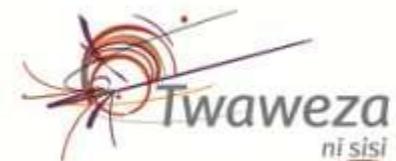


Twaweza

Annual Report

2009



Introduction

This is Twaweza's first annual report. Twaweza (www.twaweza.org) means "we can make it happen" in Swahili. It is a new citizen-centered initiative, focusing on large-scale change in East Africa. We believe that lasting change requires bottom-up action. We therefore seek to foster conditions and expand opportunities through which millions of people can get information and make change happen in their own communities and by holding government to account.

But real change takes time. We are not keen to just do easy activities and check implementation boxes. That is why the Twaweza initiative has a ten year time frame, with two ambitious goals. First, we seek to enhance 'citizen agency', by which we mean the ability of men, women and young people to get better information more quickly, cheaply and reliably; monitor and discuss what's going on; speak out; and act to make a difference. This is important for its own sake, because every person should feel a sense of empowerment or control over their own lives. It is also important because it contributes to our second goal: which is to enable many more people to enjoy quality basic education, health care and clean water.

Sustainable change does not come through establishing little projects here and there, and therefore we do not set up lots of Twaweza projects. Instead we seek to work with and through large networks and institutions that already reach people and are important to their lives – such as mass media, mobile phones, religion, and consumer goods networks. We try to broker 'win-win' partnerships, where each partner can simultaneously achieve its goals and support citizens by doing what it does best. And by linking up different partners who might not otherwise cooperate – such as teachers' union with the church or mobile phone companies – we hope to leverage a greater 'ecosystem effect' of change on the ground. This report provides information about some of our initial partnerships in 2009. It also outlines the early work of our Uwazi (meaning 'openness' in Swahili) InfoShop (www.uwazi.org), which seeks to 'liberate' data by making it more understandable, user-friendly and accessible to actors such as MPs and media who play a critical role in citizen wellbeing.

In addition to this 'doing', 'learning' is equally important to Twaweza. Like elsewhere, East Africa is littered with lots of development activities that were well meaning but that achieved little or did not last long. We therefore have a fierce commitment to learning and sharing lessons. Which parts worked well and which did not, and why? What key factors explain success or failure, and under which conditions? Throughout, we will foster a culture of learning and self-critique, and document and share lessons in creative and accessible formats. We have also appointed an independent entity to undertake a rigorous evaluation of Twaweza over its first five years, and will use these lessons to inform internal practice and global knowledge.

2009 was a set-up year, involving establishing offices in Dar es Salaam and Nairobi, recruiting staff, developing systems and policies, clarifying and communicating the Twaweza concept, and fundraising. The actual 'work' only got underway in the second half of 2009 and much of what has been achieved is still in its early stages. This report outlines some of the achievements and gaps, as well as lessons learned during this formative year. A separate audited set of financial statements are also available.

Twaweza represents the coming alive of a set of analyses, ideas and passion about social change. It embodies the faith and commitment of many important actors – the hundreds of people who engaged with us and provided thoughtful insights, key people at our host organization Hivos, officers of our main donor partners (DFID Tanzania, Hewlett Foundation, Hivos, Sida Tanzania and SNV), our advisory board, our staff in Kenya and Tanzania, our key partners, and many friends and colleagues who continue to engage with us every day.

1a. Strategic Partnerships

Strategic partnerships are at the heart of Twaweza's work. To guide our work and ensure it is consistent with our theory of change, we have developed clear criteria (see Annex) for investment and posted these on our website. Among others, we look for a clear goal, large scale impact, citizen agency approach, innovation and a commitment to learning.

1.1 Education

Across East Africa enrolments in primary and secondary education have increased dramatically in recent years, but quality remains poor and too many children are not learning. Over ten years, Twaweza seeks to promote work that increases flows and transparency of funds to schools, equity in deployment and attendance of teachers, and increase learner competence, particularly in literacy and numeracy.

In 2009, our main education investment was in Uwezo (www.uwezo.net), an initiative to assess basic literacy and numeracy levels of children aged 6-16 years through a large scale household-based survey across Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. The idea is adapted from the successful experience of ASER in India (www.asercentre.org). Uwezo's change approach emphasizes both large scale assessment and communication and public engagement – with the understanding that public pressure will help drive both citizen action and authorities to do the right thing. In each country the effort is managed by a host organization – WERK in Kenya, TENMET in Tanzania, and UNNGOF in Uganda, with overall coordination and oversight provided by a regional manager based at Twaweza. The effort has been developed in close collaboration with the Hewlett Foundation and ASER.

In 2009, Twaweza helped establish Uwezo in each country, facilitated country leads to develop a shared understanding of the concept, finalize a proposal, plans and budget and secure funding, supported host organizations to develop robust policies and systems, and provided overall coordination and quality assurance. Preliminary work was also done on developing a monitoring framework, communication strategy and website. Following this, each country developed carefully researched tools and training manuals, and undertook pilot assessments in 2 district pilots per country using. Kenya held its assessment in October 2009 in 70 districts, involving 40,000 households and testing close to 70,000 children, the largest survey of its kind; results will be released in April 2010. Surveys in Tanzania and Uganda are expected to take place in the first half of 2010.

The other major education activity planned for 2009 was to promote greater transparency regarding flows of capitation grant to primary schools in Tanzania. Other than holding consultations with key actors, this activity was not done in 2009, for two main reasons: we were unable to identify an anchor partner to lead the effort and because we were advised to wait for the results of a major public expenditure study (PETS) to be completed. The PETS was completed in early 2010 and confirmed that very little funds (about US\$3.2 per child) reaches the school each year, and that large inequities remain across districts (some districts receive 15 times as much per capita as others). These findings reinforce the need to carry out this work. In 2010, Twaweza will work with partners to inform the public on what the capitation grant means and how it affects the learning environment of their children. We will seek to create space for parents/citizens to monitor capitation grant flows and activities that contributes towards improvement of quality of basic education.

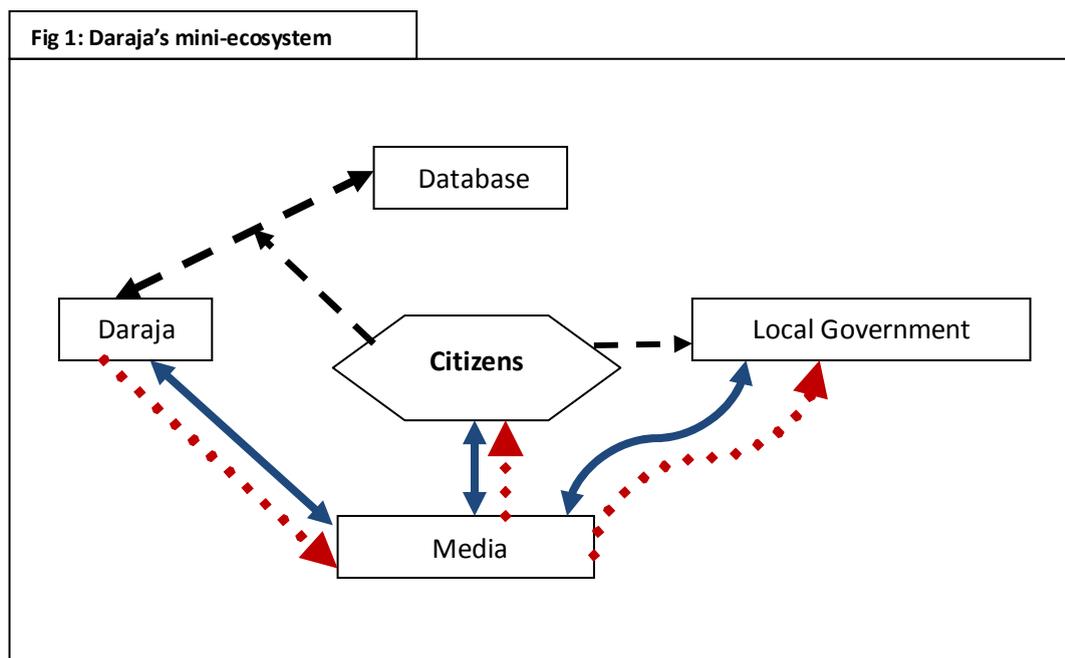
Finally, in Uganda Twaweza supported a joint initiative by the Ministry of Education and Sports, Makerere University and SNV to monitor school attendance of students in teachers in two pilot districts using mobile phones. The effort involves daily attendance monitoring sent by WAP enabled phones to district education officers, so as to enable them to understand what is going on and follow-up. Information collected will be shared back to schools and communities in popular formats, including FM radio and newsprints, so as to galvanize community action on these issues. The pilots

will be used to learn lessons, and if successful will be rolled out across the country. The approach and costs have been deliberately kept low so as to allow replication.

1.2 Water

Water is essential to life, and yet about half of the people of East Africa do not have secure access to adequate and clean water. For example, a mapping exercise in 50 districts in Tanzania shows that only 54% of rural households have access to a water point, and that declining water point functionality reduced access to only 40% of rural households in 2007. Over ten years Twaweza will promote work that makes access to water transparent, known and subject to public debate; improve water point functionality and resource allocation, with particular attention to equity.

In 2009 the main engagement involved support for Daraja, based in Njombe, Tanzania (www.daraja.org). Daraja will complement on the water mapping work undertaken countrywide by strengthening the demand side, enabling citizens to monitor functionality and take action. Daraja is developing user-friendly SMS based platforms for citizens' to provide feedback on functionality problems, highlight under-served areas, strengthen scrutiny of local government plans and performance by citizens, councilors, the media and civil society, provide platforms for public debate on local priorities, and put pressure on local government to respond (see fig 1). In the first year Daraja will establish itself organizationally, develop tools and relationships, and test different options in 2-3 districts before undertaking nationwide rollout starting year 2. We will also support Daraja to link with media, religious leaders and consumer goods networks to help publicize the initiative and have them both help recruit citizens and make use of the findings.



In Kenya through SNV, the Water Services Regulatory Board (WASREB) and others we consulted extensively with water sector actors, learning the key issues and state of play, so as to be able to make informed investments in 2010. This is likely to involve piloting the water mapping and citizen monitoring approach developed in Tanzania, and raising broader debate among citizens about inequities in water and what each person can do about them.

For both water and health, the main focus has been on Uwezo and Daraja. This is important because they will provide the anchor for the work. At the same time, for large scale reach and to achieve both the ecosystem effect and tipping point, major institutions such as the religion bodies, mobile

phones, and others will need to be more actively engaged in 2010. While maintaining quality, we will also need to pick up the pace of developing the partnerships – so as to make progress towards ambitious goals and to some extent respond to the high expectations of Twaweza.

1.3 Health

In 2009 the concentration was on education and water; no major health related activities were planned or undertaken.

1.4 Communication of Citizen Agency concept

The idea that citizens can play a key role in making a difference pervades all of the sectoral investments mentioned above; in addition Twaweza worked on media platforms to embody and promote the idea directly through a number of initiatives. In Tanzania, these included:

- **Daladala TV:** We supported the Kilimanjaro Film Company to conceptualize and develop *DalaDala tv*, a daily current affairs programme with an emphasis is on analysis, debate and discussion by ordinary people of current events. The programme setting is a public transport bus or *daladala* (called *matatu* in Kenya) specially outfitted as a TV-studio with multiple cameras and microphones. A host navigates the discussion, at times with researched data or quotes, and seeks views of people whose voices are normally heard. DalaDala TV will broadcast over 26 weeks beginning May 2010, and if successful continued over a longer period.
- **Ni Sisi adverts:** We commissioned the Real to Reel Company to develop six pairs of public service adverts for TV and radio that challenge the twin ideas that nothing can change (fatalism) or that some external agent will solve it (passivity). “Ni- Sisi” (it’s us) seeks to shift thinking that improved services and accountability will come about when people themselves take responsibility and act (exercise agency). Six different issues are covered; the first set pose the question whether citizens can make a difference, the second set to be broadcast subsequently show a concrete example of citizen action making a difference. These adverts will be broadcast starting April 2010 in Tanzania in all major stations, with an estimated reach of over 10 million. A similar initiative will be developed in Kenya in mid-2010.
- **Shujaaz FM:** We supported the company Well Told Story in Kenya to further develop their multi-media concept focusing on youth using comic books and FM radio. The comic books are developed in a popular somewhat irreverent approach, using Sheng, and cover young people discussing and solving key issues. The comic books are distributed across the country through existing networks such as the leading mobile company Safaricom’s vendor network and as inserts in the Nation newspaper. These issues are then discussed on several radio stations in short primetime segments. Overall, an estimated two million people will be reached through this effort. A similar intervention is being considered for Tanzania in 2010.
- **Zinduko:** We worked with our partner Zinduko to develop a weekly FM talk show focused on raising public debate about Kenyans taking responsibility for the country. Over the course of 2009 this idea developed into a larger concept involving multiple linkages including TV and road-shows, and the idea is now expected to be independently implemented by Zinduko with other partners in 2010.

In addition to the above, a number of other media initiatives using radio, TV, newspapers and new digital media were explored in 2009 and will be further developed in the coming year. Moreover, broad framework agreements will be developed with major media companies in Tanzania and Kenya in 2010, where Twaweza will support the companies to improve quality and independence, provide more space for views of ordinary citizens and rural issues, monitor practice of policy, promote better informed public debate and deepen investigative journalism. These will build on the work done and lessons learned by Twaweza’s sister organization the Tanzania Media Fund.

Finally, Twaweza staff were able to contribute to thinking on citizen agency and public accountability of several important organizations and networks as Board members, advisors and informal interaction. These include the work of the Research and Analysis Working Group (RAWG), Foundation for Civil Society, Policy Forum and the Media Council in Tanzania; the International Budget Partnership (IBP work on budget transparency and effectiveness), Aidspan (watchdog of the Global Fund), the Quality Education in Developing Countries (QEDC) project of the Hewlett and Gates Foundations, Carter Center's work on the right to information, and a Dutch led initiative on civic driven change. Through these engagements Twaweza has had important influence in national and elements of global thinking on development.

1.5 Exploratory Research & Analysis

Programming can be more effective when it is informed by research. In Kenya Twaweza drew on the insights and perspectives gained by our Kenya Head's extensive countrywide dialogues undertaken over 7 months in 2009, publication of which is expected soon. In Tanzania and Uganda, Twaweza commissioned experts to study dynamics of social change, the state of politics and exercise of power, and experiences and examples of successful citizen agency. The Tanzania study, undertaken jointly with SNV, involved close study of recent changes in one rural and one peri-urban community. In Uganda, we asked four experts to reflect on recent developments, threats and opportunities. The information that we have received affirmed the Twaweza's theory of change, but also usefully contextualized it and cautioned about the considerable constraints we faced, particularly regarding circumstances likely to circumscribe citizen action. The Uganda work also identified specific opportunities and potential partners to work with as our work in Uganda gets underway in late 2010.

Besides this commissioned work, a larger number of informal consultations were held in Tanzania and Kenya with a range of government, civil society, academic and private sector actors. These discussions often provided valuable moments for mutual learning.

1.6 Uwazi InfoShop

The original concept of the InfoShop was to serve as a one-stop source of reliable information, essentially a comprehensive and accessible data warehouse. However, an expert consultation in September 2009 led to a sharpening of this concept, to a unit that provides Twaweza partners, media and key 'change' agents (parliamentarians, journalists, religious and other leaders) with carefully selected information products that are grounded in data and which communicate a clear and easy to understand message.

The conceptual shift from information portal to provider of relevant information to a largely Kiswahili speaking audience was marked by a change in name. With the launch of the interim website in December 2009, the InfoShop was named Uwazi, which means transparency or openness in Swahili. It also has a new logo that seeks to embody the idea of freeing data, and make it fresh and interesting.

The first few months of Uwazi's existence were utilized to explore new technologies to gather and present data (mobile phone



surveys; IVR systems; ushahidi) and to conceptualize a of products including the *Wananchi survey*, weekly urban water monitoring, *Did you know?*, *subnational service indicators* and *What's going on*, all of which are represented on the interim website. Though thinly staffed, Uwazi staff contributed to Tanzania's flagship *Poverty and Human Development Report*, authoring its main chapter on poverty, wrote and contributed to newspaper articles, started a blog and produced and disseminated several policy briefs. The policy briefs, including one on the magnitude and use of allowances and another on the business environment became headline news and stimulated public debate for some time.

Though Uwazi's work has received recognition and praise, we see clear areas for improvement in 2010. We need to strengthen our communication in Swahili. Initial contacts with media need to be deepened. Uwazi also needs to reach out to Members of Parliament and business and religious leaders more effectively. We need to develop a clear calendar that identifies key moments that should be informed by Uwazi analysis and communication materials. Support to citizen efforts to collect quick data for the InfoShop analysis and dissemination will also be supported to spur new ideas and innovation.

Most importantly, perhaps, to sustain interest beyond the initial 'bang', release of data needs to be part of a cloud of ongoing activities that reinforce the message. Among other aspects this will mean exploring a tighter link with Twaweza's partnerships so as to inform their work as well as find partners willing to continue the work. The recruitment of an experienced economist/analyst expected to join the Dar es Salaam office in February 2010 and another analyst for the Kenya office will help provide the capacity to do this work, complemented by continued engagement with young East African interns.

Finally, significant energy will go into finalizing the development and testing the *Wananchi Survey*, an innovative effort to undertake weekly surveys using mobile phones from a scientifically established sample across the three East African countries. Once established, this will offer unprecedented ability to undertake short surveys every week, and to derive findings quickly at a marginal cost compared to normal household surveys. The survey will provide powerful information about the state of service delivery, citizen agency, access to information and citizen opinions, as well as insights on the use of mobile phones on a large scale as a survey tool. In early 2009, as a precursor to the main survey and as a way to develop tools, a smaller mobile phone based survey will be established in Dar es Salaam and Mwanza over a period of six months; lessons from which will be used to improve the main survey design that is expected to get implemented in late 2010.

2. Learning and Communication

2.1 Learning

Activities in 2009 mainly centered on internal learning. First, we hosted two international interns and six from Tanzania. Exit interviews have indicated that students have had powerful learning experiences with Twaweza and felt that they were able to make serious contributions which were valued by Twaweza.

Second, two internal learning processes were put in place in Tanzania, a critical reading group and staff learning sessions. The reading group brings together Twaweza staff members and several external partners from government, civil society and donors. Topics and readings have ranged from the controversial *Kilimo Kwanza* policy to articles by key development thinkers and economists (William Easterly and Douglass North), and anthropologists (James Scott and David Mosse). Two staff learning sessions were held in 2009, one focused on environmental issues in the office and one on GIS Mapping.

Third, a field trip/immersion was undertaken together with SNV Lake Zone team, whereby all staff spent four days in nine villages seeking to experience in a personal, affective sense, the ways in which Twaweza's initiatives may or may not connect with people's everyday lives and what ordinary citizens in Tanzania are already doing. We sought to test the feasibility of our theory of change, and to ensure that our work does build on what is already happening rather than supplant it. A public power-point presentation on the immersion was delivered at a Breakfast Debate hosted by Policy Forum, which generated considerable email exchanges, newspaper articles, film clip, and debate. The immersion has provided Twaweza staff with new funds of knowledge, and a set of vivid, organizational reference points in many of our subsequent discussions, debates and planning sessions. A fuller methodology paper will be developed in early 2010, and a similar field trip will be undertaken in Kenya in October 2010.

Fourth, a start has been made on media monitoring, collecting research resources and developing a small library collection. We are in discussions with a respected consulting firm Serengeti Advisors to do media monitoring for Twaweza and this work should start in April 2010. Some materials have been collected in the area of mobile usage and citizen monitoring through mobiles. The literature is being scanned for relevant research papers, articles and websites and key items are circulated in order that staff members keep abreast of key developments and thinking.

With regard to learning at the level of the partnerships, a Concept Note for the mentorship program has been developed, and initial contact made with several potential mentors. In addition, during 2009 technical assessments of financial, administration and IT systems at the three Uwezo host organizations was undertaken by an independent firm, and concrete areas for improvement identified. Several other organizations including Daraja and Aidspace were supported to develop policies and manuals, and input was provided to the development of DFID's ambitious accountability ACT program. Finally, a few exchanges took place in 2009, although a concept note has not yet been developed for this aspect of our work.

While each of the activities carried out above has been useful, overall there was a sense that they were somewhat scattershot. A framework has therefore been developed to simplify and guide organizational learning in 2010. The framework involves learning at three levels: internal learning amongst staff and interns; learning at the partnership level and learning at the level of Twaweza's engagement with the wider world. This will also help us better link lessons between the countries and among partners.

A significant challenge that has slowed the rate of progress has been the failure to identify strong Learning and Communication Officers for Kenya and Tanzania. Their recruitment will need to be a key priority in 2010. More systematic and proactive approaches also need to be developed for attracting high quality interns within Twaweza and with partners. Once the recruitment challenge has been addressed, the focus will turn to 'lifting' the level of conscious reflection, documentation and communication among ourselves and our partners.

2.2 Communications

During 2009 the key areas of work in communications involved developing a profile and identity for Twaweza. A number of discussions took place around conceptualizing a visual identity and logo for Twaweza, and a final logo was developed in late 2010. The interim Twaweza webpage was hosted and updated on the Hivos website throughout the year, but while it provided basic information it was less than adequate. Work on a proper website started late in the year, and a new interim website designed and established at www.twaweza.org. These sites included downloads of Uwazi briefs, full Twaweza concept materials and several power point presentations. In the meantime a

contract has been drawn up for the development of the full website in line that envisions a professional and exciting site to be developed in the first half of 2010.

Given the slow start to work on partnerships during 2009, we decided against doing work on films and film clips as planned. This will carry over into 2010 and a concept note will be produced once we are further down the line with partnerships. Finally, a large set of photographs were procured from a locally based photographer and photos taken by staff were compiled so as to build a photo bank to enhance visual communication.

Finally, Twaweza staff interacted frequently with local and international partners and visitors in both Kenya and Tanzania. These communication opportunities were often vibrant and appear to have had influence on key issues such as aid effectiveness, fostering accountability, the state of public services and public service, and discerning how citizens are already making social change. Examples include presentations to the Hewlett Board, Hivos staff, and other donors based in Tanzania, AkibaUhaki partners in Tanzania and other CSO networks, and pieces in the media.

3. Monitoring and Evaluation

During 2009 enormous work went into the selection, clarifying concept and terms, and appointment of an independent entity to carry out a rigorous, external evaluation of Twaweza's first five year period of work. After a rigorous assessment process involving internal and external reviewers, and the Twaweza Advisory Board the Centre for International Education (CIE) at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst, with Professor Gretchen Rossman as Principal Investigator, was appointed to undertake the evaluation.

Conceptualizing the evaluation so that it is consistent with Twaweza's open, dynamic and networked approach and its commitment to transparency and communication has been exciting. The "centre of gravity" of the research team presence has been shifted towards East Africa, and CIE will employ fieldworkers/researchers in each of the three countries; it will contract an East African research firm for survey implementation, and employ a resident manager in Dar for four years. In addition, CIE has reached agreement with the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Dar es Salaam to act as the key Tanzanian partner and agreements are currently being finalized with key partners in Kenya and Uganda.

The research design for the external evaluation consists of a mixed methods approach, involving a range of quantitative and qualitative studies aimed at assessing effects in relation to citizen agency and service delivery. Baseline and follow-up studies, consisting of household, community and facility surveys will be undertaken in 2010, at a very early stage in Twaweza's implementation phase, and again in 2013, after four years of work. In tracing back in order to find plausible explanations for these effects and link them with Twaweza's eco-system concept, a range of qualitative studies (minimum 60) are planned, including site-based and group-based case studies as well as quasi-experimental studies.

A commitment to transparency and communication in the evaluation has been asserted. Data and deliverables arising from the research, after a specified period, will generally be treated under *Creative Commons License*, and available to others to use as they see fit and draw own conclusions. The evaluator will engage in a range of communication of the evaluation design and findings throughout the five year period, not just in summative form at the end. Forms of communication will include academic articles and conference presentations, popular briefings, radio interviews, film, postings to networks in the fields of evaluation and development, and engagement with interested parties through conferences, email and other means. The Twaweza website will be used as a space

for posting updates and findings, and data will also be fed to Uwazi for potential product development. Critical reviews (with a group of invited evaluators, policy-makers and intellectuals from East Africa and including international guests) will be held at three points over the contract period, enabling wider discussion of and feedback on the evaluation design and findings. It is intended that the evaluation design mirrors Twaweza's open and dynamic eco-system design and enables the evaluators to engage in debates about development and evaluation both in East Africa and internationally, as well as to reach popular, general and academic audiences.

Now that the external evaluation is underway, Twaweza will concentrate on establishing a monitoring system for itself and partners. This is a priority for the first half of 2010.

Conclusion

The first year of Twaweza has involved an enormous amount of effort and realized some important achievements. The Initiative has been set-up, with offices set-up in Dar es Salaam and Nairobi, most staff recruited and in place, policies and systems developed, and a thousand attendant matters necessary for a start up addressed. On programs, despite having less than half a year to work on it, there has also been important progress. Clear criteria for investments have been developed, Uwezo has been established with a solid base, Daraja promises to be doing some of the most interesting work on citizen demand and accountability using technology in the region, and a set of imaginative media initiatives are underway. The Uwazi InfoShop's work has already had a major say in shaping Tanzania's main report on poverty and development and made news headlines and generated public debate on several occasions. On learning the mammoth work of clarifying the evaluation frame and appointing an independent entity has been completed, a host of activities to foster a culture of learning within the organization have taken place, and interns have contributed to and benefitted from placements with us. The Twaweza and Uwazi interim websites are up, explorations have been made of using blogs and social media, several presentations have been made in public fora and staff are engaging with and influencing key processes.

While we celebrate these achievements, we have not made as much progress as we had envisaged. Only half the planned budget has been expended (though commitments are higher), and we are behind on several fronts. The program has a few key partners in place, but lacks a sufficient density of partners to be able to create the ecosystem effect that is critical to our approach. In particular, in 2009 we have made too little progress in engaging with the five major institutions that we have identified as having wide reach (religion, mobile phones, mass media, consumer goods networks and teachers/trade unions). The evaluation entity is in place now, but only getting started and as a result the baseline is delayed, as well as development of our internal monitoring framework. By the end of 2009 the learning and communications officers for Tanzania and Kenya had not been successfully recruited, contributing to us not having reached the level of proactive, imaginative and responsive communication we wish to have.

Clearly, we had underestimated the amount of time it takes to create a start-up, including the energy it diverts from senior staff responsible for core work. Developing and clarifying the Twaweza concept, which while reflecting a core set of simple principles is rather complex, multilayered and against the norm, has also taken a lot of work. Understanding the concept is important before jumping into the work, but there is also a value in getting going and learning along the way, and in 2010 perhaps a better balance will need to be struck. We have some exceptionally strong people on board, but not enough, and will have to continue to find creative ways to recruit staff for the missing positions. Because crafting and sustaining partnerships in the Twaweza approach is a lot of work, we will also need, despite our desire to be 'lean', to add at least one program staff person in each country. The pressure to get things done is there and can be healthy, but we need to be careful that

it not compel us to take shortcuts for the sake of showing activities, that in the end do not reflect the quality, innovation and strategic sense that are central to our approach. We are in this for the long haul, and it is that perspective that we and our partners need to keep in mind.

Through all of this work, successes and challenges, there has been one clear thread. The core 'twaweza' idea, that social change needs to be driven by informed and active citizens who take responsibility for their fate, 'ni sisi', has powerful resonance. Over and over again we have heard that it is precisely this component that, while no panacea and faced with daunting constraints, has been missing in development and carries the promise of real change; that it can begin to turn around the intractable governance challenges we face, that it is needed to stimulate and nudge along the nascent stirrings of social movements and public action in towns and villages across the region. Our job then is to continue to discern what people are already doing to make a difference often on the margins or under the watch of what we are used to seeing, and to suss out the new opportunities that the fast changing communication landscape throws open. As we keep discovering, at core we are in the imagination business, and the time could not be more opportune and the ground more fertile than now.

Twaweza criteria for program partnerships

1. Goal focused

We start with a broad but clear goal that is either a) citizen agency focused or b) key service delivery (see health, education, water targets) focused. We then work to construct partnerships and initiatives that effectively and powerfully contribute towards that goal.

2. Citizen agency focused

The approach used directly fosters citizen agency, or plays an essential function in another actor contributing to citizen agency. By citizen agency we mean one or more of the following: a) citizens becoming informed, b) citizens monitoring policy and practice, c) citizens voicing/speaking out in 'public', d) citizens acting to make a change. The domains of change will be determined by citizens, and will vary, but accent is on the 'everyday' aspects.

3. Reaches scale/strategic

The approach is able to go 'nationwide'. The numbers involved will vary based on target group and goal, but as a rough rule the programs needs to 'reach' at least one million people. In most cases this will involve working with key identified networks or institutions (mobile phones, mass media, religion, consumer goods networks, teachers (unions)), but may also include others such as government oversight bodies, MPs, and other intermediaries who can have a critical impact. Because our approach depends on existing wide networks, we recognize that we are unlikely to reach, by definition, those who are the poorest of the poor or the most marginalized. (i.e. not the bottom 10%, but the 11-80%). Twaweza (through its formative program research window) may invest in experiments at a smaller scale provided it's clear that they have the potential and means to go to scale

4. Basis of partnership

Twaweza recognizes that asking people to line up behind our idea is not likely to yield results; instead we will seek to create 'win-win' partnerships where each partner finds it in *their interest* to be in the partnership and gain something from it. In this conception, partner's contribution is in accordance with its *comparative advantage*.

5. (Powerful) Innovation, Creativity, Imagination

We are in the imagination business. Twaweza critiques business as usual; and we put a premium on great ideas and innovative approaches. The point is not something new for its own sake, but rather something (different) that has the power to fire the public imagination, connect, inspire, make things happen. Here we recognize the value of (thoughtful, considered) risk-taking, to try things out that are promising but may not always work (link with learning). An important part of this conception is the notion that creative, strategic people make things happen (re: Skoll social entrepreneurs)

6. Ecosystem effect

Twaweza critiques the notion of one-time, singular dimension interventions – and we aim instead to create an ecosystem effect, 'a continually, reinforcing buzz', in which people have '7 different options to get information and 7 different ways to act', i.e. have multiple ways to become informed and act, that reinforce and inspire one another. Our partners(hips) need to clearly create or contribute towards this ecosystem effect.

7. Openness to Learning

With our core partners we will seek, wherever possible, openness to sharing and learning. This is likely to be more possible with civil society like partners, rather than corporations where the relationship may be limited to purchase of a service.