into policy / public action



## 6. Staffing

The organisation will continue to be headed by the Executive Director who reports to the Twaweza Board of Directors. At the next level, Twaweza shall have three directors who will combine responsibilities for Twaweza's four work components/functions as follows:

1) **Director of Voice and Participation** will combine leading the Sauti za Wananchi initiative across the three countries as well as the localized community work to promote citizen agency. The Director will be assisted by senior staff for both areas of work.
2) **Director of Learning and Strategy**, to lead a core element of Twaweza's work and approach: careful design of initiatives, close monitoring of execution and results, deep reflection about the outcomes and emerging lessons. The Director will be assisted by coordinators of feedback and monitoring, as well as learning and evaluation.
3) **Director of Engagement and Advocacy**, to strategize and execute a portfolio of advocacy initiatives. They will articulate a powerful and productive link between the granular local work and the broad national engagement as well as lead on much of the work to protect civic space.

The Executive director and the three directors shall together constitute the leadership team (total of four), which shall be chaired by the Executive Director. This leadership team shall be charged with deliberating on strategic decisions.

Each director, with guidance from the Executive Director, will build a team constituting of a range of staff that have the requisite skills, experience, and qualifications for the job. A second level of management has been created within Twaweza to better bridge management by the directors over the entire team. This full program management team shall also include the country representatives, the voice, advocacy and engagement managers, and the finance and administration managers.

The Twaweza headquarters remain in Dar es Salaam, and the Executive Director will oversee and coordinate work in Tanzania. For Kenya and Uganda, the Executive Director will appoint one resident senior staff, from within the country team, to serve as the coordinator and lead representative of Twaweza's work in the country.

The proposed number of staff per component and location (excluding Directors and the Executive Director) is as follows:

| Component | Tanzania | Uganda | Kenya | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Voice and Participation | 5 | 2 | 2 | 9 |
| 2. Advocacy and Engagement | 6* | 1 | 1 | 8 |
| 3. Learning and Strategy | 3 | 1 | | 4 |
| 4. Finance and Operations | 7 | 2 | 1 | 10 |
| 5. Executive Director's Office | 2 | | | 2 |
| TOTAL | 28 | 7 | 5 | 40 |

*Includes 1 position which can be based in any of the three countries

## 7. Preliminary Budget

The total budget for the four-year strategic period is USD 26.3 million, divided over Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda. Annual budgets increase is taken as approximately 2.5% each year. The budget is organised around the formulated problems and expected outcomes.

The budget for the 2019 – 2012 strategic plan is informed by our experience of the previous few years. The average budget utilisation for the first three years of 2015 - 18 strategic plan was 85% which is in line with the requirements of the governance and management manual that allows for over/under budget deviations of not greater than 15% margin. This has been achieved due to more realistic and predictable budgets, real-time budget utilisation review enabled by our online accounting system, mid-year reviews to re-allocate underspent budget lines.

We plan continue to utilise the budget control measures introduced in the previous strategy to ensure budget deviations are in compliance to the governance and management manual.

| SUMMARY | 2019 | 2020 | 2021 | 2022 | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | |
| **1. Voices** | 1,949,000 | 2,197,725 | 1,852,668 | 1,898,985 | **7,898,378** |
| **2. Community Engagement** | 733,000 | 751,325 | 770,108 | 789,361 | **3,043,794** |
| **3. Civic Space** | 949,000 | 972,725 | 997,043 | 1,021,969 | **3,940,737** |
| **4. Learning and Strategy** | 940,000 | 963,500 | 987,588 | 1,012,277 | **3,903,365** |
| **5. Operations and Finance** | 1,226,000 | 1,256,650 | 1,288,066 | 1,320,268 | **5,090,984** |
| **6. ED Office / governance** | 448,000 | 459,200 | 470,680 | 482,447 | **1,860,327** |
| **7. Phasing out in 2020** | 580,000 | - | - | - | **580,000** |
| **TOTAL** | **6,825,000** | **6,601,125** | **6,366,153** | **6,525,307** | **26,317,585** |
| | | | | | |

| YEAR 2019 | TZ | UG | KE | RO | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **PROGRAM AND STAFF COST** | | | | | |
| **1. Voices** | **525,000** | **495,000** | **455,000** | **474,000** | **1,949,000** |
| **2. Community Engagement** | **328,000** | **405,000** | **-** | **-** | **733,000** |
| **3. Civic Space** | **624,000** | **-** | **-** | **325,000** | **949,000** |
| **4. Learning and Strategy** | **325,000** | **225,000** | **60,000** | **330,000** | **940,000** |
| **5. Operations and Finance** | **345,000** | **190,000** | **158,000** | **533,000** | **1,226,000** |
| **6. ED Office / governance** | **-** | **-** | **-** | **448,000** | **448,000** |
| **7. Phasing out in 2020** | **580,000** | **-** | **-** | **-** | **580,000** |
| | **2,727,000** | **1,315,000** | **673,000** | **2,110,000** | **6,825,000** |
| **Total including regional** | **3,947,354** | **1,903,473** | **974,173** | | |
| | **58%** | **28%** | **14%** | | |

| YEAR 2020 | TZ | UG | KE | RO | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **PROGRAM AND STAFF COST** | | | | | |
| 1. Voices | 538,125 | 707,375 | 466,375 | 485,850 | 2,197,725 |
| 2. Community Engagement | 336,200 | 415,125 | - | - | 751,325 |
| 3. Civic Space | 639,600 | - | - | 333,125 | 972,725 |
| 4. Learning and Strategy | 333,125 | 230,625 | 61,500 | 338,250 | 963,500 |
| 5. Operations and Finance | 353,625 | 194,750 | 161,950 | 546,325 | 1,256,650 |
| 6. ED Office / governance | - | - | - | 459,200 | 459,200 |
| | 2,200,675 | 1,547,875 | 689,825 | 2,162,750 | 6,601,125 |
| Total including regional | 3,368,560 | 2,131,818 | 1,100,748 | | |
| | 54% | 27% | 19% | | |

| YEAR 2021 | TZ | UG | KE | RO | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **PROGRAM AND STAFF COST** | | | | | |
| 1. Voices | 351,578 | 725,059 | 278,034 | 497,996 | 1,852,668 |
| 2. Community Engagement | 344,605 | 425,503 | - | - | 770,108 |
| 3. Civic Space | 655,590 | - | - | 341,453 | 997,043 |
| 4. Learning and Strategy | 341,453 | 236,391 | 63,038 | 346,706 | 987,588 |
| 5. Operations and Finance | 362,466 | 199,619 | 165,999 | 559,983 | 1,288,066 |
| 6. ED Office / governance | - | - | - | 470,680 | 470,680 |
| | 2,055,692 | 1,586,572 | 507,071 | 2,216,819 | 6,366,153 |
| Total including regional | 3,153,964 | 2,434,212 | 777,978 | | |
| | 50% | 38% | 12% | | |

| YEAR 2022 | TZ | UG | KE | RO | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **PROGRAM AND STAFF COST** | | | | | |
| 1. Voices | 360,368 | 743,186 | 284,985 | 510,446 | 1,898,985 |
| 2. Community Engagement | 353,220 | 436,141 | - | - | 789,361 |
| 3. Civic Space | 671,980 | - | - | 349,989 | 1,021,969 |
| 4. Learning and Strategy | 349,989 | 242,300 | 64,613 | 355,374 | 1,012,277 |
| 5. Operations and Finance | 371,527 | 204,609 | 170,149 | 573,983 | 1,320,268 |
| 6. ED Office / governance | - | - | - | 482,447 | 482,447 |
| | 2,107,084 | 1,626,236 | 519,747 | 2,272,239 | 6,525,307 |
| Total including regional | 3,232,813 | 2,495,067 | 797,427 | | |
| | 50% | 38% | 12% | | |

# IN DETAIL

## 1. *Demonstrating how citizens come together and collectively address their problems*

### Demonstrating how citizens can come together to solve problems, productively influence the forces that shape their lives and encourage government to work for citizens

**Tanzania and Uganda**

In a selection of communities (in two to four districts per country, in one village per ward), Twaweza will work with partners and in communities directly to identify local change agents; these individuals will be intensively trained and continuously mentored in the participatory action approach to surface community challenges. Central to this approach is the role of the change agent as a facilitator, a catalyst to enable community members to define and address priority problems through increasing public participation in deliberation and decision-making.

We see this as a value on its own: supporting citizens to address problems and issues important to their lives in hyper local ways with proximate impact. However, the key to this work is the momentum Twaweza will bring in leveraging such instances of successful local collective action into advocacy for policy, resource and legal changes, identification of under-represented citizen issues, calls to wider citizen action and ultimately the promotion of open civic space.

A key aspect of these discussions will be to problematize well – looking beyond the surface of problems to identify underlying causes and structural or systemic aspects of these problems. The emphasis will also be on including under-represented groups and voices, including a focus on young women. Priority areas will be selected collectively by the community for them to address. Community members will further select a small group, again with attention to representativeness, to follow up on these issues. Follow up can involve the community's own actions, contributing work, money or ideas, and engaging with alternative actors such as religious organisations or the private sector. It may also entail working with local leadership or escalating the problems to higher relevant levels of government. The local change agents and any other representatives or interlocutors selected by the community, with support from partners, will take on directly engaging with sub-national authorities including attending relevant government meetings as observers or participants, making information requests and functioning as conduits between citizens and local government.

In this work, communities will be drivers of their own destinies; where necessary (e.g. in situations of dysfunctional/absent local governments), their pathways to address their problems may circumvent government. While we will not push for any specific routes for citizens to address their problems, our preference is towards the revitalisation of local governance processes and institutions, decentralized and democratic in principle, but exclusive and dysfunctional in practice.

Citizens in one community may choose to focus on reforming the management of their water supplies, or raising funds to extend supplies to new areas. Those in another may prefer to focus on health

facilities – on ensuring that health workers are present and treat patients with respect, or that facilities are kept clean and key medical supplies are available. And a third area may mobilise through their elected representatives and the media to put pressure on district or even national government to improve school infrastructure. Our work aims at enhancing their ability, willingness and opportunities to organize collectively in solving the problems they prioritize.

Local authorities have reasonable incentives to engage positively. They are driven by pressure from citizens, to whom they are proximate; and they are driven by pressure from above as they are responsible for the delivery of many government interventions and are often painted as sources of leakage and under-delivery by central government. In addition, like all such groups, they are not homogenous. Although there are many instances of corruption, mismanagement and abuse of power among local authorities, this is in part driven by the lack of accountability mechanisms, particularly citizen monitoring and investigative media. We believe that the nudge of knowing someone is watching, following up, asking questions will push many into, at least, more ethical conduct. Over time, if responsiveness and engagement unblock development projects in their areas and inculcate a more positive relationship with citizens, their motivation can only intensify.

Twaweza and our partners will, where relevant, work on the national engagement component of this work: this includes testing whether issues are salient across communities and the country, working to bring local voices and issues into national spaces (policy and media), and promoting new approaches to local problem-solving and government-community engagement. In the later part of the strategic period this may also include litigating around intractable issues unearthed through the community engagements, which are broadly relevant and for which other approaches have failed.

Although the idea is to support communities to identify their own challenges and address them, Twaweza will be selective about the issues raised at the community level that travel to our national level advocacy work. We will prioritise issues for advocacy based on citizens' own choices (as identified by S*auti za Wananchi*) as well as those concerning transparency, accountability and participation.
For example, if citizens nationally tell us that the cleanliness of health facilities is a priority concern, we will identify those communities that have successfully addressed the issue, and tell others their story. And we will pay close attention to communities that find effective ways for citizens to participate in local government decision making or local governments that make an extra effort to be transparent, and bring these cases to wider attention.

## Key components

### *Partners*

There are a number of existing well-grounded organisations that do deep and effective work in communities, and we will seek to partner with two or three of them to support and amplify their work, and bring our national level engagement skills to bear. Given the requirement of financial commitment to these partnerships, partners will need to be registered organisations with sufficient financial management capacity. Working with grounded partners, we will also be learning more about the contexts in which we are under-taking this work and how it is done in practice. The collaborative approach of partnerships with the possibility for all partners to learn and grow will be preferred, although we anticipate different types of partnership models that evolve along with the work. Documenting and learning from these models is a core component of this work and our own learning curve.

*Criteria for selecting partners*

- Working towards building networks, identifiable / self-identifying groups
- Grounded in specific communities
- Working with local change agents
- Commitment to iteration, learning

### *Geographies*

Locations will be selected carefully as the aim is to spend extended periods of time (between two and three years) in the selected communities. The presence of reform-minded authorities is an important aspect of the choice of geographies. We understand that there are communities and local authorities that are already working collectively to solve their systemic problems, and conversely that there are communities and local authorities that can be viewed as completely incapable of collective action. Given the duration of our strategy and our desire to demonstrate effectiveness of our interventions, we will select locations that fall somewhere in the failure/success continuum. To ensure application of our interventions and outcomes in similar contexts, we will provide detailed contextual narratives of the places we work in. The presence of potential champions will be an important part of the early uptake of this area of work, supporting local clearances and integration into local processes. Over time, we hope for these champions themselves to support the spread of the ideas and methods, and for neighbouring local authorities to express interest as well.

*Criteria for selecting geographies*

- Presence of (potential) local government champions, interested in change, responsiveness
- Partners' geographic focus
- Regional, socio-cultural representation / variation
- Presence of local change agents, existing networks and groups

### *Good problematizing*

Although people are well aware of the challenges that they live every day, there can be a tendency to see the superficial problems rather than examine deep-rooted underlying causes. A key feature of the initial community level engagements, therefore, will be all about trying to identify systemic issues that contribute to or even cause the problems people face every day, while maintaining a manageable and realistic approach to what can be done. Problems may be addressed in steps, with easier (smaller) solutions first, but it's the deeper understanding of the causes of a problem that is essential to begin to devise more longer-term solutions. The animators will be critical in ensuring this is done well. In addition to their own skills and techniques, for every issue identified by community members, animators will probe them on potential structural causes, asking them to consider the following facets of these problems:

- information
- free expression / comment
- legal / access to justice
- leadership
- finances / budgets
- policies / legal framework

### *Local change agents*

Training and engaging constantly with civic-minded people based in their own communities who can act as change agents is a core piece of this work. They will need to be selected carefully, they must have

some level of legitimacy and acceptance among community members while being able to navigate the tension inherent in their roles in galvanising collective action.

These local change agents will be identified through a number of approaches; we will trial the efficacy of each one. Methods will include approaching local officials for stories to follow up on, community-driven selection, household surveys to try to identify them through shared characteristics, working through locally-based partners or self-selection in response to public education.

These change agents will act as community champions, keeping issues alive and encouraging others to participate in problem-solving; they will escalate issues (alongside the selected follow up groups) to relevant levels of local government; and they will serve as conduits for information back to other community members. Where relevant they will help to bring in other civil society actors including NGOs, the private sector and religious organisations.

Keeping them motivated, inspired and networked will be crucial. They need to be able to learn from each other, share experiences and encourage each other not to lose hope or give up. We will make use of self-efficacy measures to assess the effect of this work on the animators themselves.
In this work, we are building on the successes and principles of participatory action research in regard to civic life, and the foundations of deliberative democracy.

### *Representatives / Interlocutors*

The local change agents are carefully selected for their skills and potential in galvanising community action. Nonetheless, it will be important for the legitimacy of these processes for the community, if community members are able to nominate other intermediaries and representatives to be part of any follow up and decision-making processes. We will not try to dictate who is selected, leaving the pathways open for citizens to select. Groups may choose to elect members to follow up directly with local authorities and other actors, they may wish to approach intermediaries to exert pressure on their behalf, or they may wish to attract the attention of national media.

A central tenet of the approach is a focus on creating space for often excluded or ignored voices, particularly young women. Young people and women in particular are often left out of local power structures and decision-making. Although this work will not over-turn decades of imbalances, it can contribute to challenging stereotypes and creating additional space for women and young people's voices.

The change agents will be ever present, guiding these processes and helping to push past blockages.

## 2. *Enabling citizen voices to be heard and taken seriously in decision-making*

### Collecting and amplifying citizens' views and voices and advocating for these to be heard and taken seriously in policy debates

**In Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda**

Twaweza will use its creative and credible communications capacity to channel the views and voices collected through our community-based work vertically through different levels of government in Tanzania and Uganda. Twaweza will also continue, in all three countries, to use Sauti za Wananchi as a platform to collect representative citizen views on democratic freedoms and civic space issues, the issues unearthed through our work in communities including critical service delivery challenges and government mandated entitlements and standards as well as the Sustainable Development Goals. Both of these avenues will serve as mechanisms to reiterate the importance of citizen participation, for their voices to be heard and taken seriously in decisions.

Building on current experimentation, we will also create select localised Sauti za Wananchi-type platforms to respond to the needs of progressive, reform-minded local authorities around the same types of topics. These will generally be designed and implemented in collaboration with local authorities to ensure their data desires are fulfilled.

In engaging relevant actors around these various voices we will focus on infusing them into media debate – sharing new data, voices and discussions. We will build on current work to ensure that all of these voices are shared with relevant government authorities, even those outside our core areas of interest and expertise. We will also work to identify partners with sectoral expertise to make use of the voices collected to directly influence policies, plans and budgets. And most critically we will infuse citizen voices into existing, new and facilitated spaces for citizen-government interaction.

#### Key components

##### *Sauti za Wananchi national*

Sauti za Wananchi, our public opinion survey platform, is unique: it is still East Africa's first (and up to now only) frequent, rigorous and unbiased citizen polling mechanism. We began it in Tanzania in 2013, expanded to Kenya in 2016 and to Uganda in 2017. In all three countries it has managed to carve out a significant space in public and policy debate. We have media monitoring data that attests to its influence on broadcast and print media, data from independent national surveys confirming its growing recognition and recall among the general public, and repeated interviews with high-level individuals across a range of domains (political, media, civil society, government, academia) attesting to its influence on public debate as well as policy deliberations. This influence happens not only because of how the data is collected, but also in how it is packaged and communicated – and we have a honed process which results in a finished data brief in 6-8 weeks from data collection, complete with analysis, graphics, and accessible layout. This speed is coupled with a powerful communications machinery which includes launches, media briefings, and targeted disseminations as well as the regular insertion of voice data into interactions between government and citizens, in person or via media.

In the new strategy Sauti za Wananchi will continue to be used as an effective means to infuse citizens voice and opinions experience into national debates, as these views continue to be largely missing from public as well as policy deliberations. The Sauti za Wananchi briefs that were related to pressing issues of the moment have generated most attention and debate. In the new strategy we will refine our methods in terms of timing and responsiveness so we best gain from this effect, feeding into government processes and cycles as well as capturing the buzz around hot topics.

We will use Sauti za Wananchi at the national level to:

- Sense check issues unearthed from the local citizen agency work for widespread resonance
- Collect citizen views on democratic values and any infringements on them
- Collect data on select Sustainable Development Goals, particularly around Goal 16 on institutions
- Collect citizen experiences of government entitlements and policy standards

Engagement around Sauti za Wananchi data will:

- Channel representative citizen perceptions directly to relevant authorities
- Generate media coverage of citizens' views on policy reforms, democratic values and experiences of service delivery with a focus on government mandated standards and entitlements
- Push for more open civic space to allow citizens to express these views directly and to reflect their core democratic impulses
- Feed into the work of other organisations involved in policy engagement and advocacy, particularly in areas in which Twaweza has more limited sectoral knowledge
- Feed into national and international data collection efforts and engagement with the Sustainable Development Goals

### *Sauti za Wananchi local*

In a maximum of three selected districts, in which Twaweza is working directly with communities, and in which there are reform-oriented local authorities, we will constitute locally representative Sauti za Wananchi panels. The topics around which citizen views are collected will be driven by local government agendas, and ideally designed in collaboration, but we will also emphasis unearthing under-prioritised issues. The focus will be on service delivery, democratic values and civic space, and local and national entitlements and standards. Sauti za Wananchi local will function as a direct feedback mechanism for district level authorities on their work.

Although the level of collaboration envisaged requires progressive local authorities, meaning the lessons will not be generalizable but potentially replicable/applicable in similar contexts, there are important unanswered questions around the type of information that civil society can productively provide to champions in government, the tactics we can use to persuade them and articulated pathways by which they can contribute to diffusing new ideas among their peers.

### *Building bridges between citizens and government, locally and nationally*

In order to ensure citizen voices are taken seriously in decision-making, Twaweza will facilitate and enable citizen-government interaction.

We will continue to push for government use of the Sauti za Wananchi platform as a mechanism by which to understand citizen perspectives on critical issues and their experiences of entitlements and standards.

We will infuse the data we collect into spaces for policy deliberation that are often closed to citizens; using Sauti za Wananchi (local and national) as well as the insights gleaned through our local work in communities.

In select local spaces we will push for the inclusion of citizen perspectives directly; particularly through the trained local change agents and other community representatives.

And finally, Twaweza will facilitate new spaces for citizens and their government to interact directly; multi-stakeholder dialogues, opportunities for citizens to directly question their leaders, particularly through media. We will create new platforms for dialogues and breathe new life into existing ones, all the while pushing authorities to be more open, transparent and subject to scrutiny about the work they are doing on behalf of citizens; and for citizen voices to be taken into account.

# 3. Promoting and protecting civic space

## Using advocacy and strategic litigation to promote and protect open civic space

**In Tanzania**

Open civic space is a key ingredient in ensuring that citizens can collectively solve their systemic problems and encourage the government to be more responsive, and that their voices can be heard and incorporated in decision-making. This work is essentially divided into two strands: soft persuasion or advocacy – analysis, infusion of new data and citizen voices into discussions and decisions in these areas, media engagement to create public pressure for action and change, and working in coalitions to amplify collective perspectives and exert greater pressure.

The second strand is hard persuasion, strategic litigation. This involves defending the rights of critical actors legally as well as more proactive litigation to address issues surfaced in communities or that are pivot points that can unlock wider freedoms for a multitude of actors in different spaces. This work is necessarily dependent on having an independent judiciary, which does largely seem to be the case at present.

The activities described are at the service of all three strands of Twaweza's mission, creating reverberations that allow the inclusion of citizens' voices in national dialogue and demonstrating citizens' capacity to influence the forces that shape their lives, but ultimately, we are pushing to reclaim the public sphere and citizens' rights of expression, association and participation. Ideas, evidence and stories unearthed from a deep grounding in local communities and dynamics, alongside surfacing the often-silenced perspective will revitalize the national public sphere.

Although we are not directly targeting the restrictiveness of civic space in Kenya and Uganda, we will conduct national level advocacy around participation of citizens in both countries, in Kenya through the use of the Sauti za Wananchi platform and the inclusion of these voices in decisions, and in Uganda additionally through showcasing examples of communities and local governments that have successfully addressed local challenges – whether of service delivery, public participation or government transparency – and supporting our local champions to do the same.

### Key components

#### *Materials*

Insightful, original data that tell stories; innovative ideas; tales of success (and failure) - all of these can only be communicated through thoughtful production of materials or content. Armed with the detailed insights of the reverse logic exercise (see Learning Strategy), we will produce a range of materials - from television shows, to research briefs to community plays - that convey our core messages in a creative and relevant format and that will be used as part of our government, public and media engagement.

*Principles guiding Twaweza content*

**Echoes:** Recognizing that both public and policy engagement that lead to tangible changes takes time, repeating messages across multiple channels. This also serves to elongate public memory on critical issues.

**Imagination:** Understanding that public and policy communication need to stand out to be effective. Making use of humor, quiet shocks, inspiring stories and creative formats to engage audiences.

**Reframing:** Using evidence and ideas to reframe policy and public debates, highlighting the issues that are truly critical and dispelling popular myths.

**Options:** Offering a variety of specific actions to audiences, while avoiding being over-prescriptive

### *Advocacy*

There are different approaches to advocacy and at Twaweza we deploy a range of tactics. In some cases, this is Twaweza as insider, quietly sharing data, seeking one-to-one interactions or small gatherings to engage and share our findings and advice. The work involves a collaborative approach to getting things done, identifying solutions or sounding the alert on potential problems. Tapping into existing areas of interest or work in government, sharing our data and insight and suggesting actions are the core strands of work. We will also use our networks to push issues that we may feel are being under-prioritised. And we will make use of these more behind-the-scenes engagements to push less politically palatable points.

But there is also Twaweza the catalyst of public debate: in particular, we host events to share research and stories. We push this information into the spotlight to reach authorities, directly and indirectly, and exert a level of pressure on them to actively respond to the issues raised.
And finally, there is Twaweza the convenor, bringing together people and power, building bridges between the two. Often this is the most public facet of our engagement with government: creating a platform for constructive engagement, infusing conversations with data and reaching out widely to share what comes out.

Sauti za Wananchi will continue to serve as the cornerstone of our advocacy work: the data feed into 'insider' advocacy around legislative and policy changes; are infused into public interactions between citizens and leaders that are facilitated by Twaweza; and are the foundation of Twaweza's strong brand as a source of credible and current data from citizens. Our work in selected communities will also form a foundation for this strand of work: ensuring Twaweza is addressing felt problems, providing legitimacy and feeding national authorities in particular with new insights into how policy works in practice and what citizens are experiencing.

A critical aspect here is to seek opportunities in the entirety of policy and legal formulation cycles – not just during the initial stages of policy-making and legal drafting but instead taking a wider view of the entire process of government work including formulation, parliamentary review, enactment, defining regulations and procedures, implementation, monitoring, budgeting, communication and awareness.

Targeting and deep political and contextual analysis are also core components. Identifying relevant actors, through the Reverse Logic exercise, their barriers and enablers to bringing desired changes and the way in which Twaweza and our partners can facilitate this expediently.
For government engagement in particular, a strategic approach to messaging during all engagements, building strong and mutually beneficial relationships with key actors; and maintaining our strong brand for credibility and impartiality are essential ingredients

### *Legal analysis*

The ability to analyze the wider implications of laws, regulations and policies is, perhaps surprisingly, not commonplace among lawmakers and government ministers. Citizens also have very low levels of awareness of laws that affect them We have developed creative ways of communicating the implications of proposed laws, including scenarios that demonstrate the pitfalls for ordinary people, data on citizens' views of specific aspects of the laws and accessible analysis. We will continue to produce these and share them with MPs, ministers and the media. And we will create platforms for open conversations around these laws between authorities and their constituents, pushing for more consultations, uptake of excluded perspectives and constructive dialogue on the rules that bind us. We are particularly keen to ensure that parliamentarians are aware of and driven by their constituents' perspectives when passing new laws and amendments.

### *Supporting and building coalitions*

Solidarity among civil society organisations in a time of closing civic space is paramount, there is greater strength in numbers. Twaweza will work more closely with peer civil society organisations to push back against the violations of democratic rights, to protect each other and stand in solidarity, and challenge injustice. With particular focus on the Coalition on the Right to Information, we will work together to publicise issues around democracy, conduct joint solidarity actions and share legal analyses with MPs, media and Ministers.

At the same time, where the signals are positive, we will try to mobilise the coming together of unusual suspects in support of government whether allies in government, in academia, the private sector, unions, media or even religious organisations. This work will be in part opportunistic, in part deliberate, beginning with deep analysis for signs of shared agendas and kept on course with continuous analysis and review of the lay of the land.

### *Strategic litigation*

In a context of squeezed civic space, the courts become an important site of contestation. Although not free from the political pressures that constrain all government institutions, there are some tendencies towards professionalism and independence. Thus Twaweza will expand on existing and successful advocacy work by pursuing strategic litigation where practical and relevant.

It is important to note that the pursuit of litigation is not always driven by the desire to win cases. But litigation allows opportunities for extended engagement – officials whom you may struggle to meet are forced to face you and engage with your arguments in and around court processes. Litigation also provides opportunities for strong pubic engagement and education. And finally litigation processes facilitate the creation of new alliances. The detail provided in rulings means that even failed cases can provide meaningful insights for taking forward.

We will approach this work with the same level of analytical thoroughness as our government advocacy; working in concert with partners with intimate knowledge of actors and processes in the justice system; collecting intelligence on official motives and agendas; building constituencies for and with whom we litigate; and keeping international as well as national justice mechanisms in mind.

This work will essentially be divided into two strands. Twaweza will work with partners with more activist and human rights orientations to defend the rights of individuals and institutions unfairly targeted in an attempt to make people afraid to speak up publicly. This work will need to be rapid

response and will generally comprise either provision of legal support to those in legal difficulty or defensive litigation in response to anti-democratic government actions. Generally, Twaweza will support these cases when they set precedents and have wide-ranging implications rather than the equally important cases to protect individual activists and defenders. This will be the more prolific, ongoing legal arm of the work, supporting up to five cases a year.

The second strand will be more long-term; we will seek to identify pivot issues that have far-reaching systemic implications. These may be unearthed through local community work or through long-term research and contextual analysis. In these cases, Twaweza will play a more central and direct role in these litigations. The idea is to be more proactive in these cases, rather than reacting to government violations, we will be attempting to pursue system reform through the courts. We envision taking on no more than 1-2 of these cases in this strategic period.

### *Media*

We see generating media coverage of our issues and evidence as an end in itself: through the media we are able to offer new approaches to old problems, new evidence on what is really going on and to reframe and reshape contemporary debates. We can reach many different target audiences at once and we can give wings to our agendas. Strong media presence also contributes to the brand that Twaweza has built over the years for credibility, reliability, innovation and evidence. But media also have an important role to play in the specific strands of work: working directly against laws and directives that threaten their independent operations, profiling positive examples and serving as a conduit for citizen voice.

We will work with the media in all three countries, serving both a more instrumentalist content-driven agenda as well as the broader aims of protecting civic space.

1. **Media partnerships** - media partnerships offer a macro-level way to ensure that our content is constantly reverberating in the public and policy domains. We will work with between three and five media partners in each country. We will work with these media outlets to push out a variety of content to reach our goals but also to agree on and promote shared democratic values.

2. **Events** - events provide a short and sharp way to directly reach media with new evidence / data, ideas and stories. Twaweza is committed to sharing the majority of our work with the media through events. We will also engage media owners and editors in high level conversations about civic space.

3. **Talk shows and interviews** - because Twaweza produces fresh content regularly, we are a prime candidate for talk shows on radio and television. These slots give us ample time to convey new data and ideas thoroughly and to a diverse audience. They also position us as a key commentator on important public issues and allow us to develop close connections with individual high-profile journalists. By also supporting the development of these programs even when we are not directly participating, we build allies among media personnel and become a first point of call, this in turn builds trust and allows us to draw journalists into our civic space agenda better.

4. **Electronic releases** - given the breadth of data we have collected over the years, we often find ourselves with the capacity to provide citizens' perspectives on current debates. Thus we will regularly promote data points to media electronically that resonate with the national

conversation leading to increased coverage of new perspectives and issues. Using the data also helps to demonstrate directly to media that data and evidence can provide an important line of defence for content and can allow us to speak the unspeakable in a time when media content is increasingly under-scrutiny.

5. **Seed new platforms** - to open up alternative communication spaces, Twaweza will provide financial and content support to early stage independent, digital platforms with a shared agenda.

6. **Opinion pieces** - although newspapers have limited circulation, they are read by almost all government officials. Editorial articles offer us the opportunity to share un-doctored commentary with an important segment of our target audience.

## 4. Our Learning Strategy

Learning has been and remains central to Twaweza's way of being: understanding and analysing the contexts in which we work, critical questioning of the effectiveness of initiatives we try out, learning from others in the education and governance fields and contributing to a collective body of knowledge. Twaweza remains equally committed to learning as it is to its programs making a meaningful and measurable difference. Our learning strategy seeks to cultivate a culture of critical enquiry, reflection and adaptation within the organisation – to ask what works? Why, and how? How do we know? How can we make it better?

Twaweza intends to stay ahead of the curve as a thoughtful, learning-oriented organisation, and one which collaborates actively with other entities to both enrich our own work, and contribute learning to the global governance field. Here are the six core components which comprise our Learning Strategy, with the primary focus on improving practice.

1. **Set clear, inspiring and challenging goals.** These focus the organisation, allow us to develop longer-term vision of success (as well as deviation from this). When defined as two- or four-year hypotheses central to our theory of change, they are the "big bets" Twaweza is taking on in this period, and are the backbone of our evaluation strategy. They also serve as anchors for proximal metrics of successful implementation which we can describe and measure. We develop key indicators based on these metrics of success and hold ourselves accountable to report against these.

2. Be clear on the compass we are using - i.e. the **organisational values** that allow us to set and adjusts the direction of travel and infuse our learning, monitoring and evaluation work: we aim for it to be ***collaborative*** (within the organisation, with local and international research partners), ***transparent*** (openly sharing our research questions, designs, tools and results - both positive and negative), ***imaginative*** (trying new approaches, methods), ***strategic*** (aligned well with the core mission of the organisation), ***rigorous*** (holding ourselves to high standards) and ***curious*** (genuinely interested in how our efforts contribute to the society we want to build).

3. Know the starting point, understand its complexities. In other words, **undertake a solid baseline analysis** of the status of key goals we wish to contribute to, outcomes we wish to achieve, as well as the relationships which govern how various actors behave in creating these outcomes and achieving the goals. For this, we use a process of Reverse Logic: an analytical approach (based on political economy analysis) through which we identify the main actors, their behaviours, and motivations and barriers to change. We build the key measurement components (monitoring) alongside this analysis.

4. **Reflect, improve practice, adjust course as needed.** The main function of **monitoring & feedback** is to describe and track implementation in a manner that is useful for adjusting work in real-time, as well as for reflecting at critical moments or junctures. We aim to strengthen the culture of using information for reflection throughout the organisation, at various levels and in different units. Some specific mechanisms for this in Twaweza are listed below. Importantly, it is only the activities and components in 4.2 that are mostly the domain of the Monitoring and Evaluation team; all others are infused throughout the organisation.

    4.1. The Idea Memo / Decision Memo internal review process, whereby all implementation ("projects") within the work plan must be presented for peer review, including details on desired outcomes, implementation design, budget allocation, and monitoring and evaluation plans. This process allows for more quantifiable and specific targets to be articulated for each project while the long-term outcomes remain broader to allow for organizational agility and adaptive management.

    4.2. Systematic collection of monitoring data as per our Monitoring Framework (Annex 3), and a quicker turnaround of insights and results to implementers. Monitoring includes media coverage of advocacy efforts, and tailored monitoring around specific implementation pieces to answer the key questions of **coverage (reach)**, **quality**, and **feedback from end users**. In many cases, we also measure the **short-term effects** of our initiatives (e.g. increasing knowledge or awareness of an issue). We use a toolbox of mixed methods, as relevant to the initiative, including Outcome Mapping, quantitative surveys, observation, in-depth interviews and group discussions, among others.

4.3. A mid-term review process for both programmatic direction (using monitoring data, insights and lessons as much as possible), as well as budget and expenditure information to make mid-year adaptations and course corrections.

4.4. Post-implementation reviews: an intense, peer reflection on what has worked and what hasn't in a particular initiative (or component of the initiative) and how these lessons inform further work.

5. **Evaluation**: taking the longer-term, bird's eye view. We have defined a limited number of "big bets" - that is, hypotheses stemming from the three main areas of our work (demonstrating citizen engagement locally, enabling citizen voice to be heard, protecting civic space). These are anchored by the baseline analyses, will span two or more years of implementation, and will use mixed methods to describe the trajectory of the implementation (what happened), capture the outcomes observed (results), and elucidate why the outcomes are (or are not) observed by situating the results in the context in which they occur. For details on the evaluation and research strategy, see Annex 2.

6. **Partnering and collaborating** for deeper learning, amplifying our own lessons, drawing on the experience of others. There are several components and layers to this.

6.1. The collaborating starts at home, within the organisation: we aim to strengthen the culture of reflection across units and work streams, valuing feedback and thoughtful adaptation. Some of the mechanisms for this are noted in point 4 above (e.g. Idea and Decision Memo review process, mid-term review, post-implementation reviews).

6.2. In the granular citizen agency work which we will undertake with partners we will hone our skills of adaptive management, actively learning from organisations and initiatives globally which have experimented with this approach already (for example, USAID's Collaborating, Learning and Adapting initiative has many relevant lessons from which we can learn, as does DFID's Partnership Engage, Reform, Learn program; also the principles and practice of the Problem-Driven Iterative Adaptation (PDIA) approach).

6.3. Particularly for evaluation work we will maintain and build on our current networks of researchers, and will seek to strengthen especially the links with East African researchers and institutions. While our mandate is not to build the capacity of local researchers, we will deliberately seek to partner international researchers we collaborate with (e.g. MIT, Georgetown University, University of Gothenburg, and others) with local universities and think tanks for richer, more grounded research which is shaped primarily by questions around implementation and improving governance in the global south.

6.4. We value the opinion and feedback of critical friends - and so will maintain and further develop our Research and Evaluation Advisory Group, to keep us on our toes about the overall direction of evaluation and research we undertake.

6.5. Strengthen global learning collaboration, particularly south-to-south learning, mentoring and exchange (for example, through the Learning Collaborative, convened by the Transparency and Accountability Initiative (TA/I)).

6.6. Meaningful contribution to global initiatives and processes which bridge governance and learning - such as the Open Government Partnership, and the Global Partnership for Sustainable Data.

## *Our Global Links*

Twaweza is contributing significantly to the global debate and knowledge on open governance through a number of our collaborations. These also provide an important global reach and profile for our ideas, approaches and insights and enthuse us with new ideas, approaches and lessons to apply to our work.

- We are a member of (and we helped to co-design) a new transparency, accountability and participation (TAP) Learning Collaborative, convened by the Transparency and Accountability Initiative. The Collaborative has three reinforcing objectives: a) to test the hypothesis that organisations that are smart about learning are more effective in reaching their stated TAP goals (and clarify constraining and facilitating factors to being an effective learning organisation), b) to accelerate learning among TAP organisations with a focus on those in the global south, and c) to increase engagement between practitioners and researchers as well as funders and better integrate practitioner evidence and priority questions into the global TAP research and advocacy agendas.
- We are members of the Global Partnership for Sustainable Development Data (GPSDD) and, since June 2017, have a seat on its Board. The GPSDD drives action at the local, national, and global level to ensure the new opportunities of the data revolution are used to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals. Twaweza is one of 300 organisations joining forces to take action, galvanise political commitment, build trust, and spur innovation in the booming data ecosystems of the 21st century.
- We are also members of the Steering Committee of the Open Government Partnership (OGP). The OGP, with a growing membership of 76 countries, 20 local governments, and thousands of civil society organisations, is serving as a positive global movement for deepening democracy and openness, and a countervailing force against the rise of closed government. Twaweza serves on the OGP's Thematic Leadership Subcommittee and on the Council of the OGP Trust Fund.

## 5. Governance and Financial Management

**Governance**

In its first incarnation, between 2009 and 2014, while maintaining its own mission, strategic approach and public identity, Twaweza was legally housed with Hivos.

Since January 2015, Twaweza has been an independent entity incorporated as a company limited by guarantee and not having a shareholding capital (i.e. a non-profit company). The entity is incorporated in Tanzania and has 'certificates of compliance' to operate in Kenya and Uganda as per the laws of each country. In addition, following consultation with legal advisors, measures will be taken to protect the Twaweza brand name. The organization legally operates as Twaweza East Africa in each of the three East African countries.

To ensure smooth transition and monitoring of progress, an agreement mandating Hivos to oversee Twaweza's operation during the second strategy was put in place. The idea was to enable Twaweza's board and donors to have a better sense of progress made with regards to governance, general management, and financial and human resource management: in essence to provide governance assurance while the new Board establishes itself.

A total of four oversight missions were conducted by Hivos during the second strategy and it was concluded that Twaweza is now a well-established independent organization and has put in place strong policies and sound financial and human resource procedures and systems. We have also been audited 13 other times over the course of the previous strategic period by various institutions ranging from internal and external auditors, tax authorities and donors. We have scored green ratings for all of these audits, with minimal areas for improvement.

Twaweza has its own board, currently consisting of six members out of a targeted seven to nine. Board members are drawn from East African nationals of high credibility and expertise, and international experts. Each will serve on the board in their individual capacity. The individuals are expected to reflect diversity in terms of a) East Africa and global, b) diversity within East Africa with at least one member from each of the three countries in which we work, c) gender and age, d) range of competencies including strategic, programmatic, fundraising, learning/evaluation, legal, and financial.

Current members are: Dipak Naker (Raising Voices, Uganda) (Chair), Robert Kabushenga (Vision Group, Uganda), Dr Wanjiru Kamau Rutenberg (African Women in Agricultural Research and Development, Kenya), Leonard Mususa (Mwananchi Communications, Tanzania), Nicolette Naylor (Ford Foundation, South Africa), Smita Singh (Independent, USA).

The Board's roles include critically reviewing and advising on programmatic strategy, monitoring and evaluation frameworks, and on the ongoing conceptual and intellectual development of Twaweza. It is the highest governance body of Twaweza that exercises legal and fiscal oversight. The Board reviews and approves the multi-year strategy, annual plans, budgets and reports; appoints external auditors and bankers; and ensures statutory compliance. It also provides guidance on program and operational aspects where needed, and the Executive Director of Twaweza reports to the Board. The Board appoints, supports, and holds accountable the Executive Director of Twaweza, and it may delegate to him/her other specific powers and responsibilities. The Board meets at least three times a year, to

enable it to exercise adequate oversight and support. The usual checks and balances regarding mandates and operation of the Board, term limits, and transparency will be maintained and/or strengthened and are reflected in the MemArts (Constitution) of Twaweza East Africa.

Twaweza has completed a process that commenced in early 2013 to incorporate a legally separate support entity in the USA. This arrangement facilitates easier fundraising from US-based donors and allows for other benefits accessible to US non-profits.

**Donor Relations**

Twaweza values donors for several reasons: provision of financial resources, knowledge, sharing of ideas and linkages with others, feedback on Twaweza's approaches and effectiveness, and as one component of accountability. Twaweza seeks to work with donors in a manner where its identity, intellectual and operational autonomy are affirmed and safeguarded; including independence of thought, publication and positions that may be critical of donors. The partnership with donors is based on a congruence of goals and mission; where both Twaweza and donors work in a manner that can best propel the goals and interests of Twaweza.

High quality and impeccable integrity are expected of Twaweza by itself and donors, and both parties hold Twaweza to this standard. Open dialogue, honesty and frankness, including admission of failure where this case may be, and the need to adapt and adjust are openly communicated, and seen as essential to developing trust and strengthening the organization. Donors understand that the way to get the best out of Twaweza is for the organization to have effective internal incentives, structures and practices of learning and accountability.

Donor members generally agree to attend donor meetings held twice a year for as long as they continue to be an active and substantive donor to Twaweza. Donors have the opportunity to formally review progress and engage with Twaweza through those two joint donor meetings and through other communication. To the maximum extent possible exchanges regarding reporting are handled in these meetings rather than bilaterally, to minimize transaction costs, and to foster mutual dialogue among the donors. Donor parties may inform the development of the standards and structure of Twaweza's reports, but Twaweza does not provide separate specialized reports to suit requirements of individual donors. Separate bilateral donor missions and visits are generally discouraged, though donor representatives may participate in ongoing work where this does not undermine program purpose or cause disruption.

**Reporting**

Twaweza operates on a "one strategy/one plan/one budget/one set of narrative and financial reports for all" principle. Twaweza compiles one common set of plans, budgets and reports for its internal use and for reporting to its board and donors. The purpose is to provide a comprehensive picture of the whole organization and work, and to reduce the reporting time so that staff can focus energies on achieving results.

Twaweza produces an annual plan with corresponding budget each year at the start of the program year, which is approved by the board and shared with all donors, and is made public. Starting in 2015, the annual plan has been clearly aligned with problem-driven thinking and the reverse logic-informed analysis, as outlined in earlier sections. The annual plan and budget, prepared in an easy to follow,

systematic matrix format, elaborates on the indicative directions in this strategy document, and specifies 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 or a change in approach in response to lessons learned) are also communicated.

At the completion of the year, against that annual plan, two common sets of reports are produced – a comprehensive narrative write-up, and an audited financial report annually, and are distributed around end April. The narrative report provides a thoughtful, analytical account of progress made in relation to the program proposal and annual work plan. It provides a substantive, reflective discussion on the effectiveness of Twaweza's strategy, lessons learned and implications for future work. The financial statements conform to the International Financial Reporting Standards (IFRS) and are audited by an internationally reputable audit firm appointed by the Board. Deviations of more than 15% across key budget lines are explained. For those who wish to have more detail, a comprehensive matrix report against the annual plan that is maintained for internal purposes is provided upon request.

Early in the third quarter a brief mid-year progress report is generated to provide an update on progress made up to the half-year point. These reports provide comprehensive information, usually after having gone through Twaweza's internal governance structure. The mid-year reports cover the January to July period. They highlight key achievements, setbacks and insights, and provide a succinct account in point form of progress against plan. This will also be a time when (unaudited) budget vs. expenditure report will be scrutinized closely, and formal adjustments may be proposed to better align budget allocations and spending.

Twaweza generally does not provide separate specialized reports to suit requirements of individual donors. All donors agree to one high quality set of formats. The annual plans and budgets as well as narrative and financial reports are fully **public documents**. In addition to Twaweza donors, the reports are distributed to key partners and published on the Twaweza website.

**Financial Management**

Value for money is at the heart of our procurement processes, ensuring that funds entrusted to the organization are spent in a manner that is responsible and smart. Twaweza has developed a procurement system which gives equal opportunity and fair treatment to all prospective suppliers, contractors or consultants. Proper tendering processes, where quotations are sought from several suppliers or bids invited through advertisement are in place for all procurement exceeding certain amounts. Furthermore, Twaweza has developed a system where all its contracts with suppliers, contractors, or consultants are paid based on outputs delivered. Payments are only made after an output analysis has been performed and an assessment on the value of the deliverables. E.g. if the score is 87%, only 87% of the full payment is given. Outputs required for each contract are carefully analyzed and reflected into contracts to ensure agreement and clarity on both sides. All these ensure that Twaweza receives the greatest value for money in terms of price, quality and time of delivery at all times.

To enhance transparency on financial information, our management information system (Salesforce) and accounting software (Xero) have been designed to ensure easy and almost universal access to the data entered across the organization. We are also the first NGO in Tanzania to be compliant to the standards set by the International Aid Transparency Initiative (IATI). We have automated our financial processes – requisitions, purchase orders, payments, imprests – onto our SalesForce platform. Now all

staff knows where a particular item is in the workflow and can access all information about it. Our efforts of improving our systems have enable us achieve the following;

- We have better integrated systems – our major platforms SalesForce and Xero now speak directly to each other. This has made many operations much smoother but in particular has automated two critical controls in our financial regulations. There are now automatic checks on budget balances when staff seeks to purchase items, and staff with outstanding imprests will automatically be denied the ability to raise new imprests.

- We are more efficient – with all these processes automated, the individuals involved in the workflows can now log into a system from anywhere to approve/ initiate a request or transaction. This has greatly reduced the number of days required to complete a contract, purchase order and payment.

- We are greener – moving the payment and purchase order processes online has greatly reduced on printing and the use of paper generally as most work is now done online. Only the legally required documents are printed for filling.

Since 2014 wherever and whenever possible, all financial transactions are handled in a manner that is electronic. The key objective of this is to minimize risk to the organization. Wherever there is cash to be handled, there also exists potential risk of theft and fraud. However, where strong financial controls are coupled with trust in secure systems, this risk is curtailed. We are working towards having this also be the way in which our partners work with us, and have expanded the use of bank account payments and with the support of our banker, we are now able to pay mobile money payments directly from our bank accounts thus minimizing the use of petty cash payments.

To further strengthen aspects of our financial management, controls will remain which will ensure accurate and timely financial reporting. These checks include: monthly bank reconciliation of all bank accounts; physical controls to safeguard the organization's assets; physical verification of assets; segregation of duties around payment initiation, approval and recording; and a quarterly review of account balances including budget utilization reports.

Twaweza prepares general purpose annual financial statements in accordance with the requirements of International Financial Reporting Standards (IFRS). The financial reports are audited by an internationally reputable firm appointed by the board and the members of Twaweza East Africa. Issues arising are addressed and once satisfied the documents are authorized for issue. At this point, the financial statements are shared with donors and other key partners and published on the Twaweza website.

Twaweza has a reserve policy in place that is available as part of our Governance and Management policies. The Reserve policy will ensure the stability of the programs, employment, and ongoing operations of Twaweza. The Policy is intended to provide an internal source of funds to respond to unexpected situations that could excessively harm Twaweza or would deny Twaweza an exceptional opportunity. Such situations can include, but are not limited to: sudden increase in expenses, sudden exchange loss, time-bound opportunity or unanticipated loss in funding from donors. The Reserve Fund may also be used for one-time, non-recurring, unforeseen and time-bound expenses that will build long-term capacity, such as staff development, research and development, or investment in infrastructure.

# ANNEXES


ANNEX 1 – BENCHMARKS

ANNEX 2 - EVALUATION AND RESEARCH PLAN

ANNEX 3 – MONITORING FRAMEWORK

ANNEX 4 – THEORY OF CHANGE DIAGRAMS FOR KENYA & UGANDA

ANNEX 5 – EXTERNAL RISKS

ANNEX 6 - BIBLIOGRAPHY

## Annex 1 |Benchmarks

| | 2019 | 2020 | 2021 | 2022 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | |
| demonstrating how citizens come together and collectively address their problems | | | | |
| Minimum of 20 local change agents in total identified, trained and continuously mentored in Tanzania and Uganda | x | x | x | x |
| Participatory baseline in at least five communities in Tanzania and five in Uganda on the status of services, demographics, relationships with local authorities, and the status of citizen agency - people's ability, motivation and opportunity to participate meaningfully | x | | | |
| At least five case studies in Tanzania and in Uganda on local change agents mobilising community action to address local problems | | x | | x |
| In Tanzania and Uganda, local change agents submit requests for information per year to local government, attend local planning and reporting meetings, and channel citizen views and issues into government for a | | x | x | x |
| Case studies of successful citizen action shared to media at least three times per year in Tanzania and Uganda | x | x | x | x |
| Case studies of successful citizen action shared to local MPs and relevant ministries twice per year in Tanzania and Uganda | x | x | x | x |
| | | | | |
| enabling citizens' voices to be heard and taken seriously in decision-making | | | | |
| *Representation* | | | | |
| In Tanzania and Uganda, local change agents present one community issue to higher levels of local government (above village leaders) per year per country | x | x | x | x |
| In Tanzania, Twaweza shared citizens' views on upcoming laws relevant to civic space with MPs | x | x | x | x |
| | | | | |
| *Sauti za Wananchi* | | | | |
| Sauti za Wananchi mobile phone survey running in Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda with at least 6 annual data collection rounds for Twaweza, and additional 3-5 with partner agencies | x | x | x | x |
| Drawing a fresh Sauti za Wananchi sample after two years of call rounds in Tanzania, Uganda and Kenya | x | x | | |
| Sauti datasets and methodology available in machine readable formats online in a timely manner | x | x | x | x |
| At least seven Sauti za Wananchi briefs per year in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda produced and launched, a further three fact sheets shared with media and monthly dissemination of topical facts to media | x | x | x | x |
| | | | | |
| *Interaction* | | | | |
| At least one media product per year that involves elected representatives and/or senior government officials responding to citizens' questions and concerns in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda | x | x | x | x |
| At least two local government meeting per year in Tanzania and two in Uganda which are infused with data, feature open discussion between citizens and leaders and institute follow up mechanisms | x | x | x | x |
| Local media in at least two areas in Tanzania and Uganda host interactive dialogue between leaders and citizens, at least two shows per year on one media outlet in each country | x | x | x | x |
| | | | | |

| | 2019 | 2020 | 2021 | 2022 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| protecting and promoting civic space | | | | |
| *Materials* | | | | |
| Creative content around citizens' voices, local problem solving and the importance of open civic space to democracy and development, at least five pieces (multimedia) per year in Tanzania | x | x | x | x |
| Five tailored briefing packs from citizens' views and actions for elected representatives and senior government officials, local and national, per year in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda | x | x | x | x |
| | | | | |
| *Advocacy* | | | | |
| Analysis of all upcoming and existing laws affecting civic space produced and shared, minimum three per year in Tanzania | x | x | x | x |
| Initiating or participating in at least two joint civil society actions per year in Tanzania | x | x | x | x |
| Active member of the Coalition on the Right to Information (or similar, Tanzania), regular attendance and contributions at meetings, leading on at least one activity per year | x | x | x | x |
| Active member of the Civil Society Budget Advocacy Group (or similar, Uganda), one joint action or activity per year | x | x | x | x |
| Active member of the Parliamentary Initiatives Network (or similar, Kenya), one joint action or activity per year | x | x | x | x |
| At least five discussion or launch events per year per country sharing evidence, ideas, voices and stories with key stakeholders | x | x | x | x |
| At least two presentations per year per country to MPs of evidence, ideas, voices and stories | x | x | x | x |
| Support litigations protecting activists, setting precedents, reactive to undemocratic actions and lead on public interest, strategic litigation on a pivotal issue with wide-reaching impact ideally identified in community work | x | x | x | x |
| | | | | |
| *Media* | | | | |
| Three to five media partners per country per year supported to disseminate Twaweza's work and values | x | x | x | x |
| At least five media events per year er country to share evidences, ideas, voices and stories | x | x | x | x |
| A total of at least 10 instances of Twaweza's evidence, ideas, voices and stories featuirng significantly in public media debate in all three countries | x | x | x | x |
| At least five opinion pieces per year per country in print media | x | x | x | x |
| At least one new digital platform with independent meaningful content in Tanzania | x | x | x | x |
| Minimum monthly electronic sharing of topical data to media in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda | x | x | x | x |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| **Organizational \| Learning, Monitoring and Evaluation** | | | | |
| *Monitoring* | | | | |
| Simple and clear internal monitoring system in place and on-line; data related to Twaweza's inputs and outputs, reach/coverage, quality and feedback from key audiences collected routinely | x | x | x | x |
| Selective systematic monitoring of Twaweza in the media in place in all 3 countries, summaries posted online | x | x | x | x |
| Baseline measures (i.e., measures at start of strategic period) of selected outcomes established; updated as needed with midline and/or endline | x | | | x |
| At least 4 blog entries or similar pieces written annually, based on the monitoring exercises, data, and lessons learned, and posted on-line | x | x | x | x |
| At least 6 publications related to monitoring of distribution, coverage, quality produced annually, across the 3 countries; posted on-line | x | x | x | x |

| | 2019 | 2020 | 2021 | 2022 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| At least 3 publications related to intermediate outcomes produced annually, across the 3 countries; posted on-line | x | x | x | x |
| | | | | |
| *Evaluation* | | | | |
| *Development of full evaluation strategy* | x | | | |
| Two external evaluation teams contracted to conduct evaluations relevant to Twaweza by 2019; an additional two by 2020 | x | x | | |
| Initial concept papers and evaluation proposals, as well as tools (questionnaires, guides, etc.) available online within the first year of engagement | | x | x | x |
| At least 4 blog entries or similar communication pieces produced annually on the basis of the engagement with external evaluators | | x | x | x |
| Final analysis and reports stemming from the external evaluations posted on-line | | | | |
| At least three papers submitted for peer-reviewed publication, based on the external evaluation results, by 2022 | | | | x |
| Research and Evaluation Advisory Group (REAG) sustained, with two meetings per year, providing substantive inputs into research / evaluation. | | | | |
| | | | | |
| *Learning activities* | | | | |
| An annual internal "learning calendar" developed, aligning organizational information needs with monitoring and evaluation processes | x | x | x | x |
| Links (with contribution at conferences webinars, etc.) to two external learning structures maintained; an additional one by 2021 | x | x | x | x |
| Internal learning culture lively in each country office, including different learning sessions | x | x | x | x |
| All Twaweza program staff spend a minimum of one week per year in selected communities in Tanzania and Uganda | x | x | x | x |
| | | | | |
| **Organizational \| Communications and Brand** | | | | |
| Effective system for all units contributing updates to website developed and website substantively updated on weekly basis with information from all 3 countries; usage tracked and analysed and implementation tweaked | x | x | x | x |
| Design and content review of Twaweza website by end 2019, and major design review in 2022 | x | | | x |
| Core communication policies (social media, branding standards, etc.) well known by all staff in 2019, and in consistent use | x | x | x | x |
| Systematic database of media contacts and good working relations developed and regularly refreshed for all 3 countries | x | x | x | x |
| Compelling, accessible communication materials in different formats (e.g. print, video, online) on what is Twaweza, what we do, what we achieve and what we learn materials developed, refreshed, published and shared | x | x | x | x |
| At least one active social media channel in each country, updated daily, sharing key content from across Twaweza's programs | x | x | x | x |
| | | | | |

| | 2019 | 2020 | 2021 | 2022 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Organizational \| Operations** | | | | |
| Human Resource Management (HRM) software (Recruitment, Appraisal, Exit, staff survey) fully documented and functioning | x | x | x | x |
| Software used across the organization integrated to function as one | x | x | x | x |
| 90% of all staff are fully conversant with policies, procedures and workflows regarding HR, office management, financial management and reporting, program investments etc. | | | x | x |
| All workflows across the organization fully customized in SalesForce | | | | x |
| | | | | |
| **Organizational \| Finance** | | | | |
| Audit of financial statements (FS) by an internationally reputable firm undertaken and clean audit results achieved; FS posted on the website | x | x | x | x |
| Twaweza continues to be a cashless organization | x | x | x | x |
| Twaweza reserve policy developed and in operation | x | x | x | x |
| | | | | |
| **Organizational \| Governance and Management** | | | | |
| Annual plans produced on time, sensibly build on previous experience, and demonstrate accurate budget predictions | x | x | x | x |
| Annual reports produced on time, including matrix reports and narrative | x | x | x | x |
| Mid-year progress report produced in a timely fashion to inform planning | x | x | x | x |
| Governance board of five to seven members meeting regularly, providing guidance on key issues and approving annual plans and reports | x | x | x | x |

# Annex 2: Evaluation and Research Plan

**Hypothesis 1**: Animators, community representatives and local government champions increase the Ability, Motivation and Opportunities of citizens (in selected communities) to participate in governance and development decisions.

- First-order outcome on the animators: our initiatives are effective in setting them up and facilitating them, and they do their job
- Second-order outcome on the citizens: our initiatives, through local animators, have improved levels of citizen participation in local governance and development decisions. Assessment will combine self-reported citizen knowledge, attitudes and practices on participation and triangulated through various approaches including direct observation of local decision making processes and review of relevant records on citizen participation such as meeting attendance registries.

**Hypothesis 2**: Through advocacy and communication, Twaweza demonstrates that citizen participation in local governance (including service delivery) leads to improved outcomes (in services, and governance); and in turn use this to influence sector ministries (will specify) to promote meaningful participation and incorporate the needs and aspirations of citizens in plans and implementation. Once the efficacy and success of participation is (re-)demonstrated, there will be increased appetite and uptake.

- First order outcome on governance and service delivery, i.e., meaningful citizen participation has contributed towards improved local governance and better service delivery.
- Second order outcome on sector ministries, departments and agents: Relevant government authorities are practically encouraging meaningful participation and incorporating needs/aspirations of citizens in planning and implementation as a result of demonstrated effects of meaningful citizen participation.

**Hypothesis 3**: Enabling contextualised and systematically collected citizen voices to be heard will influence public policy debates at the national and sub-national levels consequently resulting in better services and governance.

- First order outcome on public policy debates: Our Sauti za Wananchi findings informing debates at the national and sub-national levels.

**Hypothesis 4**: Advocacy (soft and hard versions of advocacy) at national level will prompt government to respond by conceding elements of a more conducive civic space environment (our measures here need to be nuanced to track small but significant changes - e.g. not repealing an entire law, but clarifying it in a way that leaves space open).

Our interventions will influence the state of civic space in Tanzania - assessed using various indicators such as legislation amendments and clarifications, government proclamations, actions of law enforcement units (particularly the police department) - paying specific attention to analysing the extent to which the laws and actions of the government and its agencies enable citizens to enjoy their basic rights and freedoms including freedom of expression, access to information, freedom of assembly and association.

**Our approach to evaluating the hypotheses:**
Broadly we will apply comparative analytics to compare situations before and after introduction of our interventions and to the extent possible, we will compare citizen agency (collective action) between places that experienced our interventions and comparable locations that did not experience our interventions. Detailed contextual narratives of the independent variable/s (I.e, our interventions) will be combined with qualitative and quantitative statistical analysis of dependent variable/s (i.e. intended and unintended outcomes of our interventions). To be able to conduct these comparative analyses, we will conduct

- Baseline of Tanzania / Uganda / Kenya current status of civic space, laws, regulations, and a sense of trend (i.e. what we are working with / against), by early 2019.
- Baseline of the status of the media, also early 2019 (content, regulations, actions).
- Baseline in the geographic spaces / areas where we will focus the local work. Should include status of services, citizens (men, women, younger, older, etc.), local authorities; current status of citizen agency, the Ability, Motivation and Opportunities to participate meaningfully.
- A deep follow up of few selected places. In a few areas, we commit to follow for the full four years. We do our annual immersions there; we build relationships. These should be a mix of communities in which engagement is both successful and less so.

## COUNTRY SPECIFIC BIG BETS

The overarching hypotheses (big bets) for Tanzania in their current iteration are:

- Local-actions and successes can be leveraged up to influence national conversation: improve media content, and also change policy (law, regulation) discussions to be more inclusive, responsive.
- The grounded cases of citizen-authority's problem solving capture the interest and goodwill of progressives (champions) at local and also national authorities to support. As early adopters, they act as ambassadors for participatory, responsive processes within their government institutions; these, in turn, begin to slowly show signs of being adopted and adapted by other locations.

For Uganda:

- Through information and mobilisation, young people in selected areas interact positively with authorities to address their needs (solve problems). These cases capture the interest and goodwill of progressives (champions) at local and also national authorities to support. As early adopters, they act as ambassadors for participatory, responsive processes within their government institutions; these, in turn, begin to slowly show signs of being adopted and adapted by other locations.
- Regular dissemination of non-partisan, nationally-representative views and experiences of Ugandan citizens (via the Sauti za Wananchi platform) is taken up by media (print and broadcast), influence public debate on the issues (feature prominently), and influence policy/regulatory discussions and decisions (data can be linked to changes, amendments in policy and regulatory platforms and documents).

For Kenya:

- Regular dissemination of non-partisan, nationally-representative views and experiences of Kenyan citizens (via the Sauti za Wananchi platform) is taken up by media (print and broadcast), influence public debate on the issues (feature prominently), and influence policy/regulatory discussions and decisions (data can be linked to changes, amendments in policy and regulatory platforms and documents).

# Annex 3: Monitoring Framework

We have agreed in our organisational policies to the following key LME principle:

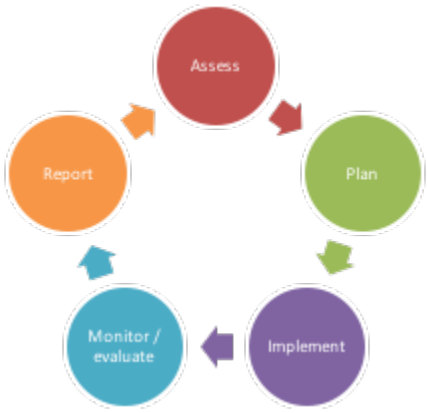
> We monitor and evaluate because we want to improve our practice; we are curious about how we are doing, engaging with questions on why and how something has (or has not) worked. We are guided by the principle of open-mindedness: we challenge our assumptions, admit when we are wrong, and adjust or change direction accordingly.

Twaweza does M&E for three main reasons: accountability, management, and learning. While the first two are needed to keep our "books in order" (in terms of contractual agreements, payments, etc.), the third one (learning) is key to both improve our own work, and understand how our efforts contribute to the outcomes and, ultimately, the goals (problem statements).

At Twaweza, many of the changes we endeavour to help bring about are complex and depend on a myriad of factors: we do, after all, envision changes in policies, budgets, norms and behaviours of government actors, as well as norms and behaviours of citizens. Often, the political economy of a given problem will shift (with changing national leadership, priorities, etc.) and to remain relevant, our tactics have to shift as well.

We commit to tracking and describing those components of our work over which we do have control (the outputs we produce, initiatives we design and implement, to some extent the partnerships we enter into, etc.): we want to know, frequently, whether we are doing what we said we would do, to the level, quality and extent we envision. This is output monitoring. We also monitor – and evaluate – whether outputs contribute to a higher-order effect, or outcome, using appropriate methods.

Monitoring and evaluation is how we tell the story of our initiatives: what they were, who they reached, and did they have the expected effect. We see monitoring as an essential link in the implementation and learning cycle, whereby we aim to:



1. Assess what's the problem/issue we want to address; who it is that can do something about it, and what that is
2. Plan for how can we support/promote that action through initiatives, actions
3. Implement the initiatives
4. Monitor / measure; that is, tell the story of the implementation in numbers and descriptions and, when feasible, measure outcomes/effects as well
5. Report / use the results for learning and next assessment phase – what to do differently, how to adjust tactics or strategies

The M&E framework at Twaweza is based on the overall Strategic Plan. Each year, a monitoring plan is developed according to the Annual Plan, to reflect accurately the problem statements (goals) and success statements (objectives) articulated in that plan. Core metrics are developed annually as well.

Primary responsibilities: the implementing units are expected to monitor on Level 1 (contract compliance, alignment with internal quality standards, etc.). However, wherever there is a need for independent verification (on Level 2 and above), this is the responsibility of the LME unit. The LME unit develops the M&E plan for the organisation on an annual basis.

The M&E framework is designed to gather evidence on the following questions relevant to the strategy of Twaweza:

1. Are the current initiatives being implemented as planned? Is there evidence of products being produced and delivered? The monitoring at this level seeks to describe the initiatives according to the key questions:
    a. What? What is being delivered
    b. Who? To whom; who is the target audience
    c. Where? What is the geographic distribution?
    d. When? What is the time frame?
    e. How much? Quantifying the intensity of the initiative
2. What is the quality of the initiatives and products?
    a. Quality according to Twaweza internal standards (where applicable, e.g., publications)
    b. Quality according to the target audience
    c. Quality according to independent experts / reviewers
3. What is the coverage of the initiatives?
    a. Coverage is the measure of what proportion of the audience/population was reached by the initiative; it must be assessed through reaching the audience (vs. delivery, which is measured through the production and implementation process)
4. Is there evidence that the partnerships, engagement and products result in (or contribute to) a change in intermediate outcomes, as specified in our strategy?

# ANNEX 4

**Theory of Change - Kenya**

**Theory of Change - Uganda**

## PROBLEMS

**LIMITED CITIZEN AGENCY**

**SHRINKING CIVIC SPACE**

## TWAWEZA ACTIVITIES

Share or directly link citizens' voices and stories with media and government

**AMPLIFY AND TRANSPORT CITIZENS' VOICES, INTERESTS, EXPERIENCES**

Amplifying citizen voices, concerns, experiences through media

**PRESSURE**

**ENCOURAGE**

## OUTCOMES

**MEDIA: (content, journalists, local / national, digital / traditional)**
Respond | Adopt
Endorse

**NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS: (ministries of information, local government, justice)**
Engage | Promote | Respond
Propose laws | policies, systems.

**VALIDATE**

**MODEL**

**GALVANISE**

## STRATEGIC GOALS

**Local and national government agencies** operate in ways that **take account of citizen concerns, voices and civic action**, and are able and driven to act in response. These practices are slowly taking root and **diffusing** beyond the immediate community and into national discourse

## BIG BETS

**KENYA, TANZANIA, UGANDA:**
Citizen voices generate public debate and influence policy decisions and discussions

## PROBLEMS

**LIMITED CITIZEN AGENCY**

**SHRINKING CIVIC SPACE**

## TWAWEZA ACTIVITIES

**Locally DEMONSTRATE COLLECTIVE PROBLEM SOLVING**

Train, activate local change agents collect representative views

share or directly link citizens' voices and stories with media and government

**AMPLIFY AND TRANSPORT CITIZENS' VOICES, INTERESTS, EXPERIENCES**

Amplifying citizen voices, concerns, experiences through media

PRESSURE

ENCOURAGE

GALVANISE

## OUTCOMES

**CITIZENS: (local change agents and communities)**

Act | Participate
Solve problems jointly
Mobilise | Endorse
Express Voice

VALIDATE

**LOCAL GOVERNMENTS: (MPs, District Executive Directors, village/street governments)**

Respond | Adopt
Endorse

MODEL

**MEDIA: (content, journalists, local / national, digital / traditional)**

Respond | Adopt
Endorse

**NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS: (ministries of information, local government, justice)**

Engage | Promote | Respond
Propose laws, policies, systems

## STRATEGIC GOALS

**Citizens** have the **ability, willingness and opportunity** to articulate their problems, come together to discuss them, express their views in the public sphere and take civic actions to address these challenges. They are **acting, organising for change,** and they use multiple strategies to do so.

**Local and national government agencies** operate in ways that **take account of citizen concerns, voices and civic action**, and are able and driven to act in response. These practices are slowly taking root and **diffusing** beyond the immediate community and into national discourse

## BIG BETS

**UGANDA:**
Local collective citizen-government problem-solving succeeds and inspires champions to support and spread ideas and practices

**KENYA, TANZANIA, UGANDA:**
Citizen voices generate public debate and influence policy decisions and discussions

# Annex 5 | Bibliography

Below is a select sample of reference materials (mostly books) that informs the design of the Twaweza strategy particularly the activities and intended outcomes (hence the hypotheses). Twenty seven of the books listed below are already available at the Twaweza Library. This bibliography will expand and will be organized into the following sections:

a. Theories and concepts on citizen agency, collective action and civic space
b. Methods and approaches in studying citizen agency, collective action and civic space
c. Case studies on citizen agency, collective action and civic space
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