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THIS DRAFT DATED 26 August, 2011

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Photos: Pernille Baerendtsen
Executive Summary

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

Our goals are to enable millions of ordinary citizens in East Africa, particularly those who live on less than USD 2/day or are otherwise marginalized, to:

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

The specific outcomes and benchmarks are outlined in Section 3 below.

At core, Twaweza embodies the democratic ideal, implicit in its name, that sustainable change is driven by the actions of motivated citizens. Throughout East Africa, it is increasingly clear that public pressure and public debate are often more effective drivers of change than expert or policy driven technocratic reforms. This view informs Twaweza’s mission and theory of change, which we articulate as follows:

Exposed to the ferment of information, ideas, stories of change and practical tools, citizens across East Africa are making things happen, holding governments to account and improving lives. Twaweza gets behind this movement to make it work even better, fostering information flows and public action, building on what works, trying out new ideas, and learning, documenting and sharing lessons.

In this conception, citizen agency is both a goal in itself and effective means by which to improve service delivery and public resource management. Through unorthodox partnerships and communications, Twaweza creates conditions and ‘ecosystems’ for citizen learning, debate and action, so that citizens can improve their situations and compel governments to respond.

Twaweza’s work is organized in two main clusters, Programs and Learning. The Programs cluster has three components: brokering and investing in partnerships that can engage millions of citizens, experimental interventions that rigorously test what works, and critical analysis on public money and service delivery to inform Twaweza partners and key actors (Uwazi). The Learning cluster covers four components: systematic monitoring of Twaweza and partner’s activities, a jigsaw of independent evaluations using different methods, developing a culture of curiosity and critical inquiry among staff and partners, and effective communication. Each of these components are linked, so that decisions and investments are continually informed by evidence and critique, and made public to inform global knowledge and be subject to public scrutiny. Twaweza’s East African focus also provides an opportunity to leverage cross border economies of scale, move innovations and stimulate political momentum for change across the region.

This ‘open architecture’ approach has implications for how we work. Results are emphasized, but of outcomes that matter and meaningful deliverables, rather than dogmatic adherence to fixed activities. We view conceptual agility, risk-taking, entrepreneurship, adaptation and improvisation as critical values, and ‘failure’ as an opportunity to deepen knowledge and program effectiveness.
Twaweza operates out of offices in Dar es Salaam, Nairobi and Kampala, and is legally housed within Hivos, a Dutch development agency with 40 years of experience in promoting citizen driven development. We are accountable to the Hivos Board of Directors, and our substantive program strategy and evaluation aspects are reviewed by our Advisory Board. As planned from the outset, a process through which Twaweza will transition into an independent East African entity by the end of 2013 is underway.

The overall budget covering all three countries over the 2011-14 period is USD 72 million. Twaweza seeks to collaborate with 5-7 donor partners to cover this budget and achieve our ambitious agenda.
1. Situation Analysis

What works in East Africa? What doesn’t? What have been the most important developments in the last ten years? What really drives change? How do ideas get formed and norms established? What needs to be done?

The Twaweza initiative has been informed by an engagement with these questions – through the work of its founder and colleagues in East Africa and elsewhere, our reading, and our interaction with citizens. These questions have also been core concerns in the country assessments undertaken in Tanzania, Uganda and Kenya in 2008, and subsequent ongoing work. This section presents a summary analysis of the key observations that have a bearing on Twaweza’s work. A lengthier analysis is available in the original strategy document that can be downloaded at www.twaweza.org.

1.1 Services have expanded but lack quality and deliver poor outcomes

Governments across East Africa are under growing pressure to demonstrate they are delivering to citizens. In response, all three countries have dramatically expanded basic public services in the past decade. Service delivery budgets have increased more than threefold in some cases, but have not translated into better results. Budgets typically prioritize infrastructure, but little attention is paid to what happens within buildings and little of the money gets to facility levels. Studies and media reports reveal high rates of staff absenteeism in health and education, as well as shortages of medical supplies, diagnostic equipment, books and other essential materials. A recent survey in Tanzania found that teachers teach for less than two hours a day on average. Medical supplies are sold at unaffordable rates or run out at health centres on a routine basis, even as stocks pile up and spoil at the central medical stores. Access to affordable safe water remains a major challenge in both rural and urban areas, and surveys show that about half of installed public water points do not function. In all three countries the situation is further exacerbated by persistent, historical inequities in resource allocation and the deployment of human resources, and the treatment of discriminated populations such as people with disabilities. Much of the elite and persons able to influence public service simply exit, opting to use private services.
Perhaps the thorniest challenge is the tendency among both policy makers and the public to conflate progress with the provision of service delivery inputs and to continue to invest in them despite lack of evidence of the effectiveness of such interventions. Hence, in education, decision-makers prefer constructing classrooms and teacher houses, lowering school size, formally certifying teachers, expanding number of inspectors and so forth, even without evidence that strengthening these inputs will lead to improved learning outcomes. Despite investments of billions of dollars in inputs each year, large majorities of children complete schooling with neither adequate preparation for secondary education nor the wherewithal to navigate livelihood options (e.g. Uwezo findings, national examination results, see charts below). The situation in health, where clinics have been built at massive cost, is similar.

On the other side, citizen efforts to make services responsive are hampered by their unreliable access to meaningful information, and the absence of sufficient historical precedents and density of practical opportunities for civic organizing. Public service systems are notoriously unresponsive to citizens; besides absenteeism, users complain of poor treatment, disrespect, rent-seeking and lack of competent attention. There is little effective accountability; despite numerous reforms, formal governance institutions are among the last places citizens expect to get help. The ways in which payments and performance management is structured creates little incentive for providers and administrators to do their job right.

1.2 Public monies are coming under greater scrutiny and engagement
The growing demands on government performance have also led to greater scrutiny of the collection, allocation and use of public monies. This is in part enabled by the creation of new global norms, tools and indices by groups such as the International Budget Partnership (IBP) and Revenue Watch International (RWI), as well as advances in technology that make number-crunching and communication easier, faster and cheaper. The Open Budget Index (OBI) findings show that the openness of budget processes in the region varies slightly, but overall all three East African countries fall far short of the global standard, and far below South Africa’s score of 92 (see chart). Even where
information is released, it is often not available in formats or levels of disaggregation that are meaningful to most policy actors, let alone citizens. There is a great need for brokering and translation services that can make financial information accessible in a simplified and accurate manner. This is perhaps especially important in East Africa where corruption scandals and other misuses of public money have gathered significant media, parliamentary and public attention, but where potentially larger but less sensational allocations of money have passed without scrutiny.

The interest in budget work will only grow as publics become engaged in government stewardship of natural resources. Across the three countries recent years have seen significant clashes over forests (e.g. Mabira in Uganda, Mau in Kenya, and Eastern Arc in Tanzania), game parks and reserves (e.g. Serengeti road, export of wild animals) and land use and tenure (e.g. tensions between agriculturalists and pastoralists, cultivation of biofuels and horticulture). The management of natural resources garners the most public interest where it involves extractives, such as the mining of gold and gemstones in Tanzania, fraudulent gold export schemes in Kenya (e.g. Goldenberg) and the discoveries of oil and gas deposits in Uganda and Tanzania that are likely to have profound economic and governance implications. As public discontent grows about how little people are benefitting from these multi-billion dollar industries, how East Africa can get a better deal and avoid the ‘resource curse’ is of acute concern to both policy-makers and citizens alike.

Finally, given the tenuous link between budgets and actual spends, attention is shifting from an initial emphasis on participation in budget-making processes to tracking the reach and use of revenues and expenditures, as well as efficacy and value for money aspects. In connection, there is growing interest in the effectiveness of the oversight bodies such as public procurement and tax agencies, and auditors general and parliamentary audit committees responsible for verifying the management of public monies. The active role played by both media and parliaments have enhanced awareness and expectations of these oversight bodies among publics, and created demand of greater transparency of their activities.

1.3 Communication is heightening aspirations and fuelling debate and action

The growth of plural mass media and mobile telephony constitutes the most dramatic change in the East African landscape in the past 10-15 years. Millions are able to access a large variety of radio and TV stations and, to a lesser extent, newspapers. Tanzania has moved from having two state/ruling party owned newspapers, one radio and no TV stations to more than ten daily papers, dozens of radio stations, and five national TV groups. The growth of radio and TV in Kenya and Uganda is even greater, with a wide network of FM stations in vernacular languages. Mass media is by far the most significant source of news, commentary and other information for most citizens, and importantly it allows people to ‘jump scale’ and access worlds and ideas that may be far removed from their own. It also exposes people to different viewpoints and engages large numbers of people in public debate in a manner that is unrivalled by any other organization.
Still, formidable challenges remain. Regular reach is limited, particularly in rural areas for newspapers and for TV where there is no electricity. State pressure, through overt clampdowns (e.g. banning *Ekimeza* citizen platform on various radios in Uganda and *MwanaHalisi* in Tanzania, raid on *The Standard* newspaper in Kenya), leading to widespread self-censorship, as well as more insidious actions such as withholding advertising from critical outlets, is a constant threat, as is the increasing consolidation of media ownership among a small elite with close ties to the political establishment. Internally, media houses are often not optimally resourced or incentivized to produce material that is innovative or of high quality, or to invest in investigative journalism and rural coverage. Different models with varying success have been employed to strengthen media quality, including the Tanzania Media Fund and the Kenya Media Program, both established by Hivos.

Millions more own a mobile phone or can use one from family, friend or neighbour. This development has expanded the ability of ordinary people to access and transmit information at unprecedented levels, distance and speed, with ordinary voice calls still as the most important feature. The costs of mobile communication, while constituting a significant part of most household budgets, have fallen dramatically, particularly for voice calls. Importantly, this helps overcome limitations of SMS for people with low levels of literacy. Moreover, in recent years the mobile phone has also become the primary platform for internet (particularly *Facebook*) access through relatively fast Edge and 3G networks. Mobile phones have also enabled millions to bank for the first time through platforms such as *M-Pesa* and *Zap*. Unlike mass media, a ‘one-to-many’ platform, mobile phones enable a more personal, nimble and democratic ‘many-to-many’ form of communication. This makes it much easier for people to monitor, report and speak out on their own situations, across local and national boundaries, in real time.

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kenya</th>
<th>Tanzania</th>
<th>Uganda</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mobile phone access (1990s)</td>
<td>23,757</td>
<td>2,198</td>
<td>(to check) 10,400,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22,000,000</td>
<td>17,700,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of radio stations (1995i)</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>300</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number using internet (1996)</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3,995,492</td>
<td>676,000</td>
<td>3,200,000</td>
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Sources: ITU, national regulators

The power of these communications technologies can be most felt when the broad reach of mass media and the individualized versatility of mobile phones come together in forming a new ‘media ecology’. What makes news and what’s on the news can be spread quickly through SMS drawing in greater interest, and the mobile phone in turn is used daily to make mass media more interactive, and to garner citizen feedback and comment. As was palpable in the engagement of many East Africans with the ‘Arab Spring’, it exposes citizens and allows them to expose others to a ferment of realities, ideas and experiences that were hitherto not possible, which in turn sparks the imagination, learning and aspirations (‘if they can do it, why not us?’). Across the region these technologies have facilitated organizing of protests (e.g. walk to work in Uganda), Bar Camps, community clean-ups, citizen monitoring and a wide number of other forms of civic action. The increasing array of communication possibilities increases citizen versatility, because it allows people to pick and choose how to communicate depending on circumstances such as ability, cost, risk thresholds, privacy and/or personal preference. As can be expected, young people (with the gender gap among them closing) have particularly seized the opportunities by these communication technologies, and created new uses and applications.
1.4 East Africa is in an unprecedented level of economic and political flux

Across East Africa, state failure to manage the economy and public funds, and to deliver services, as well as establish effective governance mechanisms to remedy these failures – combined with the unprecedented ability of citizens to find, compare, communicate and act on information – has created a serious crisis of confidence and political flux. In Tanzania, while the ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) party won the 2010 elections, it did so with a significantly reduced margin. Parliament is now in a hotbed of debate and drama, involving a new crop of young opposition politicians who command significant media attention and share of the political imagination. The ruling party is in open turmoil among its ranks, and the Kikwete administration is struggling to come to grips with the situation as it deals with numerous scandals, electricity, water and fuel crises, and an increasingly restless and vocal public. In Uganda, President Museveni is widely reported to have had to resort to strong arm measures to win the last election, but his grip on power is also increasingly contentious in the face of rampant inflation, procurement scandals and deficits made worse through reckless spending, creative walk to work protests, frequent strikes and unrest, and louder murmurs of resistance within National Resistance Movement (NRM) ranks.

In Kenya, the coalition government that emerged after the 2007 post-election violence has low approval ratings as citizens have lost faith in the ability of politicians to offer ethical leadership, as a number of key leaders face criminal proceedings at the International Criminal Court in the Hague and new financial scandals (e.g. use of school funds, use of funds for flour). This same scepticism that a different leader will ‘save us’, however, created impetus behind the ultimately successful package of what on all counts is remarkable new constitutional dispensation, whose implementation is carefully orchestrated in law to minimize political meddling and delays. The constitutional process has achieved a number of radical changes. These include the establishment of a progressive Bill of Rights and several other laws, the creation of 47 local counties with significantly devolved powers, a completely new electoral commission, and an entirely new Supreme Court headed by a reform minded, independent jurist. Despite hiccups and considerable work ahead, far from being an abstract, legal document, the Constitution has galvanized large level of public engagement and motivation. It also seems to have emboldened others to take progressive action, such as the new head of the anti-corruption body and the establishment of a new open data initiative by the Ministry of Communications.

Across Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda these social and political currents are exerting a powerful influence on parliaments and the media, and to some extent religious bodies, the business sector, and donors. Parliament has now become an arena for public contestation of statements meant to appeal to viewers, very much enabled by media. While media owners continue to exercise an unhealthy level of control, they too have to be mindful of holding censorship and bias within limits less they lose credibility among the public. Religious leaders, who command huge followings but have often straddled on the fence on key questions of the day, or taken conservative positions, have been compelled to change course and get more engaged. Members of the corporate sector, while often involved in various dubious dealings, rocked by actual and imagined violence, grasp more quickly than others why it is in their own self-interest to respond to citizen aspirations, to make food affordable and ensure schools produce real skills. And most donors have been jolted out of their narrow and somewhat self-serving technocratic, policy cocoons to realize that they need to change the nature of their engagement; development and democratization will be driven more by the political actors and forces within the countries rather than dispassionate reform processes and projects.

What is perhaps most significant about this moment in East Africa is its impact on the citizen imagination. The established orders are unstable and can no longer hold because they are constantly questioned. Attempts by the authorities to clamp down only seem to elicit greater anger and
discontent. Ideological and charismatic sacred cows fall more easily now as a culture of scepticism of leaders and their pronouncements takes hold. Positively, an increasing number of citizens among both the poor and middle classes are coming to terms with the idea that change will not come from the next great leader (or donor), but from within. Across the region, while still nascent, new activities that address the question ‘what can we do to create a better country’ and ‘solve our problems’ have begun to gain resonance. At the same time, however, there is also a great deal of anger, particularly among disenfranchised, beaten-down youth who see little prospect of jobs or livelihood opportunities regardless of what they do (e.g. urban vendors, artisanal miners, pastoralists), and who find salt is added to wounds as their efforts face constant harassment at the hands of the authorities or when development promises to them fail to materialize. Whether matters take the more optimistic turn of citizens taking charge and compelling elites to become responsive, or turn violent in a perfect storm of frustration and anger, is hard to predict.

1.5 Using key networks, people are getting things done and getting by
Because the analysis above depicts what we believe to be a very real situation of economic, social and political upheaval, it is tempting to imagine that people’s daily lives are consumed by these concerns. But while people are varyingly engaged on these issues, virtually everyone, including full time politicians, have to simultaneously get on with life and take care of day to day responsibilities – find a market for the crops, pay the bills, send children to school, sort out health care, mend the house, get the new project off the ground, solve local conflicts. This is the level at which much of life is lived, where it is at its most concrete. Moreover, its experience is likely to shape one’s sense of confidence and wellbeing, including opening up space for engaging with the larger aspects. The country studies undertaken prior to establishing Twaweza as well as the annual immersion field visits we undertake reinforce this view.

One can infer several implications from this perspective. First, while keeping the big picture in view it is important to prioritize the everyday. For it can be naïve to expect citizens to be willing to engage with larger and more abstract longer term challenges when everyday practical needs are not met. Moreover, it may be difficult for people to exercise agency on higher order, potentially riskier matters if they find it difficult to exercise agency in comparatively simpler and more proximal matters. Second, many everyday challenges are personal, contingent and need immediate action, and therefore may be best solved through individual rather than collective action. The tendency in development to imagine all challenges as needing collective action approaches and drawn out meetings and processes, which also significantly discount transaction and opportunity costs on ‘beneficiaries’, should be treated with caution. Third, while certain aspects can best be solved by appropriate governance entities, many retail issues do not need a formal intervention of the government and may best be solved by individual or community action to make a difference themselves.

In fact, overall, with some variation across countries, we find that citizens pragmatically resort to what works rather than official channels to solve issues. In doing so, citizens often resort to informal means, using the networks or institutions that have the greatest presence and relevance in their lives and communities. So to solve a problem at school instead of going to the School Board one may go to the local priest or influential businesswoman. Or to unclog the stuck building permit one may call on a journalist instead of lodging an official complaint. The institutions that matter to people vary, but we find particularly five networks in virtually every rural and urban community in East Africa. These are:

- Mobile phones, and
- Mass media (radio, TV, newspapers and increasingly internet through mobile phones), for reasons mentioned above
• Religion (various forms of Islam and Christianity, including formal services, discussions after Friday prayers, bible studies and choir groups),
• Fast moving consumer goods – FMCG – chains (from the kiosk/duka on the ground to the multinational company providing basic goods such as soap, sugar, flour, oil, pencils), and
• Teachers (who occupy and can navigate the liminal space between local life and officialdom, such as how to get a land title, or interpret the mobile phone manual).
• In addition, music and other forms of popular culture are emerging as a potentially powerful sixth network, particularly for young people.

This being the case, it may be more effective to build on how people get by – on how people make things work – and the institutions and mechanisms they use to do so – rather than focus on how things are *supposed* to work. This aspect is further elaborated in Section 2 below.
2. Theory of Change and Approach

Exposed to the ferment of information, ideas, stories of change and practical tools, citizens across East Africa are making things happen, holding governments to account and improving lives. Twaweza gets behind this movement to make it work even better, promoting information flows and public action, building on what works, trying out new ideas, and learning, documenting and sharing lessons.

The statement above captures Twaweza’s theory of change, or how we seek to make a difference. It has three interlinked components that also constitute our main goals; namely, to enable millions of people in East Africa to a) access practical information that can spur the imagination; b) be able to exercise greater agency i.e. be able to improve their situations and to hold governments to account, and c) use information and agency to access improved basic education, basic health, and clean water.

In our conception, citizen agency is both an end in itself and an effective means to improve basic service delivery. When people are informed, equipped and inspired to act, they are able to exert more control over their lives, and negotiate better service delivery. In turn, both the experience of agency and better services contributes to making people healthier, better educated and more confident. We therefore see greater transparency and communication, enhanced citizen agency, and better services as dynamically connected and mutually reinforcing, and as the key drivers to attaining a better life.
At core, Twaweza embodies the democratic ideal, implicit in its name, that *sustainable change is driven by the actions of motivated citizens*. In Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania it is increasingly clear that *public pressure and public debate are more effective drivers of change than expert or policy driven technocratic reforms*. For this reason Twaweza seeks to promote broad public engagement across East Africa, by creating spaces and opportunities for millions of ordinary people to compel governments to be more responsive and take initiative to improve their situation, which is expected over time to achieve a tipping point effect. At the same time, we recognize that citizen action in practice requires leadership and is made possible by organizing, and that not every person is likely to take initiative. So while we seek to make opportunity to engage widely, our expectation is that the first movers are likely to be the somewhat different or highly motivated outliers, and others may than follow through gradually expanding circles until a tipping point is achieved.

In every village and urban neighborhood, (extra) ordinary citizens who are analyzing, agitating, organizing, and acting to improve on issues of concern to them. Their actions are often a little different, out of the box, unusual or special – and what they do in small and large ways excites or inspires others. These citizen leaders may be teachers, local entrepreneurs, or members of a faith community or an informal savings association. They may be retired civil servants with solid reputations or teenagers out of school and out of a job with little to lose. Notably, in this approach, community level change agents are not ‘identified’ by Twaweza or its partners; rather an environment is created in which information, ideas and connections are enhanced – where actors ‘self-identify’ themselves, grab the opportunities they find compelling, and run with them. Over time a critical *ecosystem* of ideas and initiatives develops that inspires and enhance action.

Across East Africa, people are using information and agency to make things happen, demand accountability and solve problems. Often this happens in ways and places that are different from the expected models of formal development – through the channels and institutions that matter to people such as mobile telephony, media and religion, through informal networks rather than formal structures of governance, through improvising, adapting and hustling rather than making official requests and claims. Twaweza’s core idea is to get behind what is working and help it work better, fly higher and faster, for larger contexts and for more people. Twaweza does this through two main types of work: a) *program interventions* that support information to flow in a way that spurs the public imagination and citizen action and b) *learning* that seeks to rigorously document and evaluate what works and why, and use the lessons to improve our program and inform global knowledge.

The diagram on the next page depicts the seven core components in our theory of change and the relationship between them. Each major component is described below.
TWAWEZA
THEORY OF CHANGE
2.1 Information types and imagination

Change often begins with information and ideas about a situation and what can be done, but some types of information can have more resonance than others. Typically, many development initiatives convey information about national laws and policies, about formal rights and official budgets, and about legal mechanisms of decision-making. But in contexts where the link between formal institutions and practice is tenuous, such as East Africa, this information can be impractical or irrelevant to getting things done. Moreover, too often information is aggregated to a level that makes little practical sense to citizens. Thus, information may have a limited effect not because it is not important, but because the nature of the information provided is not useful.

Twaweza emphasizes the flow of two types of information as follows:

- **Comparative information:** It is in comparing that meaning is derived. So if one finds out that her school received $5 per child, how does she make sense of it? Is $5 too little? Too much? Enough? Unfair? It’s difficult to know. But if she knew that the policy required it to be $10, or that last year they only got $2, or that the neighbouring school got $20, or that $500 was spent on the Head Teacher’s new suit, then the $5 could be seen in (a whole new) perspective. Understanding these differences can spur a debate about priorities and fairness, and what should be spent on what, which in turn can stimulate action.

- **Stories of change:** When things have not changed for a long time, and there is not much shared experience or history of people having acted successfully to make a difference, people may conclude that it is not within their prerogative or ability to change. This is where stories of how people who one can identify with were able to make a difference on a similar issue or situation can be very important – because it can allow people to imagine that change is possible and possibly within their power to do so. Here it is also important to see how people acted, what it took to succeed, how challenges were overcome, what the risks were and how they were managed.

With both types of information the key word is *imagination*, which exposes people to realms beyond established boundaries, to imagine new possibilities of action and fuel aspirations. This does not mean information alone is sufficient; deeper inequities, fear of reprisal, technical limitations and the lack of resources may constrain people’s ability to act. But our contention is that even with these constraints – the critical key to work one’s way through them, to figure out how to sort out the other constraints, requires practical information and imaginative ways of thinking.

How is the content sourced? First, networks such as traditional media generate content; these are supported to do so more effectively, with better quality, interactivity and diversity, and to achieve greater reach to the poorer and more rural areas. Second, significant information is held by public bodies and NGOs, such as research studies, data sets, traditional folklore, are not accessible. Partners are supported to ‘liberate’ and popularize the information and distribute it through major distribution networks. The extent to which information can be made ‘searchable’ or queried by ordinary citizens to fit their interests, using accessible technologies such as mobile phones, is of special interest. Third, Twaweza seeks to enhance ways in which citizens can generate and communicate content amongst themselves, laterally with other citizens, and vertically with national systems.

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

Finally, information does not only flow from top to bottom. It also flows from bottom to top, and laterally from peer to peer. In many cases the most pertinent information is held by people most proximal to it. A key aim at Twaweza, therefore, is to enhance the ways by which people can generate, store, communicate and debate their own analyses and stories, and find larger audiences. In this conception Twaweza is a source of information at times, but more often it is an engaged broker, enabling ideas to flow between key actors, program partners and citizens.

In all cases, particularly in the context of low literacy levels among poor and marginalized people, accessibility of information and ease of exercising accountability is a key concern. Because of social discrimination and structural asymmetries, particular attention is placed on creating real opportunities and a level playing field for historically excluded or marginalized people, such as poor women, young people, and people with disabilities. Emphasis is placed on making information transparent and popularizing information and tools to be relevant, user-friendly and to resonate with ordinary citizens. These include the use of visuals and oral communication, and expanding the menu of options for action available so that people are able to select what they are most comfortable with.

2.2 Information flows and partnerships
Typically one begins with groups that profess a desire to do development and democracy, and then struggle to expand reach or scale achieved. Instead, we start at the end with the entities that are already reaching people and work backwards, i.e. we sort out the distribution challenge, and then work with brokering content. How? Twaweza works with the key institutions and leaders that already have a substantive reach (with wide distribution networks that ‘touch’ large numbers of people), even where their stated purposes are not ‘developmental’. As noted in the situation analysis above, we have identified five such networks as particularly critical: mobile telephony, mass media (radio, TV and newspapers), commercial goods distribution networks (such as for laundry soap, sugar and flour), religions (Islamic associations and churches), and teachers and their trades’ unions. Additionally, music and popular culture is increasingly a powerful network that matters to millions of young people in particular.

Twaweza supports partnerships and initiatives that foster direct engagement with citizens, rather than making the strengthening of intermediary organizations as our main goal. We primarily partner with the key networks that reach millions of citizens; in addition we also engage with CSOs that are able to facilitate citizen involvement at large scale, or that can provide analytical or other critical input to the overall ecosystem effort. Multiple means are explored, because a strategy that is wholly dependent on one entity can suffer from the limitations of organizational reach and culture, as well as elite capture.

We work with partners to design specific interventions by mapping the strengths of key networks and actions, and make choices that take comparative advantage and opportunities for change into account. Some of the networks are functional and vibrant (e.g. mobile phones) whereas others are less so (e.g. trades’ unions), but nevertheless we work with partners where they have the mandate and potential to involve large numbers of people. Citizen access to networks is also not equal; historical and structural inequities deny certain groups full access. In the long-term however, precisely because these are key institutions and major networks, resolving these issues and building shared interest partnerships is likely to have far more pay-offs and impact.
The focus on citizen driven action does not mean that Twaweza works in isolation or apart from government. Rather, Twaweza partners enables citizens to reclaim government and animate public institutions, and over time to help develop a new, more responsive ‘compact’ between citizens and the state. Its demand-side focus is designed to complement and revitalize the many supply-sided governance reforms underway in East Africa supported by the World Bank, UNDP, DFID, Sida and others. In this way Twaweza concentrates on the larger gap and our comparative advantage, and avoids duplicating work done by other programs.

Ways in which citizens can engage government by contributing to progressive action and holding government to account is encouraged; whereas organizations that employ an uninformed criticism approach or promote partisan political activity are eschewed. Opportunities to collaborate with specific citizen engagement components of the public sector and local governance reforms are explored as appropriate, including enabling local level officials to effectively promote citizen interests in their negotiations with national officials. Moreover, Twaweza collaborates with government oversight institutions such as national audit offices, procurement regulatory bodies, and parliamentary public accounts committees. Twaweza partners with government institutions where they seek to enhance citizen accountability – such as by providing meaningful information to citizens, involving citizens in social audits to complement conventional audits, and expanding forums for citizen voice in monitoring and policy processes. Similarly CSOs that play a strategic role in interfacing with major institutions to bring broad change, or serve to mediate the space between state and citizens, form a key part of Twaweza program architecture.

2.3 Ecosystem effect and citizen agency
The sum effect of the information flows through multiple partnerships and pathways creates a critical density of mutually reinforcing and growing set of reference points – of facts, stories and ideas – in communities across East Africa. This in turn fosters a growing set of options, motivation and reference points for citizen action and change. Over time, this leads to citizens having a greater sense of what’s going on within and outside their communities, about how things can be different, and how to make a difference – a greater menu of options. It’s less about having engaged certain citizens in carefully planned projects, and more about expanding the practical and cognitive boundaries of what can be imagined and what can be done. This is what we call an ecosystem of information, ideas and change.

An expanded menu of options reinforces public action that can help achieve a tipping point faster. Instead of only two teachers monitoring water points, you may have four groups doing the same thing; instead of only one data point to back up your story you now may have three. It also provides the benefits of diversification; should talking on the radio not work for me I can still organize through my prayer group; if women cannot be reached through mobile phone SMSs, they still could through fast moving consumer goods. And should the authorities clamp down on one channel, such as ban newspapers, the ecosystem provides alternative means by which information can still flow.

Twaweza envisages four main forms of citizen agency, which are analytically distinct but in practice connected and iterative. These are:

- **Uptake of information:** Information and ideas can be accessible, but uptake is a more active engagement. It implies that the information makes sense, is relevant and perceived to be of use. Essential for its success is that the content and presentation of information is interesting enough to pique curiosity.

- **Monitoring what’s going on:** People usually know a lot about their circumstances; by monitoring we mean a systematic collection of information that can be verified and allow for
comparison. Citizens are equipped with ideas and tools that allow monitoring first for own analysis, debate and benefit, and secondly as part of a larger usually national monitoring activity. This often takes the form of comparing actual practice with policies or budgets, or comparisons over time and areas.

- **Speaking up and debating:** Citizens are exercising voice and speaking up in a public space so that others can hear; this need not be and often is not a formal or official space. It involves sharing analysis, views, suggestions, and ideas – and ideally informed debate and reasoned argument. This most often happens in the local level; in addition citizens at times speak up to address larger audiences, through media, internet, travel and other forums, and possibly inform national policy processes.

- **Taking action to make a difference:** The three forms of agency above are also actions; this involves citizens taking initiative to make a concrete difference in specific circumstances, such as governance arrangements, allocation of funds, accountability of service providers, or using time and labor to get something done.

Given the design of many Twaweza interventions and because these aspects matter to people, in many cases citizens exercise agency directly in relation to education, health and water, or indirectly on broader governance aspects that impinge on these service delivery areas. However, at other times citizens exercise agency on a host of other issues that are of importance to them. In our conception this is crucial, because at core, agency is about people having the means and freedom to pursue their interests, including aspects that may seem less important through a conventional development lens. Instrumentally too, our conception is that agency is interconnected—so that the exercise of agency in one area can have positive spillover effects in others. A person who uses her mobile phone to access soccer scores and play video games is likely to develop a versatility and fondness for her phone that can also help her monitor health stock-outs or lodge a complaint through Facebook.

Over time, expanded citizen agency rebalances the equilibrium of relations between states and citizens broadly and providers and clients specifically, or creates more responsive relationships between the two parties. Where state failure is severe or non-state services are preferred it can also provide greater choice and navigate through alternatives.

### 2.4 Improving service delivery

As noted in the Situation Analysis, public service delivery in East Africa is in a poor state. Several factors contribute to this state of affairs, including large structural and financial constraints. But others may be due to information symmetries, weak feedback and accountability loops, and poorly structured incentives that do not reward care and performance. Some of these constraints can be solved, as studies across the world have shown, through improved information access and better coordination that can prompt individual and collective action. This may involve direct encounter with providers, such as being treated with respect and in a timely manner by a health worker, or the long route of engaging at the policy and management levels.

The critical hypothesis in Twaweza’s theory of change is that informed and aware citizens will be better able to negotiate terms and entitlements in relation to service delivery, and resort to recourse when services fail. We further hypothesize that senior public servants and MPs are more likely to respond to concerted citizen pressure than technical evidence alone.

Within education, health and water, many aspects could be improved, but some matter more than others. Twaweza’s service delivery outcome targets have been carefully selected to capture key
elements of successful services, and programs designed accordingly. These choices are informed and further refined by the analytical work of Uwazi and experimental interventions (see below).

The links between these four components – information, partners/networks, enhanced citizen agency and improved service delivery - have been shown in the theory of change diagram above, and the key elements of each component are shown in the diagram below. This constitutes the core program and change pathway at the heart of the Twaweza conception. In addition there are two other program components: Uwazi (analysis and openness) and experimental interventions (randomized trials and piloting the Cash on Delivery idea, see below).

Why East Africa?

The primary dynamic and drivers of change in each country are national, and this logic underpins Twaweza’s approach. Most interventions are national in scope rather than regional, and joint work is only undertaken across the three countries where it adds value.

That said, there are clear situations where linking work is of value overall and to each country, such as in assessing the level of literacy and numeracy or the absenteeism of health workers across the three countries. Moreover, the three countries provide a valuable context for comparison. Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda have a shared history and economic, social and cultural ties. Their basic public and legal institutions are largely similar. The revival of the East African Community, with increasing economic integration, provides new opportunities. There is an emerging East Africa wide dynamic that is increasingly influencing change at the country level.

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

2.5 Experimental interventions

While Twaweza has emphasized the value of experimentation from the outset, the use of carefully designed, randomized control experiments (RCTs) has recently been added as a third component of our program. RCT methodology seeks to isolate, with careful sampling and rigor, the drivers of certain impacts and the confidence to which attribution can be made. Drawing on the methodology used to test the efficacy of new medicines, its basic approach is to pair similar communities and undertake interventions in one half and leave the other half as is (the counterfactual). To ensure quality and avoid conflicts of interest, RCTs are generally undertaken by independent researchers.

RCTs are not appropriate for much of Twaweza’s core programs because of the varying, multiple interventions we promote in an (uncontrolled) open architecture approach, where it is difficult to isolate and differentiate certain actions. But for testing the impacts of specific interventions RCTs can be very helpful. For instance, to improve learning outcomes in lower primary grades, which interventions are the most effective? Is it training teachers in school? Pay teachers incentives? Change the curriculum? Do more examinations? Improve bonuses? Similarly, in health an RCT design may be able to help shed light on what can best resolve the health staff deployment crisis, or how to have medicines not be pilfered from public stores.

Thus whereas Twaweza’s core programs can help spread ideas widely, an RCT can inform it of what is likely to work well. Starting in 2011 Twaweza will work with independent experts to test the impact of disbursing input focused capitation grants, rather than output based, instituting use of Cash on Delivery (COD). Building on this experience, in future years the use of experimental interventions will be undertaken by Twaweza to test specific hypotheses and achieve proof of concept. In addition to informing our work, RCTs can also influence global knowledge. Further
information on the thinking behind experimental interventions and how they link with Twaweza’s goal see Section 4.2 below.

2.6 Uwazi: making sense of data and analysis
The original conception of Twaweza’s InfoShop, as a one stop warehouse, was abandoned in favor of an approach that is more focused, responsive to interest, demand and opportunity, and nimble. In the new conception, Uwazi provides analytical products and services that meet the needs of their key clients. The revised Uwazi concept has three components: budget work, sector analyses and the national survey. Overall, Uwazi’s key role is to do the underlying analysis and influence key actors directly and through the media, who in turn may be more inclined to respond to the evidence due to the pressure from below. Uwazi components and impact pathways are described in Section 4.3 below.

2.7 Learning and evaluation
From the outset, Twaweza has been just as much about learning as it is about program interventions. The core idea is that we develop a culture of curiosity and learning among staff and partners, and continually reflect and learn, and bring the lessons to bear back into our work and public engagement, as well as contribute to global knowledge. The lessons and insights we generate are expected to inform program effectiveness, and shed insight on key questions in development, such as the relationship between information and agency, and between transparency and accountability, and how these can trigger improvements in service delivery. Moreover, there is increasing interest in the manner in which Twaweza’s learning and evaluation architecture is developing among parties interested in the design of evaluations in this field. The learning architecture and its key components are described in Section 5 below.
3. Goals and Outcomes

Goals
By promoting wide access to information, citizen engagement, and public accountability, Twaweza enables millions of ordinary citizens in East Africa to:

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

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

- Service delivery outcomes: In education, health and water. Measures have been carefully developed to reflect the few key areas that show promise. Because deep change at scale takes time, these are expected to be measured after ten years (i.e. 2018/9), but we monitor progress towards these using different methods at 2-4 year intervals.
- Citizen agency outcomes: Related to uptake of information, monitoring, speaking out and taking action.
- Program intervention benchmarks: Matters and influences in Twaweza’s control, the interventions we pull together
- Learning outcomes: Specific expectations that gauge what we are learning and communicating; involves monitoring, evaluation, staff learning and communications (e.g. website, publications).
- Operational and governance benchmarks: Specific markers to ascertain that Twaweza develops robust policies, systems and practices. Includes issues of legal transition and governance, HR, financial management, workflows.
These outcomes and benchmarks are described below, and are summarized on one page at the end of this section. The background informing the choice of particular indicators and targets can be found in the original strategy document and in the reference papers and documentation of the country visits that informed the establishment of Twaweza.

3.1 Service delivery outcomes
As mentioned in the Theory of Change, citizen agency is an end in itself, but also an effective means to improve basic service delivery. Well informed and inspired citizens are more able to engage with their local governments and service providers and gradually negotiate and receive better services. In practice this kind of citizen drive change takes time, but leads to changes that can reach larger scale and be sustained in the long term. Within education, health and water, Twaweza has carefully selected service delivery outcome measures that reflect the elements that are most critical to improving service effectiveness.

The specific targets set are deliberately ambitious and aspirational, and expected to be achieved by 2018. Several indicators have been tightened and made more specific as compared to the original strategy document. An indicator related to immunization in health has been omitted for two reasons: because the high target has already been reached or is close to being reached in East Africa, and because the success of such programs require effective top-down campaigns that are not best suited for Twaweza’s citizen centered approach. In each of education, health and water an indicator has been added to measure the knowledge and ability of citizens to report/know what to do when an aspect of the service is not working well. This measure would show the extent to which citizens can exercise a key form of agency in relation to service delivery.

Progress towards these goals is measured on an ongoing basis, including through use of survey data, mobile phone based feedback and independent evaluations.

Basic education (primary and secondary)
• 85% of primary and secondary school teachers show-up to school and teach
• 90% of funds meant for schools reach school accounts
• 20% report knowing what to do when teachers not present or funds don’t reach schools
• 80% of children in Grade 4 are able to read and count at the Grade 2 level (Uwezo)

Basic health (primary health care and public health/prevention)
• 75% of health workers in primary and district level facilities show up to work and deliver care
• 70% of (a selected set of) essential meds available at primary and district level clinics
• 20% report knowing what to do when medicines or staff are not available

Basic water (access and affordability)
• 90% urban and 70% rural have access to piped or covered water within 30 minute fetch time
• 50% are aware of water treatment means and enjoy increased access to water treatment options
• 20% report reduction in water insecurity and water-borne illnesses

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

3.2 Citizen agency outcomes
Increased and more meaningful information and ideas reaching and generated by people, in multiple ways and over time, enables citizens to have a greater sense of their own situation, of how things can be different, and how to make a difference. The agency we focus on involves uptake of
information, monitoring public services, speaking out and taking practical action. The indicators and targets below what we expect to achieve by 2014:

Access to information:
- Quality and diversity of voices covered in the media significantly improved as compared to baseline.
- 20% of young people, men and women in 50% districts have increased access to information about news, services, entitlements and options

Exercising voice
- 20% of young people, men and women in 50% districts have increased opportunities to express views in a public sphere/to public body

Monitoring services and government
- 10% of young people, men and women in 50% districts have increased opportunities to monitor government, public resources & service delivery

Making change happen
- At least 10% of young people, men and women in 50% districts have an increased sense of being able to make change happen, and can cite an example of having done so in the past 12 months

3.3 Program intervention benchmarks
Twaweza’s program has three components: partnerships, experimental interventions and Uwazi. The following benchmarks describe what Twaweza commits to minimally undertake by 2012 and 2014 in each of these three areas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Core Programs</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2014</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>At least 30 partner contracts in place in the region, representing at least 3 out of 5 networks in Kenya and Uganda, and 5 out of 5 in Tanzania</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At least 45 partner contracts in place in the region</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Updated partnership criteria available on the website and used to guide program investment</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Key information of all partners available on the website and regularly updated.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Uwazi
- A small budget unit established and producing regular budget briefs | X | |
- Budget visualization ongoing in Tanzania and established in one other country | | X |
- Staff recruited to undertake sectoral analysis of Health, Water and education in Tanzania informing Twaweza, partners and other actors | X | |
- Analysis and briefs produced in all 3 countries and informing Twaweza, partners and other actors | X | |
- Wananchi Survey established and implemented in Tanzania | X | |
- Based on lessons from Tanzania, Wananchi Survey established and implemented in one other country | X | X |
- Clear evidence that Uwazi work is spurring media debate and informing work of key actors and key policy processes | X | X |
Experimental interventions

- 2-3 Randomized Control Trials aiming to improve learning outcomes through Cash on Delivery and capitation grants in Tanzania and Uganda have commenced
- Concept notes ready for new experimental interventions, including at least one in health
- 2-3 additional experimental interventions implemented by independent researchers
- Lessons published and communicated to national and global audiences

3.4 Learning outcomes

Twaweza has a strong commitment to learning and communication, as its programs are exploring new ways of working. Contributing to both Twaweza program effectiveness and the body of global knowledge on citizen agency is a major outcome goal. Monitoring and the external evaluation components contribute information on what works, which needs to be communicated and used in order to make a difference. A culture and practice of critical inquiry and learning within the organizations is essential to achieve Twaweza’s missions. The benchmarks for learning are presented below:

Learning and Communication

- Twaweza is actively engaged, contributing to and influencing strategic East African and international institutions on Twaweza related issues
- Internal learning activities are in place, functioning and contributing to staff learning in all 3 countries (reading clubs, learning sessions and immersions)
- Twaweza and Uwazi websites redesigned and regularly updated, providing useful information and used
- Website policy in place and used
- Social media policy in place and Twaweza active in social media
- Standards and quality assurance systems in place and functioning for all Twaweza, distributions system functioning
- Survey done to measure effect of publications and changes made accordingly

Monitoring and Evaluation

- Simple and effective internal monitoring system in place and data collected from partners, media and other sources in all three countries
- Data organized and made publicly available through the website in a user friendly manner
- Selective systematic monitoring of Twaweza and Twaweza issues in the media is in place
- Selective systematic monitoring of Twaweza and Twaweza issues in the media is in place and regular analytical reports produced
- At least 4 independent entities contracted and implementing evaluation of Twaweza components
- Initial evaluation reports published and disseminated
- Evaluations completed and published, contributing to better understanding of Twaweza impact as well as contributing to global knowledge (popular and academic)
3.5 Operational and governance benchmarks

Twaweza is a young and growing organization, and fully expanding its operations in Kenya and Uganda. In order to ensure robust governance, efficient and effective operations, and to safeguard the organizational values and principles across the region, Twaweza will further strengthen its policies, systems and practices. This includes legal transition to an independent entity, governance, HR, financial management and other workflows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2014</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• New Twaweza entity is registered</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Transition completed and Twaweza is legally independent</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Policies, procedures and workflows regarding HR, office management, financial management, program investments etc. are fully documented, computerized and functioning</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 90% of established positions are filled</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Delegation of responsibilities codified in policy and practiced</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Delegation of responsibilities reviewed and adjusted</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Audit of financial statements (FS) by an internationally reputable firm undertaken and clean audit results achieved. Audited FS posted on the website</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Offices in all three countries equipped and functioning well</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Unified electronic banking established, covering all three countries</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Uwezo effectively managed by Twaweza and plan developed of Uwezo becoming an independent entity</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Uwezo legally established as an independent entity</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Key interventions (2009-2014)

Twaweza will broker these interventions …

Strategic partnerships

Comparative information and stories of change that spur debate and action. At least 50 partnerships that:
- Enable people to be informed and inspired
- Enhance citizen agency and inspire people to make things happen
- Build on what works and go through 5 major networks that reach people

Uwazi

Accessible and understandable data.
- Making public money transparent, basic analysis
- Solid analytical basis on water, education and health
- Wananchi Survey: rigorous monitoring and public opinions

Experimental interventions

- 3 – 5 rigorous experiments with clear lessons on what works, why and how, contributing to program development and regional and global knowledge

Citizen agency outcomes (2014)

... so as to enhance citizen capability and action …

Access to information

- Quality and diversity of voices covered in the media significantly improved as compared to baseline.
- 20% of young people, men and women in 50% districts have increased access to information about news, services, entitlements and options

Exercising voice

- 20% of young people, men and women in 50% districts have increased opportunities to express views in a public sphere/to public body

Monitoring services and government

- 10% of young people, men and women in 50% districts have increased opportunities to monitor government, public resources & service delivery

Making change happen

- At least 10% of young people, men and women in 50% districts have an increased sense of being able to make change happen, and can cite an example of having done so in the past 12 months

Service delivery outcomes (2018)

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

Basic education (primary and secondary)

- 85% of primary and secondary school teachers show-up to school and teach
- 90% of funds meant for schools reach school accounts
- 20% report knowing what to do when teachers not present or funds don’t reach schools
- 80% of children in Grade 4 are able to read and count at the Grade 2 level (Uwezo)

Basic health (primary health care and public health/prevention)

- 75% of health workers in primary and district level facilities show up to work and deliver care
- 70% of (a selected set of) essential meds available at primary and district level clinics
- 20% report knowing what to do when medicines or staff are not available

Basic water (access and affordability)

- 90% urban and 70% rural have access to piped or covered water within 30 minute fetch time
- 50% are aware of water treatment means and enjoy increased access to water treatment options
- 20% report reduction in water insecurity and water-borne illnesses

Other changes (citizen self-determined priorities)

Measurement & evaluation

- Independent research teams recruited to measure progress 2011
- Baseline undertaken 2010
- Progress measured, documented and communicated throughout
- Evaluation undertaken 2011-2014

Learning & communication

- Learning functioning at 3 levels
- Clear evidence of learning & reflective practice at Twaweza
- Lessons effectively documented, communicated and debated in the public domain
- Knowledge generated & shared

Building evidence, Generating knowledge

- How transparency and information contribute to change
- Link between citizen agency, accountability and service delivery outcomes
- Evidence of citizen state accountability & responsiveness
- Program effectiveness, esp. scaling impact and incentives
- Effective ways to promote learning, document lessons and share knowledge
Twaweza’s Program has three main components as follows:

- Partnerships (core program)
- Experiments (testing what works)
- Uwazi: (opening up data, analysis)

Each of these components has a particular approach and audience, and aims to achieve a particular outcome. Together, the three program components inform and reinforce one another, and are designed to work together with the Learning component to achieve Twaweza’s citizen agency, service delivery and learning related outcomes. This section outlines and illustrates the thinking behind each of the three components and how they work. Fuller details regarding partner choices and projects are worked out each year after careful assessment of lessons and opportunities, and articulated in a detailed Annual Plan and Budget. Finally, several potential risks can undermine the achievement of Twaweza’s programs. The final part of this section identifies certain key risks and outlines the measures that are ion place or taken to mitigate them.

The core Partnership component is largely as described in the original strategy, but become sharpened and tighter over the last years. The basis on which to assess and guide investments and partnership relations has also been developed and articulated below. Extensive elaboration that was provided on the core partnership program in the original strategy document is omitted here for purposes of brevity; readers wanting further clarification are encouraged to read the original strategy.

While Twaweza has emphasized the importance of risk-taking and experimentation from the outset, the inclusion of a rigorous experimental approach to program investing is new. The value and limitations of the approach are described briefly, and the first pieces of work focusing on employing local Cash on Delivery compared to capitation grants in education are described below.

The mission of Uwazi (formerly called InfoShop) has evolved from a one-stop warehouse of information to a more nimble, responsive to demand and opportunity approach focused on specific products and services.
4.1 Program partnerships

Twaweza partners with and invests in areas that are central to our theory of change: information flow, citizen agency and accountable public service delivery (see diagram below). Twaweza is not an implementer itself or simply a re-granter to interesting projects. Rather engage actively to add value to and act as a broker between a) the generation of ideas and innovations, b) the networks that can make things happen at scale, and c) the resources (information, ideas, partners and funds) that can fuel initiatives for change. Recognizing that lots of fragmented or discrete projects don’t bring lasting change, Twaweza supports selected strategic partners who engage citizens at large scale in relation to our interest areas.

Over time, partnerships are developed that contribute to certain goals and values in a synergistic and reinforcing manner. This is important because it is in pooling the comparative advantages of several groups into a shared project that real value is added and that ‘an ecosystem of change’ can emerge, that would otherwise be unlikely to be pulled off by any one organization on its own. In practice, creating a sufficient density of partners or partnership action is much more difficult than first imagined, and requires significantly more staff engagement than had been originally envisaged. This is especially so when bringing together actors from different sectors that may not have a tradition of cooperation, or that are being asked to consider something novel. Twaweza also brokers linkages with partners across East Africa and globally as appropriate, including with partners of and lessons generated by Twaweza’s funding partners from other regions.

A nine point set of criteria is used to identify and assess potential partners (see box on next page). These criteria seek to reflect the key underpinnings of our Theory of Change, and to instill a strategic discipline in making choices (informed by the idea that ‘doing good is not good enough’, or ‘good intentions are insufficient’). Key aspects include the focus on citizen agency, the importance of scale, and emphasis on results and meaningful outputs rather than inputs and activities. The criteria are posted on our website and shared with potential partners. Program officers use them to assess and recommend engagement, as well as to evaluate reports.
Twaweza: Criteria for program partnerships

1. Outcome and output focused
We start by identifying the outcomes(s) that the idea will contribute towards, that are either citizen agency and/or service delivery (see health, education, water targets) focused. We then work to construct partnerships and initiatives that effectively contribute towards those outcomes through clear and agreed set of result deliverables. We encourage partners to focus on achieving meaningful outputs and outcomes, and to improvise and adapt as needed to achieve them.

2. Contextual analysis and relevance
Initiatives make sense and go far when they are informed by a sharp analysis of the context, and constructed to respond to a critical opportunity for making a difference. We pay close attention to the quality of contextual analysis for both the problem and response.

3. Citizen agency focused
Our approach 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: citizens a) becoming informed, b) monitoring policy and practice, c) voicing/speaking out in ‘public’, d) acting to make a change. The domains of change will be determined by citizens, and will vary, but emphasis is on the ‘everyday’ aspects, in day to day life contexts.

4. Reaches scale stratégic
The approach is able to go ‘nationwide’. The numbers involved will vary based on target group and purpose, but as a rough rule the program needs to ‘reach’ at least two million people, preferably many more. In most cases this involves working with key identified networks or institutions (mobile phones, mass media, religion, consumer goods networks, teachers (unions)), popular media, but may also include others such as government oversight bodies, MPs, and other intermediaries who can have a critical impact. Because we depend on existing networks, we recognize that we are unlikely to reach, by definition, those who are the poorest of the poor or the most marginalized. In some cases we invest in experiments (R&D) at a smaller scale provided we can envisage how the approach can later be designed to go to scale.

5. Innovation, Creativity, Imagination
We are in the imagination business. Twaweza critiques ‘business as usual’; and we put a premium on great ideas and innovative. 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. 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 social entrepreneurship – the notion that creative, strategic people make things happen.

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 ‘seven different options to get information and seven different ways to act’, i.e. have multiple ways to become informed and act, that reinforce and inspire one another. Our partner(ships) need to demonstrably create or contribute towards this ecosystem effect.

7. 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, each partner’s contribution is in accordance with its comparative advantage and priorities.

8. Openness to Learning
With our core partners we will seek, wherever possible, to foster a culture and practice of learning. This means a willingness to be open and transparent, an intellectual curiosity to learn, confidence to not be afraid of saying we screwed up, and a commitment to documenting and sharing lessons. In selected cases and as appropriate, where there is need to understand what works in relation to major Twaweza concerns, we will engage with independent researchers to undertake carefully designed randomized control experiments.

9. Value for money
We compare the expected output with the input needed, so as to assess the value for money or bang for the buck. In most cases funding agreements are designed on the basis of payments for delivery of meaningful outputs (rather than input based budgets), where the partner receives financial resources that are directly commensurate with the results achieved.
Because Twaweza’s activities are led and largely implemented by major networks and other key partners, our approach cannot be a fixed blueprint or a ‘call for proposals’ based on a predetermined set of activities. The basis of the partnership is designed to respond to the core interests of the partner; generally major networks will only consider this approach where is based on convergence of interest and mutual partnership – rather than requests to carry out a partisan agenda or persuading ‘them’ to undertake ‘our’ great idea. The partnership development process involves strategic dialogue where energy is created and agreements reached on furthering mutual interests or where each partner has something to gain from the collaboration. While strongly outcome focused, the actual means used to achieve the outcomes or outputs is deliberately designed to be open, responsive and flexible. Partners are encouraged to focus on stimulating public engagement in the achievement of overall results, and to adjust and adapt as they go along as needed, rather than sticking doggedly to a predetermined set of inputs or activities. This approach helps bring the overall coherence while avoiding the rigidity and lack of reflexivity that mar many development efforts.

Twaweza has recruited staff and set up offices in Dar es Salaam, Nairobi and Kampala, and partnerships are underway in all three countries. However, the experience of the first two years of work has shown that we were overly optimistic about the pace at which we could get the partnerships going, and the level of staff time it would require to broker and sustain relationships. Thus the first program period to achieve set outcomes has been extended by one year (to end in 2014 rather than 2013, and budget adjusted accordingly) and two more program officers are being added in each country to manage the partnership portfolio. These liaise closely with the Learning unit on monitoring and evaluation aspects. Detailed information on the purpose and types of partnerships that are being developed is provided each year in the Annual Plan.

By 2010, Twaweza had 18 partners across East Africa. Examples of some of the partnerships are provided below. During 2011-2014 the number of partners is expected to grow to about 30 by 2012 and 45 by 2014. This includes continued engagement with successful partners where there is demonstrable achievement and where Twaweza continues to add value. New partners will be identified in areas where we have low engagement at present. The main purpose is to add partners that can contribute towards achieving an ecosystem effect rather than for its own sake. Overall numbers will be kept manageable so as to focus on quality of work and relationships.

### Examples of Twaweza Partners

**Uganda Radio Network**

Twaweza partner Uganda Radio Network (URN) reaches and informs between 10 and 20 million Ugandans daily. As a unique service in East Africa, URN provides daily news and a weekly audio magazine to more than 50 radio stations in Uganda. Membership ranges from valuable rural community radios to the four largest radio networks. News items, including sound clips, are posted on the secure URN website to which radio stations have access against a monthly fee. Subscribed stations typically broadcast all freshly posted items in their next news bulletin so that each single news item reaches several millions of listeners instantly, often directly translated by local stations into one of Uganda’s 58 local languages. With Twaweza support, URN increases the frequency of news items as well as their quality. To better bring out the voice of ordinary Ugandans, especially in rural areas, Twaweza’s support helps URN to expand its regional network of journalists and provides mentoring support to member radio stations as well as independent journalists. Twaweza support has also enabled URN to make its website more interactive and powerful, including an archive of tens of thousands of articles dating back to 2005. URN is now able to try out some of the innovations it always dreamed of, such as participatory radio, broadcast of live public debates and syndicated radio shows.

**DalaDala TV**

Twaweza partnered with Kilimanjaro Production Company in 2009 to develop DalaDala TV, a popular daily current affairs program. The show is set in a DalaDala or mini-bus that many Tanzanians use as a means of urban transport. The DalaDala has been transformed into a hi-tech studio with seven small cameras and
microphones. It drives around in the daily morning rush hour and features people who happen to board the DalaDala. A talk show host leads discussions on issues of daily life that are on peoples’ minds. The main idea is to provide a space for ordinary people to reflect on and speak out about issues to a national audience and inform public debate. Because the show hosts people who are usually not seen on TV and because it is produced in an entertaining manner, it attracts many viewers who otherwise don’t watch current affairs programs. The first season of DalaDala TV attracted 2.7 million daily viewers; making it one the most viewed programs in Tanzania. The idea has now been transported across East Africa; the show launched in Kenya in May 2011 as Matatu, and will launch in Uganda as Minibuzz in September 2011. To serve the rural community, the show is broadcast on the radio and Matatu and Minibuzz will drive to rural areas five days per month. Twaweza provides base funding, supplies independent data, links to researchers, connections and ideas. DalaDala anticipates being financially self-sufficient by 2013.

ShujaazFM

ShujaazFM (Heroes in Sheng) is a prize-winning nation-wide multi-media project, inspiring and motivating millions of young Kenyans to take action to improve their lives and engage with urgent practical issues that shape their future. ShujaazFM was launched with Twaweza support by Well Told Story (WTS) in March 2010 after a year of research, design, testing and development. Since its inception, ShujaazFM has enabled communication among young Kenyans on an unequalled scale using multiple, interconnecting popular media. Each month, 600,000 comics are developed, produced and distributed. The issues in the comics are discussed in short five to seven minute segments on at least 17 different radio stations daily. Through this media, young people are encouraged to send their views by SMS and post on the ShujaazFM Facebook and Twitter pages. ShujaazFM touched the lives of 15 million Kenyans in its first six months, giving it the distinction of being the largest youth engagement initiative in Kenya today. WTS enables this huge audience of dedicated young “heroes” is able to follow access and participate in the large scale social transformations that Twaweza stands for. Expansion into Tanzania and Uganda is being explored.

D.Light

In Tanzania, 85% of the population does not have access to electricity. Several studies have shown that access to clean, reliable light improves learning and reduces illness. The Dar es Salaam based social venture company D.Light planned to distribute ten thousand solar re-chargeable lamps to secondary school students and teachers in 2011. The solar lamps help reduce carbon emissions and provide a more affordable source of light in the medium to long term. However, with over a million students in Tanzania, only 1% of them would be served by D.Light with a limited marketing effect for solar lamps. Twaweza therefore engaged D.Light to expand distribution to up to 100,000 students and teachers and to add a communication and feedback element. Twaweza information materials are included in the packaging of the lights, which otherwise would have reach those students. In the course of distribution, telephone numbers are collected from teachers who get the lights, to enable easy monitoring on the lights and a chance to get feedback on other issues. D.Light is given a challenge amount of USD 1.25 per additional lamp sold to secondary schools, for up to 100,000 lights. This provides D.Light with an incentive to achieve far greater scale. In the first six months, D.Light reported having distributed over 30,000 lights, three times more than their initial plan.

Daraja

Daraja is Swahili for bridge, reflecting this partner organization’s approach to bringing citizens and local government in rural Tanzania closer to each other in order to improve service delivery. Daraja based out of Njombe, Tanzania, develops tools and encourages citizens to report water point functionality in their areas. The information sent by citizens via SMS or other mobile technology is captured in a database that holds water point mapping information of the area. Daraja shares information about water point functionality with the public primarily through the media, including their own local newspaper, and analyzes and publicizes responsiveness of government to these citizen notifications. The goal is to improve the response of district engineers to water issues in particular and government accountability in general, through direct information and public pressure. The model has been piloted in three districts, and lessons learned are being used in the national rollout of the program.

Masoko

Twaweza partnered with Masoko, a leading ‘experiential’ marketing company, to distribute popular materials and show films across about a third of Tanzania. Masoko distributes Twaweza materials free of charge by piggybacking them on marketing visits they do for commercial companies, using specially designed trucks with platforms for staging shows and films. The Masoko facilitators engage audiences of between 800-2,000 at a time with entertainment and discussion of the issues raised in the materials, with a staff person assigned to
record feedback. Masoko has also distributed material to thousands of passengers across major national bus routes. Through these approaches, by 2010 materials reached about 1.2 million people in largely rural areas that usually do not have access to newspapers, libraries or other print materials. In 2011, Masoko visited 27 districts in Tanzania to inform and engage citizens on two issues: What citizens can do to ensure capitation grants help improve quality in primary and secondary schools; and publicizing the Uwezo tool to enable citizens to test their own abilities in literacy and numeracy.

**Exercise books (Notebooks) in every kiosk**

How do you reach about 10 million children across Tanzania including remote rural villages, efficiently, reliably and at very low cost? Twaweza started by asking what already reaches millions of children, and is valued and treasured by them. The answer was exercise books. Relatively inexpensive notebooks are sold everywhere, and most pupils own at least a few. Adapting an idea that was first developed at HakiElimu, Twaweza sought to print tools that can help children and parents learn on inside cover pages on books that already have a distribution chain and market. Tanzania Printing Services, one of the largest printers of exercise books in the country, was engaged to print tools on at least 40 million exercise books. The books are then sold through the printer’s extremely efficient distribution network. Each exercise book features a cartoon character on the front cover inviting readers to turn the page and attempt a test, and to share it with friends. Inside each book a list of things that students, teachers, and parents can do to improve learning is provided. Expected reach? 10 million people. Cost for Twaweza? Less than USD 0.001 per notebook. Benefit for printer: Easy way to contribute to learning, and a more interesting product.

**Media Framework Partnerships**

Twaweza’s media framework partnerships are an attempt to strengthen media by creating incentives that reward quality and diversity, rather than reproduce input-driven approaches such as training journalists. By 2010 three partnerships were in place with the Nation Media Group and Royal Media Services in Kenya and Sahara Group in Tanzania; combined these have a reach of over 25 million every day. With each media company, about 12-15 different programs are identified and specific targets are set for improvement of each program (e.g. the nightly news, a weekly interview program, a daily magazine). These cover aspects such as expanding citizen voice and rural coverage, increasing use of evidence and data, and strengthening investigative journalism. Twaweza provides the media house with researched tips, studies and data, and links to credible sources of information. The media house uses these where it fits with editorial standards but is under no obligation to use them. Twaweza’s funding amount varies with the level of improvements measured against mutually agreed targets. The idea is to both enable and ‘nudge’ media house personnel to make the necessary changes to improve quality. The broadcasters also carry Twaweza’s public service announcements (PSAs) that draw on advertising techniques and humor to engage the public on serious service delivery, public accountability and citizen action issues.

**4.2 Experimental interventions**

In recent years, the idea of carefully designed, rigorously measured experiments known as randomized control trials (RCTs) has received prominent attention in international development. The methodology requires comparisons between ‘treatment’ sites where the intervention is carried out and ‘comparison’ sites which are similar in all other respects except where the specific treatment is not undertaken. RCT design enables measurement of impact that can be attributed to the intervention, and to isolate the key factors that drove the change. Two of its prominent proponents, Abhijit Banerjee and Esther Duflo of MIT, characterize it as a ‘radical rethinking of the way to fight global poverty’1. Not everyone agrees, and the approach has generated controversy and debate.

As noted in Section 2 above, RCTs are not well suited to assess the overall effectiveness of Twaweza’s core program, because of its multifaceted and open, opportunistic and contingent (i.e. not controlled) nature, where synergies and ‘spillover’ across different areas and interventions to create the ecosystem effect is actively fostered. Nonetheless, in certain circumstances the experimental approach can be extremely useful in ascertaining ‘what works’ among different choices, and the efficacy of different options. Where certain development have persisted despite concerted efforts and investments, or where the efficacy of a new idea needs to be tested, experimental interventions can provide rigorous evidence to inform choices about policies and programs worth billions of dollars.

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1 See Banerjee and Duflo, *Poor Economics: A Radical Rethinking of the Way to Fight Global Poverty*, Public Affairs, 2011
Another idea generating interesting debate is *Cash on Delivery* (COD), developed by the Center for Global Development (CGD) led by Nancy Birdsall. It addresses the persistent challenge of achieving results and accountability in development, without resorting to ineffective and patronizing micro-management. The COD approach is designed to link payments to progress, or cash for delivery of a well-defined outcome(s) that is independently verified. The approach emphasizes a high level of public transparency and opportunity for citizens to hold governments to account, as well as in the donor-recipient relationship. Payments are only made commensurate with successful delivery – the better one performs, the more one gets – so as to create a clear, public and contractual incentive to perform well. Importantly, the funder avoids getting involved in the unwieldy aspects of managing each step in the process, allowing the implementer full freedom and flexibility to achieve the outcomes (see diagram below). The simplicity of the COD design and focus also makes it easier to operationalize at scale, which is especially important in capacity constrained settings.

The COD approach resonates well with Twaweza’s preference for results and outcomes, rather than inputs, as well as the idea that for accountability it is essential to get incentives right. However, our thinking departs from the original conception of the idea in three key respects. First, the idea is developed, as its subtitle shows, as a new approach to aid. In our view, we see it is a more effective way in which central governments can fund and incentivize local governments and service delivery facilities. Second, we find that in most cases central governments are unlikely to be motivated by the COD incentive; relative to overall budgets and responsibilities, COD offers too little additional money for pulling off what amounts to difficult task from the central level. In contrast, the incentive set at the local level is likely to be much more effective both because the incentive is set at the level of the actor most able to make a difference in achieving the outcome (e.g., teacher, parent, MPs) and because the amounts involved are significant for them. Importantly these payments would need to be additional to existing funding. Third, the COD idea calls for an audit of government reported attainment of outcomes. In our view in many cases it may be simpler and more credible to have the outcome attainment itself measured by an independent third party.

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2 See Birdsall and Savedoff, *Cash on Delivery: A new approach to foreign aid*, CGD, 2010. Twaweza Advisory Board member and Senior CGD fellow Owen Barder co-wrote an earlier paper with Nancy Birdsall that led to the development of the cash on delivery idea.

3 For a brief note by Rakesh Rajani of these aspects this see: http://blogs.cgdev.org/globaldevelopment/2011/04/guest-post-five-reasons-i-am-a-fan-of-cash-on-delivery-and-five-ways-to-make-it-sharper.php
The COD idea and the RCT approach offering compelling tools to try to address persistent public service delivery challenges in East Africa that have not been resolved despite enormous effort and investment. Specifically, using RCT design to test COD against an alternative approach or existing practice or both could provide valuable information regarding the efficacy of a COD incentive in practice. It could also help test the validity of the central idea underlying Twaweza’s theory of change linking transparency and accountability, and these to improved service delivery. The lessons that would be learned from undertaking quality interventions can potentially better inform the content of Twaweza’s advocacy and communication, as well as influence policies and large government programs.

Starting 2011, Twaweza has added experimental interventions to its program portfolio so as to try out and benefit from these new approaches. We are exploring the use of both COD and RCT in a combined intervention to strengthen accountability and improve learning outcomes in Tanzania and Uganda (see box below). Independent researchers will be engaged from the outset and involved in the design, implementation and impact assessment phase. Initial discussions have been held with lead proponents of COD at CGD, lead researchers at the Abdul Latif Jameel Poverty Action Lab (JPAL) at MIT, CEGA at UC Berkeley and others. By the end of 2011 Twaweza expects to have identified the key collaborators and agreed on the basic scope and design. The interventions and impact measurement are expected to be undertaken between early 2012 and mid-2014.

### Strengthening Accountability and Learning Outcomes through Experimental interventions

Despite over a decade of major reforms and significant new investments in education, overall learning levels remain extremely low across East Africa. In Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda recent nationwide surveys have shown that large majorities of children are not able to read or do arithmetic at the required level.² The failure to develop a basic foundation in literacy and numeracy undermines the ability to learn and develop new skills, and denies children the opportunity to develop fully in the future. These challenges are well known across the region, but existing reform and aid instruments have largely failed to improve the situation. The additional resources used are failing to reach schools (findings show that the amounts of capitation grants reaching schools are well below policy levels and declining)³ and to translate into effective change. In particular, all three East African countries face three core challenges:

- how to get resources to the lowest (school/community) levels
- how to gear the education process to emphasize learning outcomes rather than educational inputs, and
- how to invest resources (government and donor) in a manner that enhances and incentivizes the attainment of learning outcomes

Starting in early 2012, Twaweza will undertake several related pilots in Tanzania and Uganda that seek to get resources to the people and to improve basic learning outcomes. The ultimate aim is to improve early grade literacy and numeracy, and the measure of progress will likely be similar to the proven tools used by Uwezo. For the COD interventions, a set amount will be paid per child who achieves basic competency in Grade 3 or 4, whose exact amount is to be determined but expected to be about USD 30. While current practice tends to target resources to district authorities or schools at the lowest unit, several studies suggest that incentivizing teachers may be the most effective.³ Variations of who the amount will be targeted to will be considered (schools vs. teachers vs. community focused). All three variations will involve public information sharing and engagement through media and popular materials, and the involvement of local leaders.

The COD approach will be compared with existing policy of improving learning at the school level through the disbursement of capitation grants. Therefore, in a set of alternate intervention sites, Twaweza will provide the full capitation grant (the COD and capitation grant interventions will be implemented in comparable but different districts), but vary disbursements by direct transfer (straight to schools) and indirect transfer (via district accounts as per existing policy). This will allow researchers to both compare efficacy of direct and indirect routes of disbursing capitation grants, as well as compare the impact on learning of existing (input based) capitation grant policy with that of a (outcomes based) COD

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1. See http://www.povertyactionlab.org/
3. For instance, in Tanzania two Public Expenditure Tracking Surveys (PETS) found that in 2004 only $6 of the $10 grant was reaching schools, in 2009 it was only $4 out of $10.
instrument. In this case the level of information provided/public communication about the capitation grant will be varied to assess whether information enhances accountability and citizen engagement in a manner that contributes to better use of funds and improved learning. A schematic outline of the variations is shown below, but the final choice of variations and combinations deployed will be determined in consultation with partners and independent researchers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variation 1</th>
<th>New intervention: COD based payments for progress</th>
<th>Existing policy: Making $10 capitation grants work</th>
<th>Comparison: Current policy/practice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Variation 1</td>
<td>School focused: $30 per child for school</td>
<td>Variation 4a: Indirect disbursement + info: Full amount to district accounts plus public information</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variation 2</td>
<td>Teacher focused: $25 per child for teacher, $5 for schools</td>
<td>Variation 4b: Indirect disbursement only: Full amount to district accounts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variation 3</td>
<td>Combination focus: $10 per child for school, $10 per child for teacher, $10 per child for parents</td>
<td>Variation 5a: Direct disbursement + info: Full amount to school accounts plus public information</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Variation 5b: Direct disbursement only: Full amount to school accounts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The experience of using RCTs and undertaking COD and funds disbursement to lowest levels is expected to inform similar work by Twaweza across East Africa in health (such as medicine stock outs, health worker attendance and care) and water (water point functionality, water treatment). Overall, these experiments are expected to contribute to Twaweza’s learning agenda and generate policy relevant evidence for policy-makers and donors that attempts to understand factors that are more or less effective in driving learning outcomes, both within East Africa and globally.

4.3 Uwazi

Uwazi (meaning ‘openness’ or ‘transparency’ in Swahili, formerly InfoShop) forms the final and third of Twaweza’s overall program components. It was created to provide a data/evidence base and analytical rigor to Twaweza’s work and engagement, as well as to key actors (MPs, media, policymakers, other leaders) in East Africa. In the two years of its existence, Uwazi has developed a track record as a reputable source for hard hitting, accessible analysis on key policy matters, particularly related to the use of public money and education. At the same time, Uwazi’s mission has evolved from a one-stop warehouse of information (InfoShop) to an entity that helps make data open and understandable, undertakes analysis on key issues and communicates these in short, accessible briefs, in response to demand and to make use of key opportunities.

The evolving situation, however, meant that some aspects of Uwazi’s mandate and role, and how these contribute towards Twaweza goals, needed to be clarified and tightened. This has now been done, after consultation and in response to demand from both Twaweza programs and a reading of key actors. A new conceptual framework that embodies the theory of change underlying Uwazi’s program and a clear articulation of its mandate in relation to Twaweza goals has been developed (see diagram on next page). Uwazi’s work is now organized around three sets of activities as follows:

- Opening up public money (budgets, revenues, oversight, value for money)
- Analyzing service delivery (education, health, water)
- Understanding what’s going on (Wananchi Survey)
UWAZI @ TWAWEZA
THEORY OF CHANGE
Making Open Sense
data~analysis~ideas

- Opening
- Public Money
  - Transparent/visual
  - Value for money
  - Monitoring oversight bodies

- Analysing
- Service Delivery
  - What’s happening
  - What works

- Wananchi Survey
  - What’s going on
  - Public opinion
  - Monitoring services/policy

Key Actors
- MPs
- Governments
- Policy Makers
- NGOs
- Donors

Media
Religious Leaders
Business Leaders
Think Tanks
Researchers

Twaweza Partners

Knowledge of what works

Uwazi informs:
- Better Use of Resources
- Smarter Policies & Programs
- Effective Feedback
- Accountability

Healthy, educated, confident citizens

greater understanding & public debate
Opening up public money

It is often correctly noted that budgets are the most important policy instrument, because where the money goes can be more important than what the words say. How public monies are collected, allocated and used can have profound impacts on service delivery and accountability. Yet for most people budgets are extremely difficult to access, understand and scrutinize, let alone influence.

Building on demonstrated success, Uwazi will continue to make budgets open and transparent, and to undertake basic analyses. Potential activities include:

- Working with government, media and civil society partners to open up budget documents and have them published on websites, preferably in machine readable formats.
- Collaborating with the International Budget Partnership (IBP) on the Open Budget Index to assess and rank the openness of budgets in the region.
- Demystifying and visualizing budgets and allowing easy comparisons, such as through Uwazi’s visual dashboard (visit http://uwazi.org/index.php?id=411 and see image below)

- Partner with print and online newspapers to post ‘Did you know’ facts
- Analysis of revenues with particular attention to tax exemptions; who pays the most taxes and whole gets the biggest exemptions.
- Analysis of budget allocation choices, discuss implications of various choices and policy decisions, value for money, particularly in relation to education, health and water
- Follow the money; do funds reach the people, what are the best ways to do so.
- Scrutinize the effectiveness of the oversight bodies (Controllers and Auditors General, procurement agencies, parliamentary public accounts committees)

Analyzing service delivery

Improving service delivery in education, health and water is a central Twaweza concern, but it is difficult to know how best to engage when one doesn’t know and keep up with the key issues, drivers, players and politics in the sector, and undertake analysis of what is really going on, and what works and what doesn’t. In order to strengthen Twaweza’s ability to design effective program partnerships, as well as to engage with key actors in an evidence based manner across the three countries, Uwazi will develop analytical capacity in the three public service sectors through recruitment of staff and consultants, and by forging working relations with informed research and academic institutions. Potential activities include:

- Scan the key issues, players and opportunities in education, health and water, based on which decide to focus on few critical areas.
• Identify and seek out key information from bureaus of statistics, surveys and other key reports relevant to the sectors, make data sets available to the public online, develop over time a clear picture of the situation.
• Assess the evidence base supporting Twaweza program positions, inform and critique new activity of programs and their partners.
• Advising on sampling of citizen monitoring activities, analyzing and writing up findings.
• On a selective basis, research and comment on key issues of the day being discussed in the press, by MPs, and key policy processes, support Twaweza, partners, MPs and others to develop informed policy positions.

**Wananchi Survey**

Development practitioners constantly grapple with the gap between policy pronouncements in capital cities and realities on the ground. Unfortunately, the quality of administrative data across East Africa is often of too poor quality to be relied upon to give an accurate picture of what’s going on. Large surveys often provide more reliable data, but these are typically undertaken only once every five years, are expensive and take a long time to complete. Consequently, despite spending billions of dollars on development activities, governments, donors, researchers and citizens often do not have a good idea of the overall situation on the ground, or a reliable way to get new information quickly.

The Wananchi (meaning citizens in Swahili) Survey has been designed to fill this gap by using the widespread availability and decreasing cost of mobile telephony. Uwazi piloted the approach with 550 households in Dar es Salaam using different variations to collect data (SMS, USSD, voice, etc.), with the use of voice through call centers emerging as a clear best option. Despite the challenge of attrition (lessons have also been learned about use of different incentives for responders), overall the pilot has demonstrated that a mobile phone based survey can be feasibly used to survey citizens.³

The advantage of using mobile phones is that it allows, at relatively low cost, and ability to survey citizens at high frequency (as often as once a week) and find about both realities on the ground and public opinion. It can be a particularly powerful instrument to monitor practice, such as whether funds are reaching schools, the price and availability of medicines, repair times for water points and so forth. The turnaround time between establishing the survey questions and publishing the results can also be as short as one week. Strong emphasis is placed on providing survey results in an accessible manner, and to share them effectively with key actors, particularly through the media.

Building on the pilot experience, and starting with the households involved in the Tanzania baseline survey commissioned by Twaweza, the Wananchi Survey will launch at the end of 2011 with a likely sample of about 1250 households across the country. The overall content, questions, analyses and communication of the survey is managed by Twaweza, but the field survey work is outsourced to professional survey firms. Drawing from the Tanzania experience the survey is expected to be rolled out to at least one other country in 2012.

The initial frequency of the survey is likely to be monthly, and may be increased based on demand and capacity. Issues covered will be linked to Twaweza’s interest areas related to information, agency and service delivery, as well as associated interests of our partners. In future, Twaweza will also consider availing the opportunity to third parties against a financial contribution, so as to eventually make the survey self-sustaining.

³ The World Bank country office in Tanzania is continuing to work with the Dar es Salaam sample to obtain data about the effectiveness of its projects, and the two parties have signed a Memorandum of Understanding to further explore partnering in facilitating third party citizen monitoring.
Finally, Uwazi will continue managing the Peoples Price Index survey that collects process across Tanzania using IMF approved methods and tools, so as to provide an independent consumer price index. The method and underlying data in this survey will be made fully transparent so as to be subject to public scrutiny. The results are expected to generate considerable debate in relation to official inflation data, and the idea is to help strengthen official data collection systems as needed.

### 4.4 Risk management

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Potential Risk</th>
<th>Likelihood</th>
<th>Mitigation Measures</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1. Governments may seek to restrict Twaweza if it is seen as threatening its interests or too anti-government. | Low | - Avoid the limelight, work in the background, support partners to be in the driving seat in assessing risks and determining action.  
- Emphasize quality and accuracy at all times, and get ‘own houses in order’ to reduce vulnerability.  
- Support work that is fair and evidence based, rather than anti-government for its own sake or partisan to any one political party.  
- Build working relationships with government agencies and leaders to create greater understanding and buy-in, and support when needed.  
- Secure buy-in from major donors within the region who are respected by governments. |
| 2. Governments may restrict (old and new) media space and operations, and in this way significantly limit room for Twaweza type work. | Low | - Working with broad coalitions, promote adoption and especially implementation of progressive laws, regulations and standards on freedom of the press, internet and other communication; promote anti-monopolistic regulation.  
- Support partners that can challenge restrictions and assist media houses and journalists when restricted  
- Emphasize fairness and evidence based journalism rather than criticizing government for the sake of criticism, and ensure advocacy is informed by evidence and solid analysis |
| 3. Public watch and monitoring activities are frustrated by authorities’ refusal to cooperate or share information. | Low to Medium | - Build awareness for the concept.  
- Develop different options so that if some things don’t work others may  
- Create multiple and independent points of engagement so that they cannot be easily undermined or controlled. |
| 4. Increased political flux and tension is the region creates greater turmoil and instability, prompting regimes to clamp down on civil liberties and space, closing the space for Twaweza like activities | Low, except High around elections | - Encourage partners involved in risky aspects to have alternative back up plans in place  
- Emphasize compliance to the law so that flimsy violations cannot be used to curtail freedoms  
- Develop links with others groups so as to be able to work collectively  
- Develop and maintain good links with international actors  
- Develop and maintain good links with allies in government and parliament  
- Be prepared to have certain activities suspended for a hot period |
5. **Twaweza is unable to develop the deep strategic partnerships and program effectiveness at scale because of limited internal capacity**

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| • Increased number of program staff, build a highly capable team; and create an inspiring work environment with good remuneration.  
• Build an effective learning environment and supportive work systems.  
• Build a strong network of mentors and consultants who can work with partners and follow-up.  
• Focus on fewer partners that can go to depth rather than doing too many scattered activities. |

6. **Twaweza partners have difficulties combining Twaweza output based partnerships with dominant input based model, resulting in delays and low results (and less than planned expenditure)**

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<th>Low to Medium</th>
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| • Design clear terms of partnership including output and monitoring frameworks  
• Communicate well with partners and continuously, especially on consequences of not achieving outputs  
• Have alternate Plan B and C options thought through where partners cannot come through  
• Communicate approach clearly with Board and donors so that pressure to spend does not undermine effective value for money investing |

7. **Partners are unable to go to scale using the Twaweza approach; dominant CSO and development concepts 'corrupt' and frustrate work**

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<th>Low to Medium</th>
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| • Emphasize the 5 major networks that reach scale  
• Articulate investments and partnerships in concrete, jargon free non development language  
• Promote problem-solving focused learning by doing, supported by mentors.  
• Support organizations in the East African region on conceptual and strategic development through mentoring. |

8. **Reach/impact of and participation in new media may be limited due to poor access, high costs and illiteracy (particularly for low income/rural people).**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Low</th>
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| • Focus on more affordable new media (e.g. mobile phones).  
• Promote linkages between new and old media as appropriate (e.g. mobile phones and radio).  
• Piggyback on existing powerful media networks.  
• Consider voice based applications over literacy dependent SMS where practicable |

9. **Citizens are reached with the information but do not turn into agents of change (remain passive).**

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| • Focus on piquing curiosity and stimulating the imagination, particularly through stories of change, rather than just providing information  
• Create options/expand choices so that if some things don’t work or are not preferred others will  
• Involve trusted brokers that can switch easily between domains.  
• Emphasize the Twaweza scale criterion so all potential change agents and outliers are reached  
• Stimulate partner organizations to move beyond business as usual and ‘search’ or ‘find’ change agents |
Twaweza is as equally committed to learning as it is to its programs making a difference; in fact in many ways these two components are increasingly linked and mutually reinforcing. Twaweza’s learning architecture seeks to cultivate a culture of critical inquiry, reflection and adaptation within the initiative, informed by nimble feedback loops between different components of our work. It is made of three main components: monitoring, independent evaluations and staff and partner learning. Effective communication – internal and external – is also an essential aspect of the picture with a dual purpose: to subject Twaweza’s work to external scrutiny and to be able to contribute to knowledge and program design across East Africa and globally. The key components of the learning architecture and relationships between them are shown in the diagram below.
5.1 Monitoring
Twaweza’s internal monitoring aims at documenting what we do and why, and following up on what works, and what enables learning and informed decision-making.

Monitoring at Twaweza aims at enhancing our understanding of what works under which conditions and at being transparent and accountable. Monitoring is an important part of our learning loops (see Learning and Communication) and closely linked to learning, insight on communication and evaluation. Exploring new ways of working bears the need to document what we do and follow up. Monitoring generates information that allows for learning, how to do things better and make informed decisions about the next initiative. Monitoring is also crucial for informing evaluation and for our communication with partners, public and donors. Both internal monitoring and external evaluation are closely linked to Twaweza’s outcome indicators as formulated in the metrics framework.

Twaweza collects and compiles information as follows:

- **Baseline:** knowledge about the current situation from the baseline survey (undertaken in Tanzania), Uwezo, Uwazi, country programs, partners, national surveys and reports, other sources and instruments;
- **Inputs:** to document Twaweza’s support for partners, intention, theory of change, investment (financial and other support) and other activities (e.g. talks, conferences);
- **Outputs:** our contracts focus on outputs rather than activities, document what has actually been done and achieved in relation to expectations, self-reporting with random checks, triangulation of information from different sources, including quick surveys, scorecards, citizen monitors, outsourced media-monitoring; support for monitoring undertaken by partners;
- **Outcomes:** to find evidence for effects regarding citizen agency and service delivery, including an analysis of the level and quality of public debate, as picked up through immersion, citizen monitoring, media monitoring, video evaluation.

Collecting and Sharing Monitoring Information
We want to make it easy to follow the results chain from Twaweza via partners to changes reflected in media and trace changes backwards, to see links and synergies, or to search by sector, network or goal. We are aiming to develop a web interface that will communicate monitoring information and allow the public, external evaluators, and our partners and donors to input and access data, generate reports, thereby facilitating others to combine different sources, create new knowledge and share lessons.

- Twaweza seeks to develop a web platform that is easy, interesting, visual and continuously updated with all types of information (data, radio, video, pictures, maps, newspaper articles) from Twaweza’s and partners’ monitoring, baseline surveys, citizen and media monitoring, research reports, external evaluations and other sources.
- Transparency is a key principle: publish all is the default mode, with exception only of confidential (private) information.
- The platform will be open for anyone to contribute and use information, with the intention of attracting citizens, researchers, practitioners, journalists, politicians, donors, evaluators and others.
- Tags (source, nature of info, partners, channels, goals, sectors, countries etc.) and free text search make information easily accessible and usable; map interfaces (GIS) allow for discovering relationships between variables.
MONITORING & EVALUATION FRAMEWORK

Monitoring
- Baseline: current situation, education, health, water, citizen agency
- Inputs: Twaweza’s investment, financial, ideas, advice, brokering
- Outputs: partners’ activities, deliverables, goals vs. actual, reach, initial reactions

Evaluation
- Outcomes: medium term effects, media, papers, immersion, research, feedback
- Impact: change in society, education, health, water, citizen agency

Programmes
- Uwezo
- Experiments
- Outcome indicators | metrics framework

Uwazi (infoshop)
The collection of information on current partners and initiatives in a temporary database is about to be completed. The decision on the technical basis for the web platform will be made in the second half of 2011. The web interface is expected to be functional and publicly accessible in 2012.

Partner Monitoring
The monitoring of outputs and outcomes of programs is carried out in cooperation between Program Officers (PO), partners, independent research firms and the Learning Unit. These are the main steps of the monitoring work flow:

- Twaweza’s monitoring system is based on a system of self-reporting by partners, where the Learning Unit provides tools and templates to Program Officers, and assists them to formulate the reporting requirements and outcome indicators for partners in the contracts.
- The Monitoring Assistant compiles and triangulates the information from each partner’s reports and other sources in a database and identifies gaps or areas for further exploration.
- The next step is the formulation of a simple, individual partner monitoring plan, which contains suggestions for follow-up visits, telephone or email surveys or other methods.
- A small team within the Learning unit is developing a monitoring toolbox that contains templates, tools, modules and checklists for different types of partnerships. Criteria for deciding on extra monitoring activities are currently being drafted as part of the Monitoring Strategy.
- Information from research reports, newspaper articles, radio & TV coverage, citizen monitoring per mobile phone and SMS, direct feedback and Twaweza’s immersions is used to build a complex and comprehensive picture of achievements and challenges for each partnership, as well as the larger eco-system.

Twaweza also provides support for partners’ own monitoring and learning, where a need and/or an interest are identified. Two examples are given in the box below.

### Examples of Partner Monitoring

**DalaDala TV**
The contract with Kilimanjaro Productions specifies intended outputs, e.g. 150 broadcasts over a period of 26 weeks. The annual report from the partner contains information on the number of programs produced, which can be verified through provision of the actual programs and broadcasting schedules, checked randomly. Synovate, an independent research firm was commissioned to carry out a viewers’ survey, which confirms the reach and popularity of the TV show: 101 of 115 respondents were aware of “DalaDala”; with 98 of the 101 mentioning that they “like” the program and 49 of 101 respondents could recall one or more exact topics aired. The most popular topics recalled by respondents were transport (20%) and politics (15%). In addition, Twaweza has received a number of direct reactions from viewers. An example from the media monitoring is an article published in the Rai newspaper on 24 June 2010, which links DalaDala TV to the constitutional provision that “every citizen has the right to speak out and be listened to”. In the near future, we will be able to use the Wananchi Survey to find out about e.g. the reach of DalaDala TV outside Dar es Salaam and get information from the village informant network on how the TV programmes influence debate and actions at the local level.

**Example 2: D-Light**
Cooperation with D-Light around the distribution of solar lamps to students explores the use of incentives. D-Light had planned to sell 20,000 lamps at a subsidized price, but Twaweza encouraged them to aim at 100,000 instead. The contract with D-Light specifies that Twaweza will support the extra distribution effort and reward D-Light with USD 1.25 per lamp. D-Light will report back with the names and telephone numbers of the students who received the lamps, so that Twaweza can call them to verify the distribution data, but also to follow up on the actual use and benefits of the lamp. The up to 100,000 contacts will be saved and may be used for monitoring another student related initiative in the future.

**Media monitoring**
Twaweza uses media monitoring for two main purposes: to follow the reporting and public debate on areas of importance to Twaweza and its partners (education, water, health, citizen agency, governance etc.) and to document whenever media mentions Twaweza and its partners. At present
this is undertaken internally by staff, but for future external bodies that can be contracted to do the work are being considered.

The information collected is expected to be made available internally to staff as well as interested external parties through an online database that is easily searchable. The information is expected to be of interest to partners, researchers, journalists, decision-makers, CSOs and donors.

### 5.2 Independent evaluations

Twaweza’s external evaluation aims at rigorously analyzing impact, Twaweza’s contribution to change, and discussing and developing Twaweza’s theory of change, providing feedback throughout.

The evaluation of Twaweza focuses on outcomes and impact - How do we know what we achieved? Why did we/did we not succeed in a certain area? Does Twaweza’s theory of change work? It is built alongside Twaweza’s programs, from the beginning, following processes as they unfold. The evaluation is carried out by independent, external evaluators from top research institutions.

We have chosen a jigsaw approach: the idea of having one team in charge of the entire evaluation was abandoned in favour of committing a number of different research teams, each contributing unique expertise to cover the depth and breadth (sectors) of Twaweza’s work. The evaluation teams use mixed approaches and methods (RCT, econometrics, qualitative, participatory, video).

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**JIGSAW APPROACH TO EVALUATION**

![Diagram showing the jigsaw approach to evaluation with different sectors and methodologies]

**LPT (Lieberman, Posner, Tsai):** Evaluation of Uwezo in Tanzania and Kenya (Jan 2011-Dec 2013)

Uwezo aims to increase the agency and participation of citizens, and to improve the quality of education in East Africa, as measured by school age literacy and numeracy. The principal investigators are Prof. Evan Lieberman, Princeton University; Prof. Dan Posner, MIT; and Prof. Lily Tsai, MIT.

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9 The jigsaw diagram has a typo ‘independent’ – to be corrected
LPT’s research allows for a rigorous assessment of the Twaweza/Uwezo core interventions: literacy/numeracy assessments administered to students in villages and urban locations, as well as various follow-up communication campaigns. The study will provide evidence of the direct impact of the literacy/numeracy assessments and the immediate follow-up information provided by Uwezo on parent attitudes and participation in their child’s education, and the impact on student performance in the short-term; and the effects of different communication campaigns in generating broader social mobilization and feelings of efficacy both in the communities in which Uwezo worked and in adjacent communities via spill over.

The findings will also provide us with a rich combination of qualitative and quantitative data on the processes that may be activated by these campaigns and how these processes may be shaped by pre-existing contextual and institutional factors. The research proposal reflects Twaweza’s interest in a multi-method analysis and an assessment that incorporates a variety of measurement strategies and analyses and has the following main components:

- Tanzania: Analysis of baseline survey data (2011)
- Kenya: Phase 1 (fieldwork started in June 2011)
- Kenya: Phase 2

Main deliverables:

- All compiled datasets collected from all stages of the research with Uwezo/Twaweza
- A scholarly paper on the motivation and findings of the Kenya Phase I research, submitted to a leading peer reviewed disciplinary and/or development journal
- A research report from the analysis of the Tanzanian “baseline survey”
- A research report from the Kenya Phase II research.
- A summary brief that explains the objectives, methods, and conclusions of the research in clear and simple language
- Periodic web-log (blog) entries about findings and field research
- Presentations at two planned research conferences hosted by Uwezo/Twaweza

**AIID (Amsterdam Institute for International Development):** The Amsterdam Institute for International Development (AIID) aims at rigorous evaluation of policy interventions in developing countries. AIID uses a battery of techniques to address impact evaluation questions while at the same time striving at rigorous statistical analysis. Locations (e.g. villages) are used as the unit of observation, while survey questionnaires are applied at the household level.

Principal Investigators are Prof. Jan Willem Gunning and Prof. Chris Elbers. The evaluation has three main components: an econometric analysis based on changes over time; high-frequency (‘real time’) monitoring of Twaweza campaigns at the village level through monthly telephone interviews with 250 village informants over three years; and a package of qualitative methods to support interpretation of the results.

Main deliverables:

- A descriptive report on the baseline survey
- A system of collecting information in the survey villages
- A second baseline survey
- Panel data econometric analysis of the various Twaweza activities, using the baseline, the data collected by the informants and the second survey round data

**ILPI (International Law and Policy Institute, Oslo) is planning a Deep Monitoring Project in Tanzania, and has offered to collaborate with Twaweza on research design, information sharing, and analysis.**
The purpose is to establish an ongoing local level monitoring process to assess the impact of institutional and socio-economic reforms. ILPI proposes to build and maintain a network of long-term monitors/researchers at village and street level in all regions. The project is a combination of ethnography, based on observation and open-ended questions, alongside a more structured study and quantitative analysis.

**Wananchi Survey**, managed by Uwazi at Twaweza and expected to be launched by early 2012, will regularly contribute large amounts of systematic real-time evaluative information through mobile phones. About 10 questions will be asked in each round from a sample of about 1,250 households in each country. Information collected will include both data on situation as well as public opinion. Topics will include health, education, water and citizen agency, and other issues of public concern. The findings will be quickly analysed, shared with media and published online and through short briefs. For more information see Section 4.3 above.

**Citizen monitoring** is supported through Twaweza’s programs, and is carried out on a more ad hoc basis by volunteers and small groups. The sampling scope of these activities tends to be smaller, and process kept simple. Examples of monitoring undertaken in the past include a survey of the functionality of water points and price of water, checking whether funds have reached schools and the availability of medicines. Results are published in simple briefs and shared with media and online.

**Maweni Farm** is working with a participatory video evaluation, visiting three communities in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda over the period of four years, to build an understanding for citizens’ experiences regarding health, water, education and citizen agency at the local level, as well as changes over time and how these are reflected in the public debate.

**Experiments** Twaweza plans to conduct controlled experiments to test possible solutions for enhancing the quality of education in East Africa. These will serve as evaluation components, as well as inform Twaweza’s programmes. Initial discussions have been held with researchers from the international evaluation community (including J-PAL, IPA and others). Between 2011 and mid-2014 the following experiments are planned: capitation grants to schools in Tanzania; local cash on delivery for teachers, whose students perform well according to independent tests in Tanzania; and cash on delivery in Uganda. For more information on experiments, see Section 4.2 above.

Other puzzle pieces and research partners will be identified in the second half of 2011. The aim is to generate a composite evaluation, where the three countries and four sectors are covered by different approaches and methods. At present there are still gaps in Kenya and Uganda (where programs are now emerging), as well as in health and water. We are looking for specialists in rigorous impact evaluation and randomized control trials (RCTs) for experiments on education, and for researchers with extensive experience with qualitative and participatory methods for exploring mechanisms of citizen agency. Potential groups with whom contact has been made include J-PAL, IDS Sussex, University of Stellenbosch, Ideas42, CEGA, UWE, and 3ie. Further components for the evaluation will be conceived in 2012. These will be built around the emerging network of Twaweza partnerships and initiatives across East Africa, as well as linked to the development of global knowledge.

5.3 **Staff and partner learning**

Twaweza’s effectiveness is increased through continuous organizational learning, making use of external research, and discussing and sharing ideas and experiences amongst Twaweza staff, its partners and partnerships. Twaweza’s aim is to contribute to global knowledge and debate by offering its own lessons on:
the relationship between information and citizen agency;
the relationship between citizen monitoring, accountability and the quality of services;
new channels and methods to increase flows of information between citizens, service providers and decision makers;
the partnership approach, interventions of scale and the eco-system of change.

Twaweza’s learning activities are aimed at its own staff, as well as partners, interns, researchers, donors, citizens in East Africa and the wider research community:

- Staff learning sessions introduce new topics, ongoing research and ideas for partnerships;
- The monthly reading club invites staff, partners, interns and interested citizens to discuss an article or a chapter on development issues related to Twaweza’s work;
- The internship program brings in young people from East Africa and all over the world to exchange ideas and gain experience in innovative development work;
- Partners are supported to develop their own learning culture;
- Twaweza is establishing both a physical and an online library with related books, articles, summaries and links to be shared with partners and the wider network;
- Twaweza is connecting to debates and developments in the rest of the world through participation in conferences, networks and social media.

5.4 Communications
We strive to communicate our work at the partnership level imaginatively and to develop Twaweza with a dynamic identity and presence across East Africa and globally.

- Twaweza ‘brand’ is communicated and quality assurance undertaken to ensure it is effectively employed across Twaweza’s work.
- Quality standards and assurance processes are developed and implemented to ensure all communication reflects a high level of quality, professionalism and elegance.
- Publications (popular stories, cartoons, leaflets, presentations, op-eds, articles and annual reports) are developed and produced drawing on the work of and in collaboration with Twaweza units and partners.
- The website is redesigned and updated regularly to offer lots of fresh information and give a comprehensive picture of our partners, activities and results, as well as media coverage and links to other studies and related sites.
- Social media are used increasingly to stimulate debate and positive social change.
- Publication distribution strategy and plan in physical and electronic formats is developed, implemented and monitored, and feedback analysed and used to improve effectiveness.
- A well-organized archive of Twaweza communication materials is developed and well organized, as are photo and image banks for use in communications.
6. Governance and Staffing

6.1 Values and principles
Twaweza seeks to reflect and practice sound principles of effective and transparent governance. The five key values that guide our staff and organizational culture are:

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

- **Reflection and Learning:** We actively seek to avoid doing something just because we are used to doing it, and of becoming too busy that we no longer reflect on what we are doing. Among ourselves and our partners continue to develop an explicit culture and practice of stepping back and drawing out lessons and insights, communicating these, and using them to challenge and modify our practice.

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

- **Transparency and Communication:** Except for a small range of information that needs to remain personal and confidential, we are transparent throughout our entire work, including information on the partnerships we support. Lessons are documented in formats that can be easily shared and accessed. Most materials are available freely to the public through our website.
• **Ethical Integrity**: We are stewards of resources meant for public good that we need to use with great care and responsibility. It is Twaweza’s culture to avoid actual, potential or perceived conflicts of interest; to insist on value-for-money, and high disclosure and transparency requirements. There is absolutely no tolerance for corruption or use of entrusted position or power for illegal private benefit.

Twaweza policies, systems and procedures reflect these values and draw from the strong foundations in place at key East African institutions and Hivos.

### 6.2 Governance and Advisory Boards

**Governance Board**

While Twaweza maintains its own mission, public identity and strategic approach, it is legally housed within Hivos, a respected Dutch development organization with over 30 years of effective program experience in East Africa. The Hivos Board constitutes the Governance Board of Twaweza, which exercises oversight and has overall legal responsibility, and approves major organizational policies. The Governance Board reviews and approves the overall multi-year strategy, annual plans, budgets and reports, appoints external auditors and bankers, and ensures statutory compliance. It also provides guidance of program and operational aspects, including issues related to management of program investments, monitoring and evaluation, and financial, administrative and IT systems. The Head of Twaweza reports to the Hivos director of programs and projects.

Hivos agreed to play this role to provide Twaweza with the critical organizational and programmatic foundations it needed during its start-up phase. As planned from the outset, Hivos will also support Twaweza to transition towards becoming an independent legal entity, after having met an agreed set of legal and operational benchmarks critical for organizational sustainability. As of 1 January 2014, Twaweza is expected to become an independent entity incorporated as a company limited by guarantee and not having a shareholding capital (i.e. non-profit company). The entity will be incorporated in Tanzania and obtain legal ‘certificates of compliance’ to operate in the other East African countries. This formation provides the highest form of independence and reduces the scope for undue interference from other entities. Legal measures will also be taken to protect the Twaweza brand name.

The new entity will reflect a strong East African presence in its governance structure, as well enable continuity. Its membership and initial Governing Board is expected to comprise of six members with high integrity and repute: the founder of Twaweza (Tanzanian), current Advisory Board Chairman (Tanzanian), a Kenyan citizen (to be determined), a Ugandan citizen (to be determined), a director of Hivos Netherlands, and one other international citizen (non-East African) of international repute.

In this new conception, the Twaweza Head will be accountable to the Governing Board of Twaweza. The Governing Board will normally meet at least twice a year, and more often as needed. The Board may, at its discretion, invite independent experts or resource persons to attend its meetings.

**Advisory Board**

Twaweza’s Advisory Board plays a critical review and advisory role, focussed on strategic, programmatic, evaluation, learning and communication aspects, and on the overall conceptual and intellectual development of the initiative. Advisory Board members are appointed by the Governance Board in consultation with the Twaweza management. It consists of between 7 and 15 members with a mix of East African and international experts. All members serve in their personal capacity, except the Head of Twaweza who serves as an ex-officio member. The Advisory Board usually meets twice a year, of which one meeting is usually by conference call.
While donors have been part of the Advisory Board, they will cease to do so after the September 2011 meeting so as to avoid potential undue influence and conflict of interest, and to safeguard Twaweza’s identity and reputation as an independent East African initiative. Instead, donors shall have the opportunity to formally review progress and engage with Twaweza through twice a year joint donor meetings and other regular communication.

6.3 Key management positions
The Twaweza management team consists of the following positions and roles:

- **Head:** He/she has overall responsibility for developing overall strategic direction and ensuring the effectiveness, and for cultivating standards and practice of innovation, quality, performance and integrity throughout Twaweza. He/she serves as the main spokesperson for Twaweza, represents the initiative to the outside world and cultivates relationships with key actors. The Head leads the management team, signs off on all major decisions, and supports managers to deliver on delegated responsibilities. The Head is accountable to the Governing and Advisory Boards.

- **Management Coordinator:** His/her prime responsibility will be to provide operational and management across Twaweza Programs, through fostering greater synergies, coordination and learning across the three countries. The Management Coordinator will support the effective and efficient management of Twaweza work plans, budgets and reporting and will help improve and use Twaweza’s management systems. Together with the Head he/she will develop an overall strategic approach and manage partnership portfolio to realize Twaweza goals.

- **Program Managers:** Each Country Program is led by a Program Manager who is responsible for the development and effective implementation of the Twaweza program in each country, including analysing trends and possibilities, identifying partnerships and representing Twaweza. Similarly the Uwazi Manager is responsible for the development and implementation of the Uwazi program. This includes supervising and supporting Uwazi staff based in Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda. A Manager may also be appointed for the newly created experimental interventions.

- **Learning and Communications Manager:** He/she is responsible for the overall learning, communications, monitoring and evaluation elements of Twaweza. This includes establishment of robust internal monitoring system and managing a portfolio of rigorous independent evaluations. He/she is responsible for supporting staff and partners to develop a culture and practice of learning, documentation of lessons learned and using these to strengthen strategic effectiveness. Working closely with the Head, he/she also develops standards and coordinates overall communications at Twaweza, including websites and publications.

- **Operations Manager:** This newly established position manages the overall operations/office administration, including supervising Administration and Finance, IT, and maintains grant-making status oversight for all offices in East Africa, at the highest quality standards. The Operations Manager ensures understanding of and compliance of Twaweza policies across the whole organization.

Separation of these roles is deliberate. Freeing up the Head from the day to day executive and operational functions enables him to focus on the strategic and relationship building aspects, to read widely and reflect on and communicate Twaweza effectiveness. Having a separate senior full time Learning and Communications Manager ensures that the learning components a) have a sufficiently high priority and profile in Twaweza and b) are not undermined or constrained by operational challenges. Twaweza is at present going through a further process of delegating responsibilities and
authority to managers so as to free the Head to concentrate on more strategic, public engagement and external relations issues.

6.4 Planning and reporting
Twaweza compiles one common set of plans, budgets and reports for its internal use and for reporting to its Boards and donors. The purpose is to provide a comprehensive picture to of the initiative, and to reduce the reporting time so that Twaweza staff can focus energies on the achieving results. Twaweza produces an annual plan with corresponding budget each year at the start of the program year, which is shared with all boards and donors. The annual plan and budget elaborate on the indicative directions in this proposal, and specify in more detail the activities to be undertaken and how funds will be spent. Requests for adjustments to program and budgets (e.g. due to under expenditure in previous years, or a change in approach in response to lessons learned) are also submitted at this time.

At the completion of the year, against that annual plan, two common sets of reports are produced – a comprehensive narrative and audited financial report annually (around April) and brief mid-year progress reports (around late August). These common reports that provide comprehensive information are provided to all donors.

- The **mid-year reports** are brief, of about 10 pages in length, and cover the January to June period. They highlight key achievements, setbacks and insights, provide a succinct account in point form of progress against plan, as well as an (unaudited) budget vs. expenditure report for the same period.

- The **annual reports** are detailed, and seek to meet all reasonable general donor requirements. The narrative report provides a comprehensive account of progress made in relation the program proposal and annual workplan. It is analytical and reflective, and provides a substantive discussion on the effectiveness of Twaweza 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.

The annual 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.

The reports and other major issues are discussed with Twaweza boards and donors at their twice yearly meetings. To the maximum extent possible exchanges regarding reporting are handled in these meetings rather than bilaterally so as 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.
# 7. Budget

**Twaweza Budget 2011 - 2014 (USD)**

*last revised 24 August 2011*

<table>
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<th>Description</th>
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<td>Budget</td>
<td>Budget</td>
<td>Budget</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experimental interventions</td>
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<td>1,500,000</td>
<td>1,800,000</td>
<td>4,500,000</td>
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<td>Uwazi analysis</td>
<td>1,161,950</td>
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<td>7,361,950</td>
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<td><strong>Subtotal</strong></td>
<td>8,671,700</td>
<td>13,300,000</td>
<td>16,100,000</td>
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<td>56,371,700</td>
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<td><strong>Learning</strong></td>
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<td>Learning &amp; Communication</td>
<td>254,150</td>
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<td>Monitoring &amp; Evaluation</td>
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<td>1,200,000</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
<td>4,200,000</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Subtotal</strong></td>
<td>1,054,150</td>
<td>1,600,000</td>
<td>1,700,000</td>
<td>1,500,000</td>
<td>5,854,150</td>
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<td>9,725,850</td>
<td>14,900,000</td>
<td>17,800,000</td>
<td>19,800,000</td>
<td>62,225,850</td>
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<tr>
<td>Salaries</td>
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<td>1,100,000</td>
<td>1,232,000</td>
<td>1,379,840</td>
<td>4,674,340</td>
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<td>Benefits incl. Pension/Health</td>
<td>250,000</td>
<td>385,000</td>
<td>431,200</td>
<td>482,944</td>
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<td>Staff development</td>
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<td>50,000</td>
<td>40,000</td>
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<td><strong>Subtotal</strong></td>
<td>1,235,500</td>
<td>1,535,000</td>
<td>1,713,200</td>
<td>1,902,784</td>
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<td><strong>Operations</strong></td>
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<td>Office rent and office running costs</td>
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<td>344,793</td>
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<td>Consultants/temp assistance/Misc</td>
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<td>40,000</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Subtotal</strong></td>
<td>696,000</td>
<td>804,550</td>
<td>853,073</td>
<td>715,108</td>
<td>3,068,731</td>
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<td><strong>Total Staff/Operational Costs</strong></td>
<td>1,321,850</td>
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<td>2,617,892</td>
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<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>11,657,350</td>
<td>17,239,550</td>
<td>20,366,273</td>
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<td><strong>GRAND TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>11,757,350</td>
<td>17,389,550</td>
<td>20,516,273</td>
<td>22,567,892</td>
<td>72,231,065</td>
<td>100%</td>
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Main budget components  
2011 – 2014

**Budget and investment trends (USD)**  
2011 – 2014
## Summary of key changes

### What’s different in this document

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Description</th>
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| **Situation analysis** | • East Africa is experiencing an unprecedented political and economic flux and crisis of confidence in the State, which creates potential for instability and repression, but also creates the conditions for greater citizen engagement.  
• The importance of mobile telephony is perhaps even greater than originally envisaged.  
• Popular culture is emerging as a potential powerful sixth network that reaches millions, particularly young people  
• Uwezo data demonstrate children are not learning; governments coming to accept that services not working well. |
| **Theory of Change** | • Sharper understanding of which types of information stimulate citizen involvement and change.  
• Clearer, tighter articulation of theory of change, sharper change pathway diagram.  
• Greater coherence and linkages between Programs, Uwazi, Experimental interventions and Learning.  
• Goals and outcomes and result frame covering all aspects of Twaweza clearly articulated (Section 3). |
| **Program Components** | • Program description shorter with clearer organization. Detailed articulation of program approach left out for sake of brevity. Dropped distinction between partnerships and initiatives because in practice they overlap. Risk analysis added at the end of this section.  
• Box containing examples of six partners added to illustrate what partnerships look like and how they are structured.  
• Greater emphasis on payments or progress contracts rather than ‘grant-making’.  
• Uwazi concept revised from a one-stop information warehouse to a more focused, active unit that responds to analytical data and needs of Twaweza, partners and key actors, with 3 clear components of work. Uwazi theory of change diagram presented for first time.  
• Experimental interventions introduced as a new/third component of Twaweza’s work, with a particular emphasis on testing efficacy of Cash on Delivery approaches.  
• One more year added to program, now ends 2014 instead of 2013, to make up for overly optimistic expectation of what could have been achieved in first two years. |
| **Learning, Monitoring & Evaluation** | • Indicators articulated in sharper terms than before; a few new indicators introduced that measure citizen agency in public service delivery, Immunization indicator in health dropped.  
• Outcome targets revised to be sharper, more realistic.  
• The idea of one evaluation entity to undertake entire evaluation, largely based on a before and after survey significantly revised and replaced by a more complex concept of a jigsaw of different independent evaluations.  
• The budget for independent evaluations significantly increased, recognizing that quality evaluations are not cheap; cost justifiable because good evaluation can help influence investments worth billions of dollars.  
• The mentors program dropped because in practice difficult to organize, mentors will be used as needed.  
• Overall a more coherent articulation of the different aspects of learning, monitoring and evaluation and tighter link between them. |
| **Governance & Staffing** | • What was originally referred to as the Supervisory Board changed into two bodies with clear mandates: a Governance Board responsible for legal, implementation and fiscal oversight, and an Advisory Board that is engaged on substantive strategic and evaluation matters.  
• Donors transition out of the Advisory Board after September 2011 to avoid potential undue influence and conflict of interest; instead replaced by 2x year joint donor/Twaweza meetings.  
• Transition of Twaweza becoming an entity independent from Hivos agreed and articulated, with clear benchmarks of what needs to be achieved in the interim period, as well as legal measures to protect Twaweza brand name.  
• Change in staffing numbers and organization (see organogram), including increase in program staff in each country from 2 to 4 to enable better partnership development, and creation of two senior management positions to manage operational aspects and free up Head to concentrate on more strategic issues. Also involves delegation of responsibility/authority from Head to managers.  
• Workflows in organization being mapped out to create greater clarity and efficiency, computerized platform (ERP) to enable this being explored. |
| **Budget** | • Covers period 2011 – 2014 to reflect additional year, but with lower/more gradual increase trend over the years than originally envisaged, partly reflecting that spends based on delivery are less than input based investing.  
• New budget line to cover experimental interventions, formative research line included in core programs.  
• Higher budget for monitoring and evaluation to reflect greater ambitions and change in evaluation approach. |
| **Annexes** | • Annexes and detailed sections that were in the original strategy document omitted here, interested parties should refer to the original strategy for background (can be downloaded from www.twaweza.org). |