



Citizens making stuff happen in East Africa

Rakesh Rajani, Twaweza
DFID, March 29 2011

This moment in East Africa

- Little faith in governments... or the new leader
- Ideologies, paradigms shaky
- Tiredness and cynicism about development and reforms
- A sense that we need to look in the mirror and take charge, somehow
- A thirst for (and skepticism about) new ideas
- Unprecedented opportunities enabled by new technologies, at accelerated pace and scale

Where we start

- Asking what reforms, policies and programs look like from the ground up
 - seeking local level data, stories
 - citizen monitoring
 - observations based on ‘walkabouts’ (2008)
 - immersions by staff each year (2009 and 10)

There are two worlds out there

Lived Realities
(how people get on)

- The institutions that matter to people and what most people do on a day to day basis

Officialdom
(formal development)

- Donors supporting the governments (the executive) to do good things

Projects and services

- Roads, energy, education, health
- Anti-corruption laws, units

Laws, policies strategies

- Rule of law, elections support
- Audit Act, Anti-corruption Act, Mining Act
- PSRPs (MKUKUTA, PEAP)

Reforms

- Tz: LGRP, PSRP, PFMRP, LSRP
- Kn: GJLOS, champion reformers
- Ug: ethics coordination



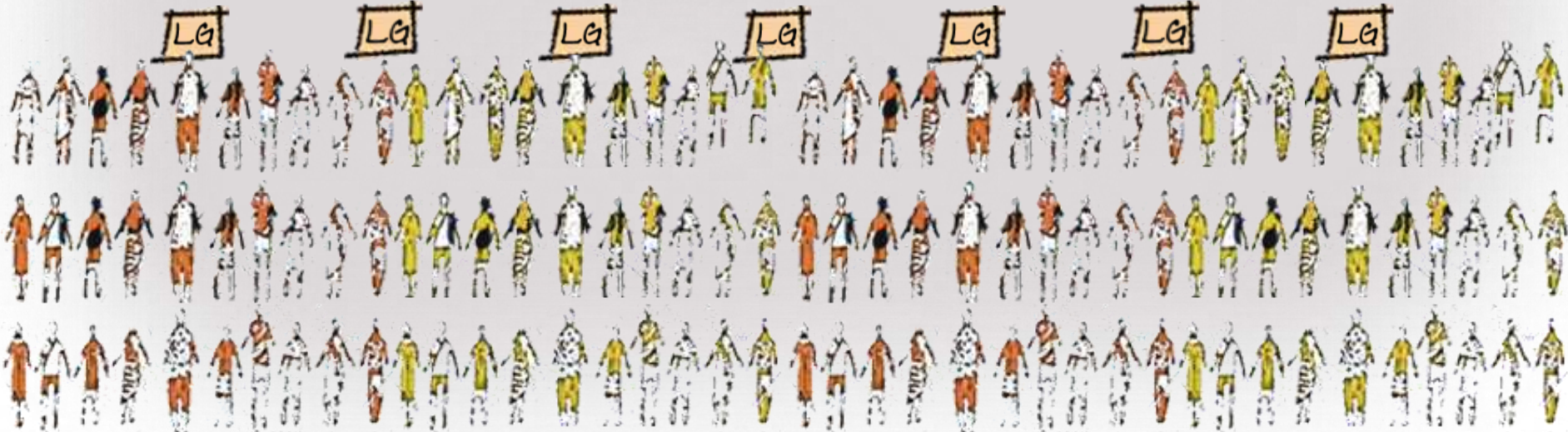
Central Govt.

Donors

Ministry

Ministry

Ministry



Growth in Tanzania has been 6-7%, but poverty persists

Table 2: Increase in amount of poor (in millions) between 2001 and 2007

	Population (TZ mainland)	Poverty rate (%)	Number of people in poverty
2001	32.4	35.7	11.6
2007	38.3	33.6	12.9

Increase in number of poor: 1.3 million

Source: Economic Survey – Table 33, National Bureau of Statistics 2001 & 2007



water

At first glance we get a good story

Only 54% of rural water-points functioning in 33 surveyed districts

- > 4 WPs per 1,000 people
- 2-4 WPs per 1,000 people
- 1-2 WPs per 1,000 people
- < 1 WP per 1,000 people
- No data available





... such as this place in Dar es Salaam
5 minutes from the US Embassy

15 out of 40 kiosks surveyed
in Dar did not work at all

Figure 2: Examples of dysfunctional water kiosks in Dar es Salaam



Keko Mwanga B



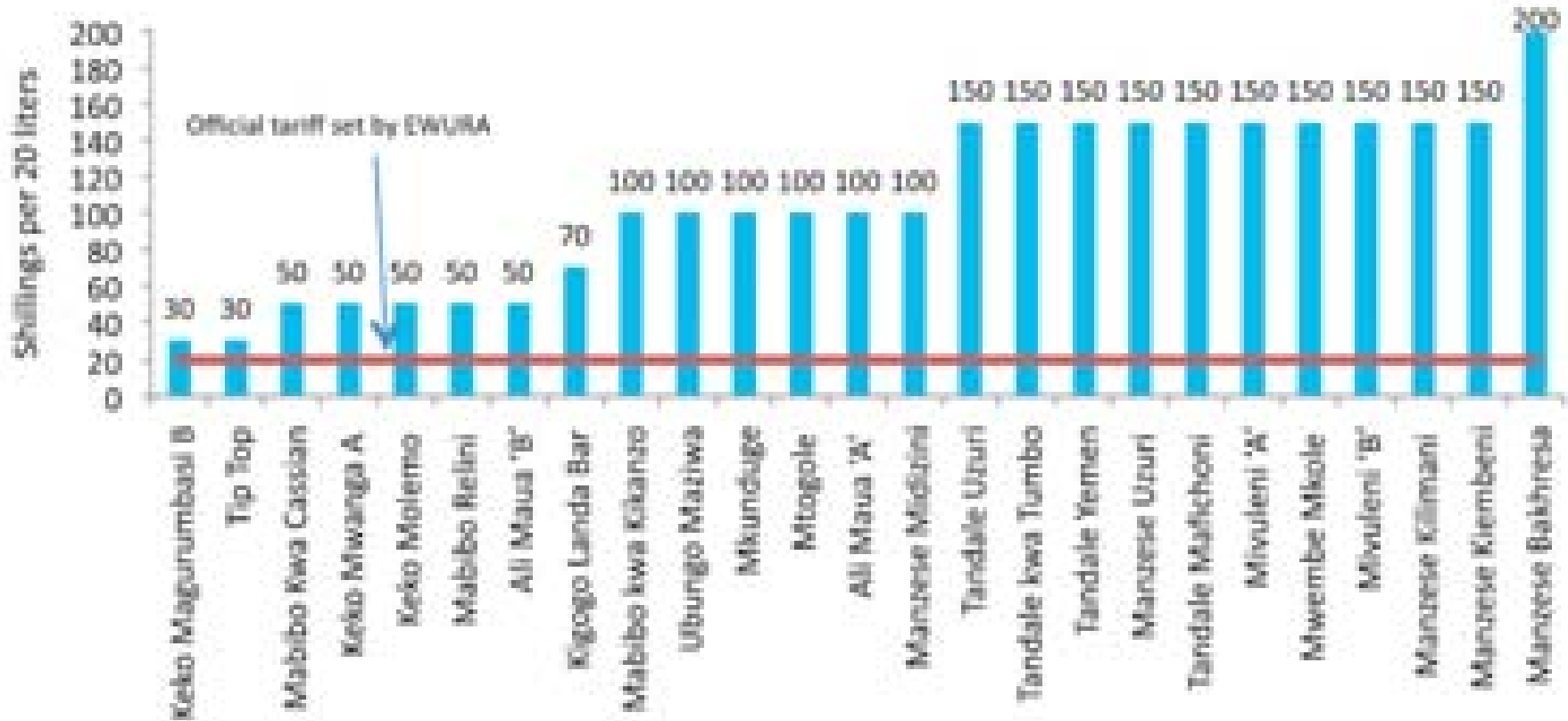
Near Loyola High School



Kigogo Luhanga Azimio St.

And regulation does not work

Figure 6: Prices charged at various water kiosks for 20 liters



education





Many new schools and many more enrolled
Budget tripled in the last decade
The one MDG Tanzania will comfortably meet



New schools look better than many local homes



But upon closer observation...



One is less certain

Does the money reach schools?

For Primary capitation grant should be \$10 per child per year.

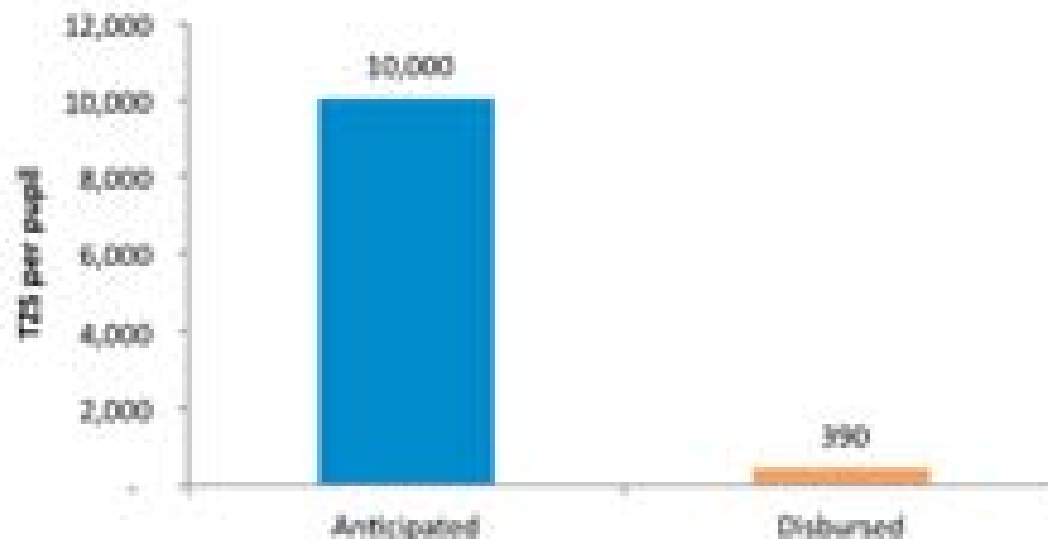
- PETS (2004) showed only \$6 getting to school
- PETS (2009) less than \$4 reached schools

Does the money reach schools?

For secondary, TZS 10,000 was to get to schools in Jan 2011

- 93% of surveyed schools reported receiving nothing.
- The few schools that received the grant got TZS 517.
- Treasury transferred TZS 390 per student to LGAs.

Figure 2: Anticipated Vs actual Capitation grant sent from Treasury to LGAs in January 2011



Source of data: Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs

What about the teachers?

- In a 2010 survey, 23% of teachers were not in school on any given day
- When in school, teachers spend half their time outside the classroom.

As a consequence,

- Rural teachers taught 2 hours and 4 minutes.
- Urban teachers taught 1 hour 24 minutes a day.

(Source: World Bank Service Delivery Indicators: Education and Health Care in Africa, presented at REPOA, March 4, 2011.)

Key Findings, Standard 3: East Africa

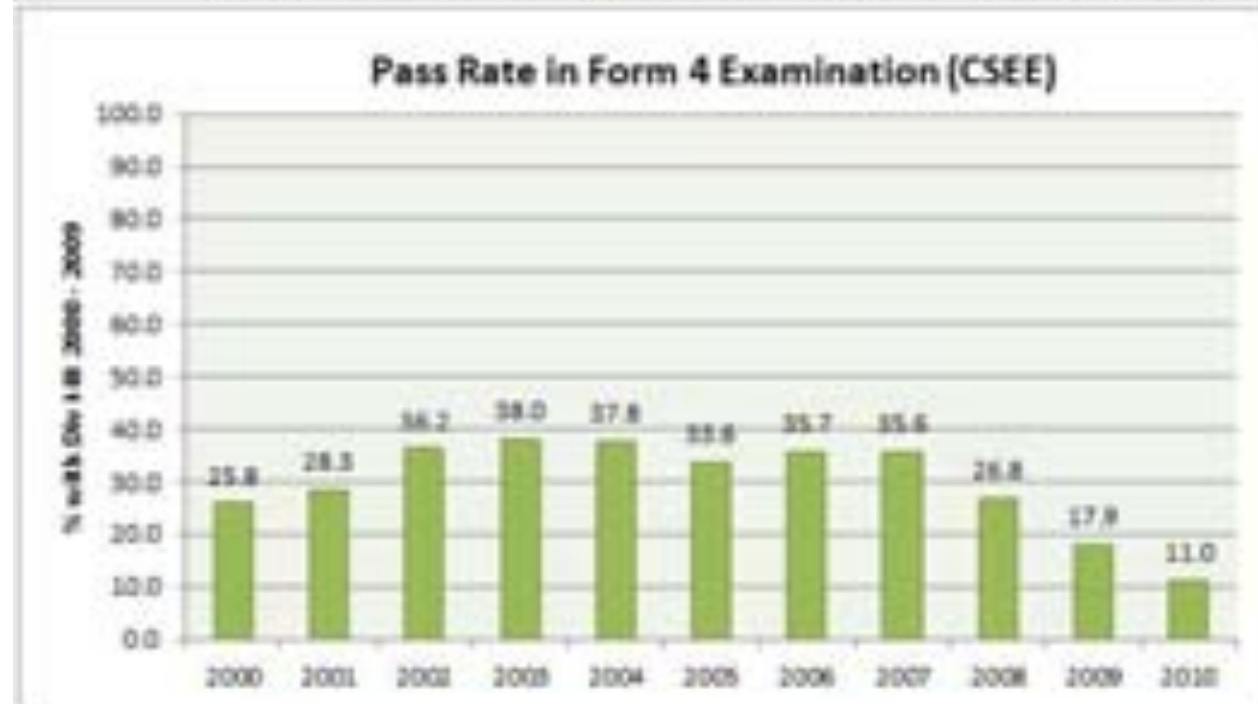
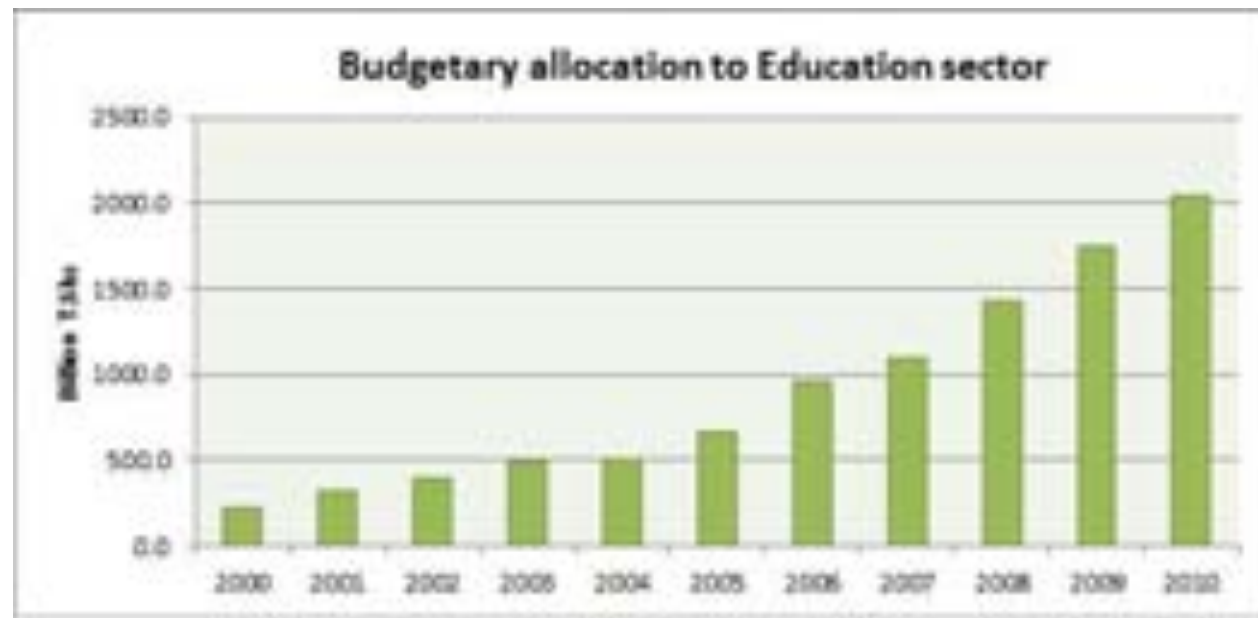
- While Tanzania, Uganda and Kenya used separate tests and conducted independent analyses, each country team found that the level of literacy and numeracy in their respective countries was far too low.

In Standard 3, how many children can:

	Read the Kiswahili Story	Read the English Story	Do Basic Multiplication
Tanzania	33%	8%	19%
Kenya	36%	28%	51%
Uganda	N/A	3%	30%

Return on investment in Tanzania's education sector

<http://vijana.fm/2011/01/28/elimu-ya-sekondari/> using BEST data from Ministry of Education and Vocational Training



Back to our two worlds

Lived Realities
(how people get on)

- The institutions that matter to people and what most people do on a day to day basis

Officialdom
(formal development)

- Donors supporting the governments (the executive) to do good things

Predation is the name of the game

Lived Realities

(how people experience government and reforms)

- See if you can get a piece of the pie, something is better than nothing
- It's the government and wazungus money
- Governance institutions don't solve your problems
- Rest of the time try to keep the govt far away

Officialdom

(formal development govts, donors and NGOs)

- Purpose is to grab
- Grabbers are envied, celebrated
- No one believes it will transform
- No incentive to be progressive

And might even be doing harm



Government



Counter
institutions

So what do you instead?

Check out the left hand side



**Clearly abject
poverty**



**Well,
perhaps not**



Communication is everywhere, fuelling ideas, exchange, learning, movement



Esp. the mobile phone





and radio



Nipashe

**Pinda Waziri
Mkuu mpya**



Bunge la sana... waacha tu

Alasiri

**MAWAZIRI
WAPAGAWA
BUNGENI**

**MMOJA AKAA
SAKAFUNI NA
MISUTI YAKE**



MAWAZIRI WAPITADI BOWO JOO



WAZIRI WAKUO HUYU HA

Mseto

**FORDA YUJIKINDIWA
PATAI BAKANDA 3-8**



HIS DAY

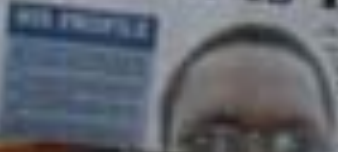
engo Pinda

theafrica

**Mizengo P
new Premi**

DAILY NEWS

Pinda is new PM



The Guardian

It is Pinda

and newspapers



and the communal TV



**People are using communication to speak out,
and make things happen**



Hamisi's the poor cotton farmer in Kahama,



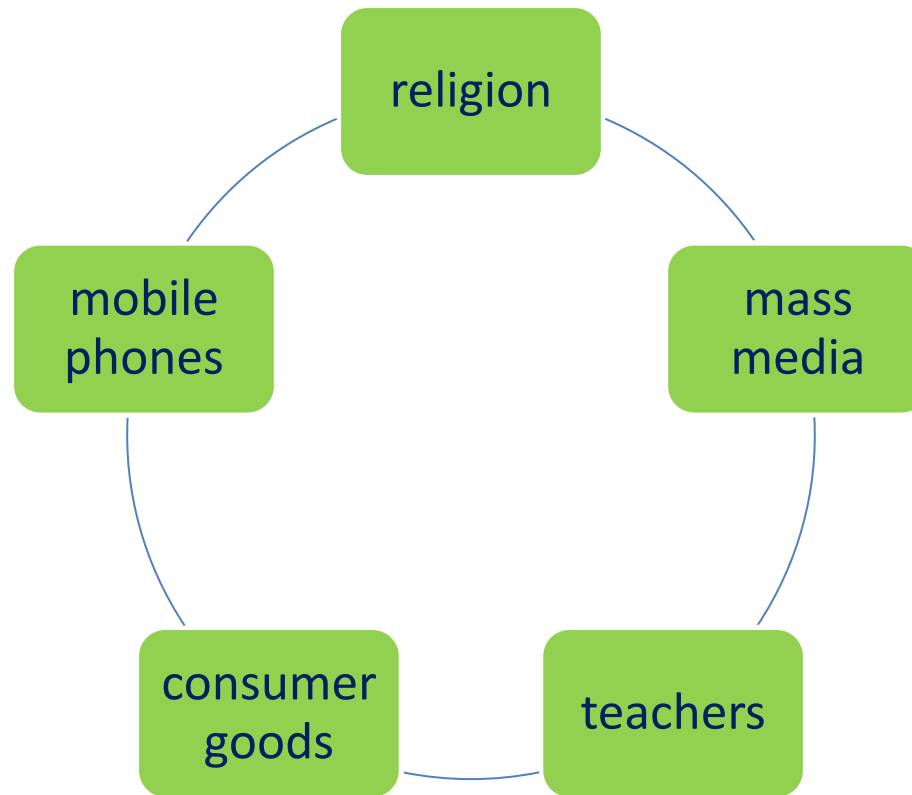
Hamisi the one hell of an entrepreneur

Throughout East Africans people are making things happen

- Not waiting for the right hand side to get its act together
 - And with very little help (and often quite some hindrance) from the right hand side
- ... and two core observations keep coming up:
- Communication enables aspiration and action
 - A few institutions really matter to people and are everywhere

What networks are everywhere and matter to people?

(that would endure even if every aid \$ dried up)



In contrast to the right hand side

Lived Realities

(how people engage with 5 key networks)

- In every village
- Sustainable
- People pay to come
- Motivated
- Vibrant action
- Creative
- Solving, hustling
- People figuring things out
- Things happening
- *(but lets not romanticize too much)*

Officialdom

(formal development govts, donors and NGOs)

- Limited reach
- Dies when donor funds end
- You pay people to show up
- Tired, draining
- Hollow shells
- Bureaucratic
- Excuses
- Capacity building
- Things stuck

Twaweza's idea is very simple:

- Identify what reaches people at scale and works
- get behind it
- enable it to fly higher

Work with 5 networks to fuel flows of information, stories, and ideas

- Make it easier for people to get, make, share information and ideas
- Information about rights, laws and budgets, yes, but even more important:
 - comparisons (how do we do compared the neighbors)
 - stories of change (people who like us have made things happen)
- Don't insist on 'noble' information
- Stimulate informed public debate

and trigger the

imagination

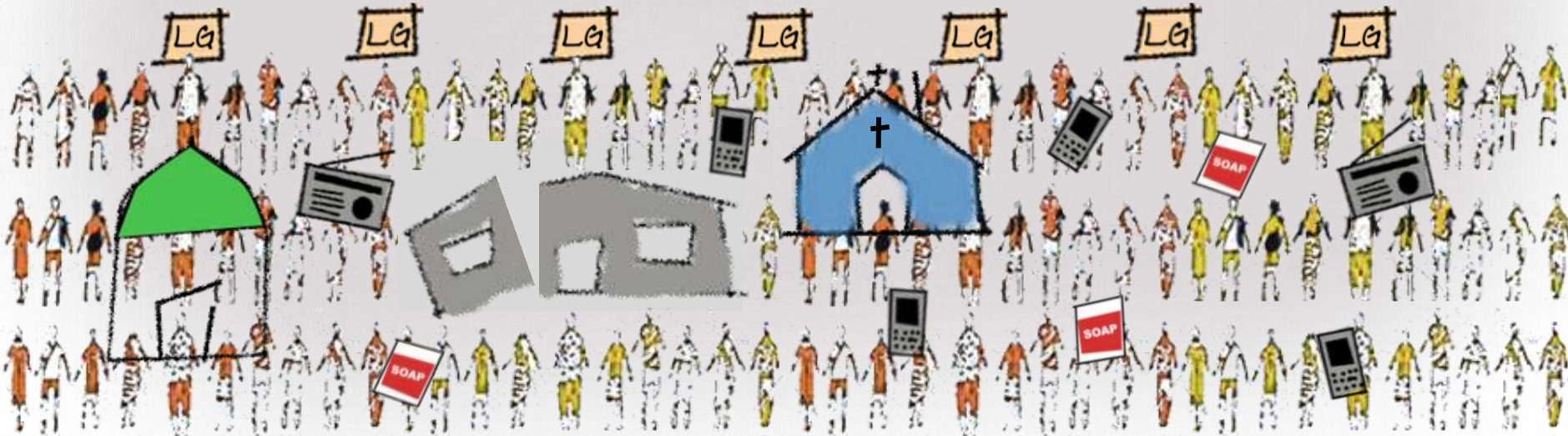
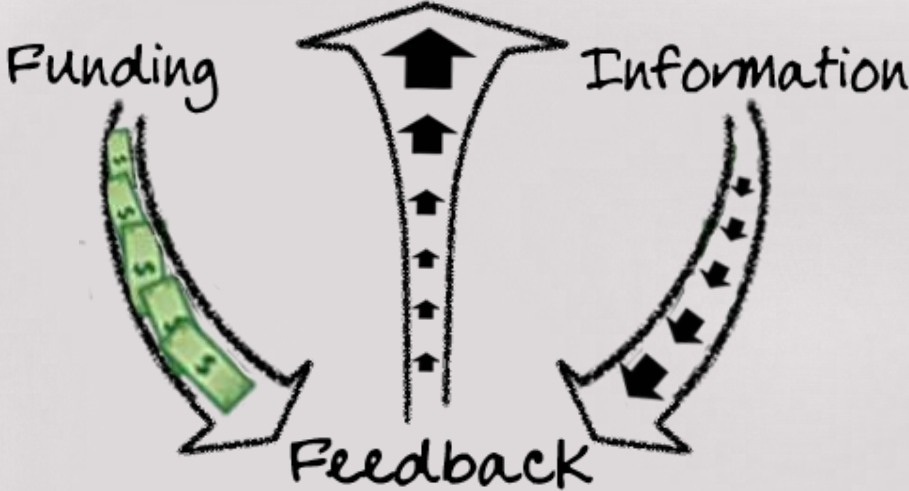
Some examples of
Twaweza's work

7 Examples

1. Uwezo (large scale citizens monitoring whether schooling leads to learning)
2. Daraja (using SMS to monitor water-point functionality)
3. Daladala TV (daily reality debate in a public bus)
4. Uganda Radio Network ('Reuters' for FM radio)
5. Media framework partnerships (nudging investigative journalism, citizen viewpoints)
6. Solar lamps for schools (incentives)
7. Experiments on capitation grants to schools and local Cash on Delivery

If we succeed
what would this look like
on the ground?

Central Govt.

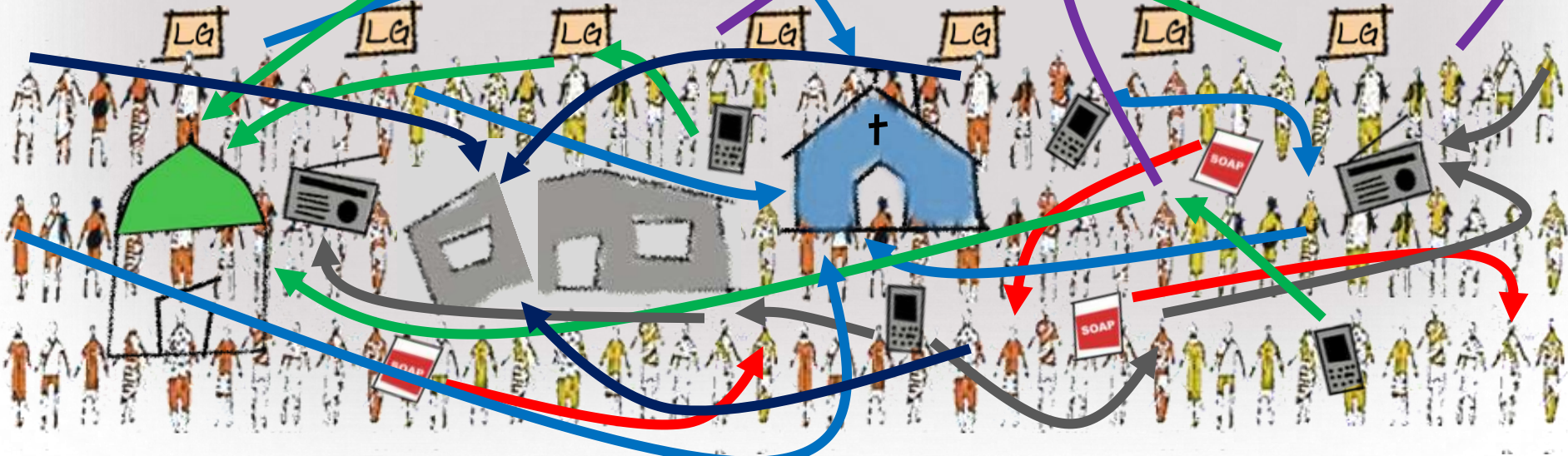
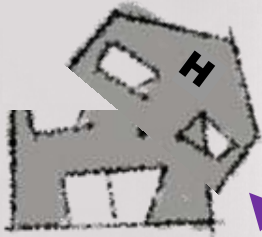


Central Govt.

Funding

Information

Feedback



Lg

Lg

Lg

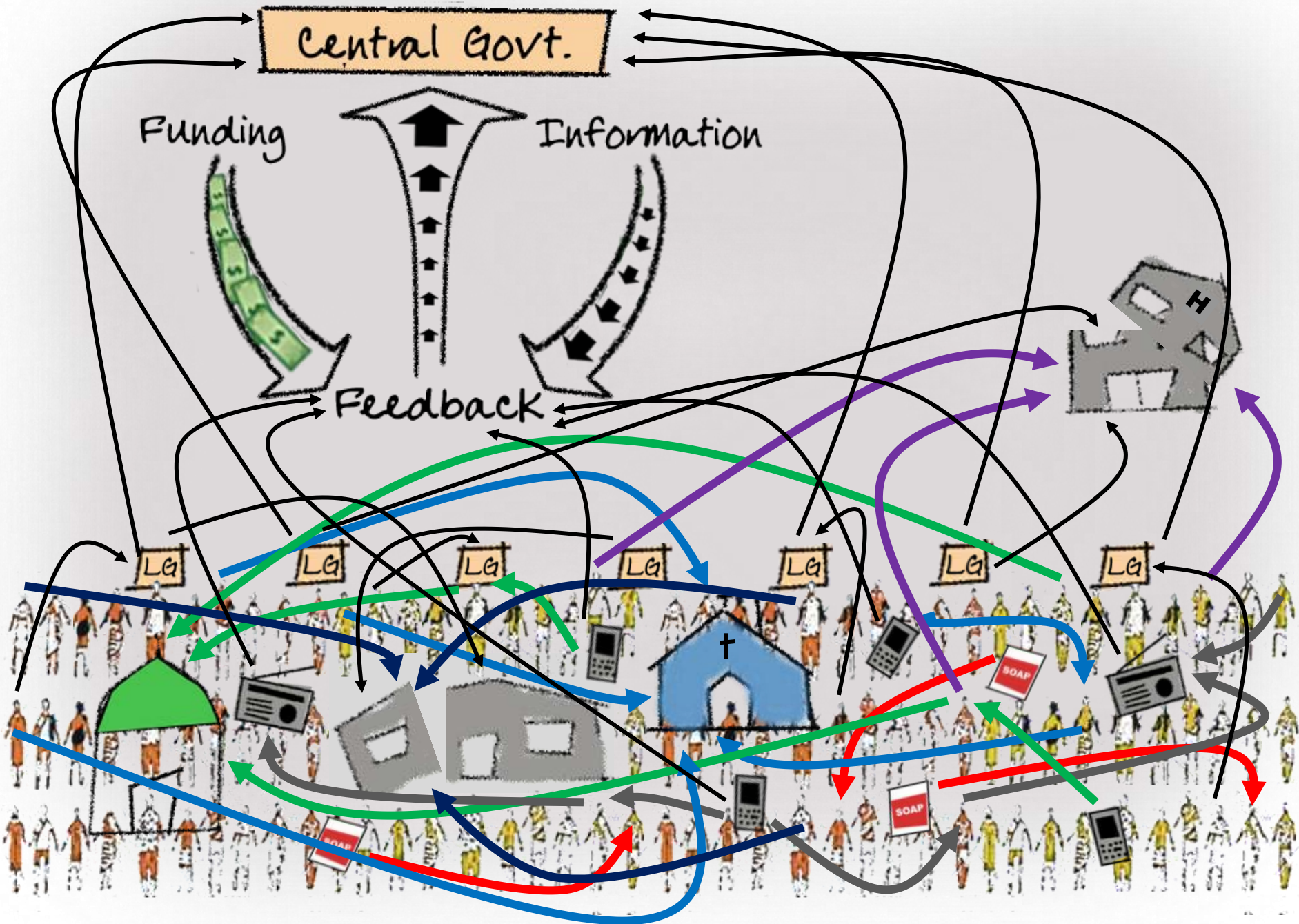
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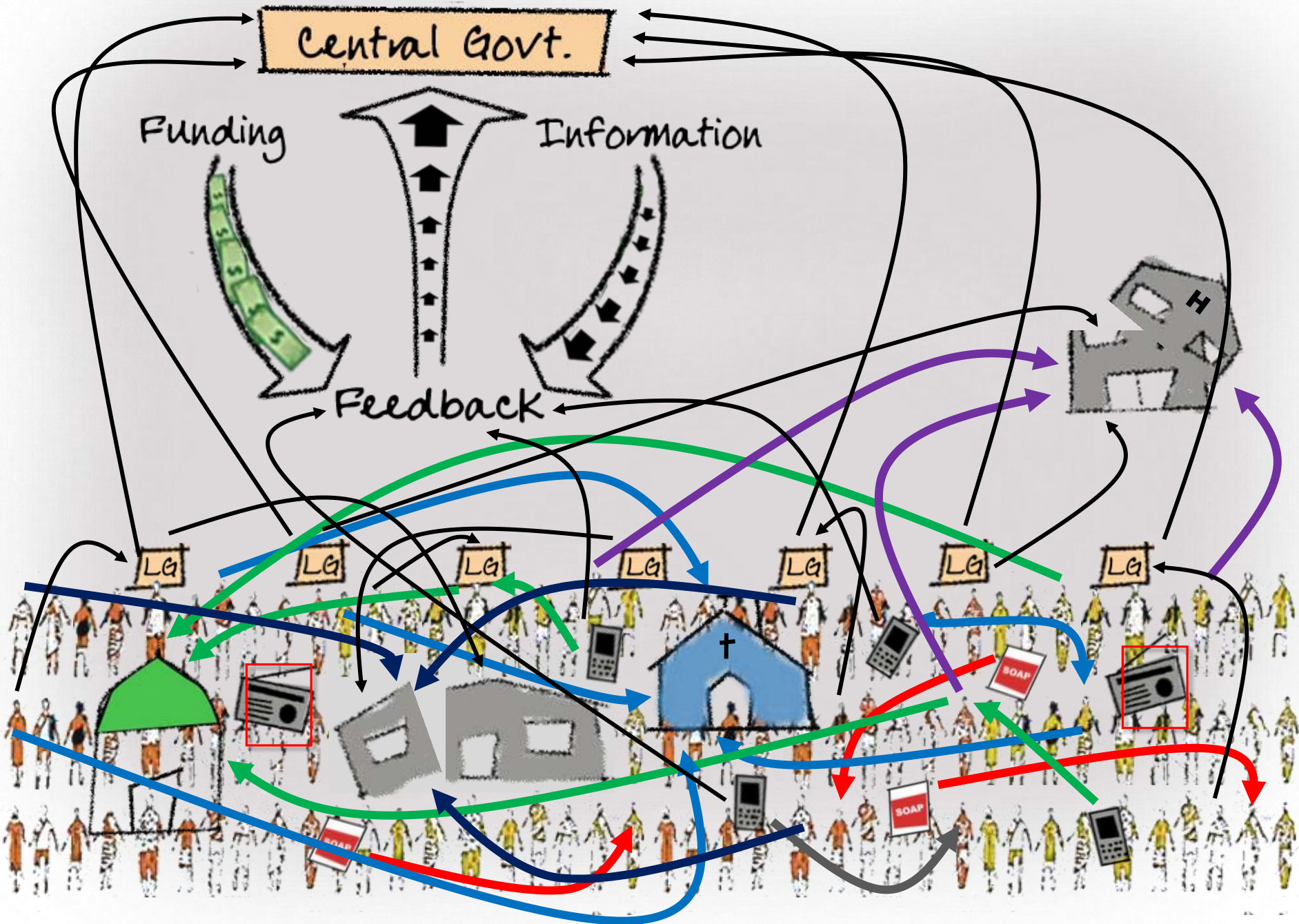
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Five concluding thoughts

1. Development doesn't work when it

- places faith and funds in unaccountable governments,
- runs short-lived boutique projects that reach very few, or
- creates perverse incentives for sharp, creative people to participate in dysfunctional policy processes or make relatively easy money through unproductive work

2. It's the public, stupid

- Leaders and politicians will do the right thing when their publics compel them to do so

3. Its about an open architecture

- Its not linear; its messy, unpredictable
- Personal, people pick and choose, decide what they want to know, to do
- Contingent, opportunistic, responsive, nimble more important than having it figured out
- Direct citizen engagement, not intermediated
- Every day stuff, low transaction costs (not meetings)
- Density of networks / 'thickness' of possibilities that reinforces action

4. Its about the underlying conditions and realigning incentives, not projects

- Help create (or piggyback on) opportunities for citizen knowing and action
- Make it easier for, nudge, back-up the people and the stuff that's progressive
- This will help reduce the unhealthy status equilibrium and dominance of the State
- Realign the incentives on elite performance
- And eventually enable the conditions for a new equilibrium where people reclaim the right hand world (state institutions, public resources)

5. Hooray for experimentation

Will Twaweza work? We don't know, but there are compelling reasons to try it out.

- We need bolder R&D, more risk-taking, more experimentation

We have a serious commitment and program for rigorous measurement, evaluation and learning

- and a commitment to communicating findings openly, honestly, interestingly

That's about as good as it gets.