

ANNUAL REPORT 2021



Introduction

Writing in an April 2022 edition of The Economist newspaper, Andriy Zelinskyy, Chief Military Chaplain for the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, observes that, *“an authoritarian culture doesn’t tolerate an autonomous individual. Our personal freedom and dignity add a moral dimension to our actions and make us morally responsible.”*

Timothy Snyders’ book *“On Tyranny: Twenty Lessons from the Twentieth Century”*, published five years go, opens with two chapters that resonate deeply with Twaweza’s *raison d’etre*. The first warns us **‘not to obey in advance’**, arguing that by anticipating what repressive governments will want in advance citizens freely offer power over to authoritarians without being asked. The second chapter counsels us to **‘defend institutions’**, particularly those that help us to preserve decency. They cannot protect themselves when under attack if we don’t take their side. The penultimate chapter in the book urges us to **‘be patriots’**. Not the jingoistic nationalistic kind, but citizens who want our countries to live up to their ideals ‘which means asking us to be our better selves.’

I am inspired by these two contemporary writers words because they articulate with such succinct, sobering clarity the fundamental motivation for Twaweza’s work in Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and on the global stage. Fr Zelinskyy’s freedom, dignity and moral responsibility are the glue that binds the disparate elements of our activities into a coherent whole. The fuel that propels our trio of missions is one part existential imperative to challenge authoritarianism, and one part moral obligation to defend individual freedoms and to nurture human dignity. Snyder spells out some of the actions that must be carried out in order to push back against a tide of tyranny and advance freedom - the principled disobedience and progressive patriotism that defends those institutions vital for the preservation of human dignity.

These abstract-sounding ideas are at the core of what Twaweza has been doing in 2021 and the thread that you will find in reading this Annual Report 2021.

At the most basic level of protecting human dignity, we report on the close of our active engagement to end sexual assault against women in Kigoma, western Tanzania. As of this writing, there have been no reported assaults for more than nine months - the longest period since Twaweza started working on it in 2019.

We report on the early successes from our animation work in several villages in Pangani district in Tanzania, as well as Kamuli, Kole and Namutumba districts in Uganda. Animators and citizens committees have reconciled citizens with village leadership, resolved perennial conflicts between pastoralists and farmers, improved the safety of water sources, repaired roads, brought vaccination services closer to citizens, shut down a brothel and regulated the sale of traditional alcohol to protect children. These early successes have energized both animators and communities as they exercise their citizenship and taste the fruit of their own collective power.

We report on the important insights about citizens’ knowledge, attitudes, practices and experiences with Covid-19 in Kenya and Uganda gleaned from our Sauti za Wananchi platform. These insights helped shape official communications about the pandemic. In Kenya, we were invited to join two Covid-19 task force committees and to provide a template County Vaccine Communications Plan to be rolled out in counties with the lowest vaccine uptake so far. In Uganda, we produced comedy

skits with Covid-19 messaging and, building off the success of the YambalaMask song and video which reached 43% of Ugandans, we produced a song - Gemwa - promoting vaccination.

We report on our work in Tanzania to strengthen civic space through support to diverse civil society organizations. In 2021, we worked with a broad coalition of youth organisations coordinated by Tanzania Bora Initiative; political parties through the Tanzania Centre for Democracy (a forum of all political parties in the country); and with Equality for Growth who are building movement of market women traders. We also supported several media organizations in Tanzania including the Tanzania Editors Forum, and a feisty new online media startup called TheChanzo (aka The Source). Thus did we contribute to defending those basic institutions of the freedoms of expression, of association and a return to the freedom of assembly for all political parties in Tanzania in 2022.

Finally, we are happy to report that we have continue to maintain the very highest standards of financial probity as demonstrated by another excellent set of unqualified audited financial statements for 2021.

Overview of the Annual Report 2021

Our current strategy is motivated by two connected problems:

1. Limited citizen agency: that is, citizens are unable to influence the forces that shape their lives such as development decisions at the local and national level, and
2. Deteriorating basic conditions for meaningful citizen participation including the freedoms of expression, association and assembly.

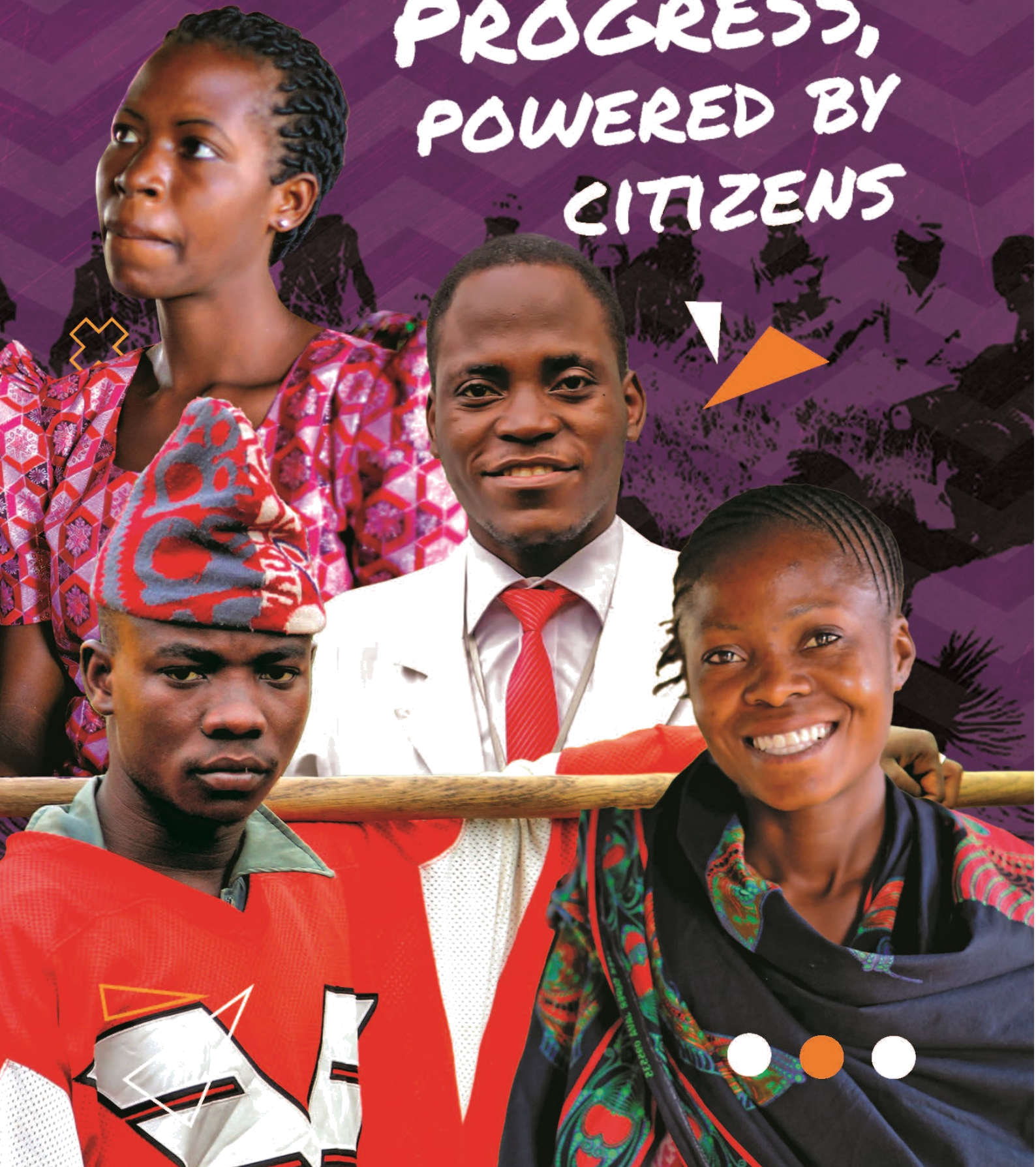
To contribute in addressing these problems, we articulate three strategic goals and about 22 specific outcomes categorized into actor-level outcomes and wider societal outcomes. To realize these outcomes, a three-part mission statement of purpose guides us:

1. **Mission 01:** Demonstrating citizen agency in addressing systemic problems at the local level. Through the animation approach, we aim to improve citizens' ability, motivation and opportunity to exercise their agency.
2. **Mission 02:** Amplifying citizens' voices and ensuring that they are taken seriously in decision making. Through representative polling, interactive media content and directly amplifying the voices of specific groups, we aim to ensure local and national governance is more inclusive.
3. **Mission 03:** Promoting and protecting open civic space. We combine soft and hard persuasion to contribute to an enabling policy and legislative environment for meaningful citizen-state interactions.

As we did in 2020, we present our Annual Report 2021 in two parts:

- Part One tells some selected stories from our major initiatives in 2021. We organize these stories under the three mission areas stated above. The three mission areas are intentionally connected and mutually reinforcing. We close Part One by presenting what we achieved under our cross-cutting units Learning & Strategy and Governance & Management.
- Part Two summarizes our progress towards our strategy outcomes, divided into actor level and societal wider outcomes. Reporting according to outcomes enables us to assess the contribution of our major initiatives towards our strategy outcomes. We also summarize important lessons learned. These lessons enable us to assess the validity of our theory of change and inform the adjustments we must make in pursuit of our strategic goals.

PROGRESS, POWERED BY CITIZENS



Part 1: Our stories

ANNUAL REPORT 2021

PART ONE - STORIES

Mission 01: To demonstrate how citizens can come together to collectively address their problems and make government work for them

In 2021, we focused on implementation of our participation work in communities in three districts in Tanzania and three in Uganda given delays caused by Covid-19. Below we present the experience from Pangani District while In part two of this report we provide detail on implementation progress in Kamuli, Kole and Namutumba in Uganda, and Maswa, Mbogwe and Pangani in Tanzania.

Catalyzing community agency and action by combining animation and the arts

The animation approach in Pangani combines production of community films, public screenings and sustained follow up with citizens and leaders inspired by the 'traditional' animation approach. We were driven to adopt this new model by insights from our scoping study in Pangani which indicated that Pangani residents are much more compelled to participate in community engagements with performances.

We partnered with Pangani Coast Paralegals Association (PACOPA) and experts in theatre for development from the University of Dar es salaam to design and implement the approach. The process involves organising participatory action research to unearth priority concerns in the village, selection and training of villagers as actors and actresses in producing between three and five short films per community (3-5 minutes each focusing on a particular issue), organising at least five public screenings per village, identifying and creating citizens' independent committees for follow up, and developing action plans to address the priority issues. We piloted this approach in three villages - Mkwaja, Msaraza and Mwera - in Pangani District. We conducted a total of 16 screenings that were attended by 2,442 residents (1,163 men and 1,279 women) and 315 of them spoke during the screenings.

During the year since the introduction of this approach in Pangani, we have observed some important changes that if sustained will result in improved citizen-government relations for better services and livelihoods.

Raising expectations

Citizen committees have been able to raise a number of the issues identified through the participatory research to local leaders, who were responsive. In Mkwaja, village leaders constructed eight wells directly to demonstrate how to build wells that keep water cleaner and safer. Leaders also allocated funds to improve a further ten wells. In Msaraza, there were concerns about the behaviour of young people. Local authorities conducted outreach campaigns and enacted by-laws with enforcement and accountability mechanisms to prevent children and young people from attending night time events in the community. After many years of holding low expectations about responsiveness from local authorities, these early and significant victories may help citizens to have different expectations of their leaders. This could inspire more active demands from citizens to address local issues and may encourage them to demand accountability for the issues they raise.

Tasting their own power as citizens

In Msaraza, change agents supported the pastoral communities and farmers to resolve seemingly intractable conflicts over land and water. In the past, these long-standing tensions between farmers

and pastoralists erupted into violent conflicts claiming lives, destroying property and disrupting safety and security in the village. The citizens' committee succeeded in convening the two groups to resolve the conflicts, much to the surprise of district authorities. These examples of significant successes, hard-won by citizens own efforts and perseverance demonstrate to citizens their own power to solve problems.

(Re)Claiming spaces

The community in Mwera successfully influenced their village leaders to include members from the citizen committee into the water committee since they are well-placed to represent community interests. Similarly the damaged relationships between village leaders and citizens have improved through dialogue and engagement, resulting in better attendance at village meetings. As more citizens realise these spaces can be sites for problem-solving, engagement and accountability, they will be more likely to participate regularly in governance activities. As a result it will become harder for authorities to monopolize them, and it will become easier for citizens to claim them back for their own priorities and concerns.

Our early observations point to three key elements in the design and implementation of this intervention in Pangani that explain these successes:

1. *Engage everyone:* Pangani residents prefer public engagement initiatives that include entertainment such as film, music and live performances. This use of community films attracted all community members: men and women, young and old. The films helped to amplify all issues raised by different community members regardless of age, gender or poverty status. Many residents attended the screenings and engaged in the discussion because they wanted to see their fellow villagers on the screen. They felt connected to the process and outcomes of the initiative. The high levels of engagement in the screenings by women is noteworthy as is the volume of contributions from citizens during the post-screening dialogues.
2. *Get to the root of the matter:* The team organised participatory action research to understand the village situations and collectively prioritize the issues to cover in the films. The process involved a series of questions to encourage consideration of the root causes to the problem, paying particular attention to the roles of both citizens and their local governments in causing and solving the problems. This participatory approach enabled the community to discuss and prioritise issues that usually do not receive sufficient attention from local authorities. Such issues include excessive drinking, illegal brothels in the community and sexual violence against boys and girls. The approach also prompts reflection on both sides about how they have contributed to the status quo, rather than pointing fingers or apportioning blame.
3. *Surface hidden truths:* Initially local leaders were reluctant to engage with the process feeling that the initiative aimed at exposing their failures and shaming them. Similarly, citizens resisted collaborating with leaders whom they considered illegitimate following questionable local and general elections in 2019 and 2020. But the independent citizens' committee surfaced these issues which helped to address the breakdown in trust. Citizens and leaders now acknowledge that the other side has good intentions for the community.

These successful pilots are informing our plans to introduce the combination of community film and traditional animation in seven more villages in 2022. To make the intervention more cost-effective, we will produce a few short films with actors from several villages and screen the same films in the targeted villages instead of producing several short films per village. Our research and consultation

with Pangani residents and leaders indicate that the films will be as impactful as the previous ones given the similarities between villages. We will also explore the possibility of bringing some of the benefits of the film production and screening into other animation districts, as we similarly investigate how we can ensure that Pangani, with a slightly altered implementation model, can achieve the same successes as we have seen previously in Kigoma and Mbogwe.

Mission 02: To enable citizens' voices, interests and experiences to be heard and taken seriously in decision making

We successfully applied our Sauti za Wananchi (Voice of the Citizens) initiative to amplify citizens' views and concerns to decision makers in Uganda and Kenya with a continued focus on Covid-19. We also supported evidence-based communications and messaging on vaccination. In Uganda, we continued to engage the media intensively and we designed a new strand of work on access to information emanating from our data and subsequent engagements.

Voices in public messaging: promoting Covid-19 vaccination in Kenya and Uganda

Spotlight on Kenya:

Kenya's, research and data space is crowded and we initially struggled to gain as much traction as we would hope with *Sauti za Wananchi*. However, the specially constituted panel that we set up in 2020 specifically to answer data needs around Kenyans' knowledge, attitudes and practices around Covid-19, has proved to be in high demand.

We adopted a multi-pronged approach to engage government on Kenyans' voices. We used launch events to leverage ongoing engagement and collaboration with key civil society organisations including Transparency International, the National Taxpayers Association and Queen Esther Community Based Organization.

We held two national launch events with government participation, producing a total of five briefs, ten 'vox pops' and data videos, and two press releases. We also conducted specialized media engagement including interviews, meetings and briefings with media outside of event periods. As in Tanzania and Uganda, we continue to find the public dissemination component of our data communication generates pressure on government to respond or engage.

We received a total of 45 pieces of coverage including featuring on the cover page and in spreads, as well as in infographics. On social media, we were in the top five trending topics for Kenya twice, and followers rose.

The Ministry of Health is open to embracing citizen input through *Sauti za Wananchi*. They participated in the launch event, issued a letter of endorsement for the research, agreed to co-publish outputs including a paper, and requested further presentations to high level ministry officials. We were invited to join two Covid-19 task force committees (Advocacy and Communication, Community Engagement and Monitoring and Evaluation work streams), and to provide a template County Vaccine Communications Plan to be rolled out in counties with the lowest vaccine uptake so far. Moreover, we conducted joint vaccine promotion on social media with the ministry.

Despite the availability of multiple sources of data in Kenya, *Sauti za Wananchi* does offers unique insights. We have started influencing the Ministry of Health, alongside some other government

institutions. Although we are aware of our more limited sphere of influence, we are seeing opportunities for and instances of citizens' voices helping to shape decision-making. We will take our flexibility, the versatility of our platform and our perseverance into 2022 where we hope to influence voting knowledge and perceptions in partnership with the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission.

Spotlight on Uganda:

In Uganda, *Sauti za Wananchi* is well established and influential among different government ministries who appreciate the platform's utility as a tool for monitoring policy and practice. We were able to translate the relationship we built with the Ministry of Health in 2020 into a series of exciting collaborative engagements around Covid-19 in 2021, translating our data into messages and action.

The central initiatives to our program engagement were: collaborative press conferences, an interview format television show and creative vaccine promotion through comedy and music.

Firstly, we held a series of multi-platform engagements with traditional and digital media. We used *Sauti za Wananchi* data to identify priority areas, worked to identify practical experts as panelists and drafted questions based on inputs from citizens and with a focus on looking at solutions. Underlying these dialogues was a focus on the importance of the vaccine. We ran seven weekly press conferences consecutively with hundreds of participants and conversations extending well beyond the allocated two hours.

We engaged with citizens' practical questions, shared relevant and accessible information to citizens and supported citizens with ways to cope with Covid-19. These engagements have been successful with high participation and engagement from citizens and media and a constructive dialogue that helps people to navigate the difficult context created by the pandemic. Our success was built on the following principles that underlie our engagements:

- The Ministry of Health took the lead in moderating, selecting and engaging panelists and responding to questions.
- Twaweza provided representative citizens' perspectives to frame the conversations and issues.
- The ministry and Twaweza worked together to identify panelists who provided solutions and practical answers. We worked with technical experts not politicians to keep the conversation on topic.
- We also worked together to draft questions that speak to the same aims.
- We did not allow for the conversation to degenerate into attacks and recriminations.

We also conceptualized and supported the Citizens' Voices television show. With series opening and closing featuring the Minister for Health, we discussed the implications of Covid-19 on Ugandans in all facets of their lives. Again, the focus was on coping with Covid-19, answering citizens' real questions and providing them with relevant solutions to the challenges of the pandemic. This responded directly to citizens' deep concerns around the economic, social and political consequences of Covid-19 as demonstrated in *Sauti za Wananchi* data.

Furthermore, we worked closely with the Ministry to promote protective measures and vaccination. We convened two sub-national launches for the data from our points of entry Covid-19 panel to share data at district level and to health officials from neighbouring districts. We also produced comedy skits with Covid-19 messaging and, building off the success of #YambalaMask which reached 43% of Ugandans, we produced a song promoting vaccination. These outputs were all derived from

our data in particular responding to citizens' calls for vaccine promotion to focus on the benefits of vaccination.

Most powerfully, the ministry has continued to run media engagements along the lines of those we curated together and NTV will continue with the Citizens' Voices show and have requested modest support for an annual production (what we previously paid for six shows).

We are confident that we have influenced the Ministry of Health in a significant way around their uptake of citizens' voices in Covid-19 response policy; they even supported us by participating in a promotional video to pitch these ideas to their Kenyan counterparts.

We successfully adapted our program and leveraged our expertise and skills to engage with the pandemic while staying true to our own objectives. The repurposing of *Sauti za Wananchi* in particular was effective and provided invaluable input for government. The data allowed us to design evidence-driven public messaging which we then disseminated by leveraging existing partnerships and creative capacity.

Mission 03: To promote and protect open civic space which enables citizens to freely assemble or organize, speak and act

In 2021 we continued to focus our attention on generating partnerships with wider civil society to support the sector overall and as a balancing force to government.

- *Strategic partnerships with traditional and online media*
- *Strategic partnerships with key civil society organisations*
- *Enhancing the NGO sector in Tanzania*

Strengthening the Fourth Estate: influencing narratives through strategic support to media

Since 2018 we have focused our energy into strengthening the civil society sector to act as a genuine countervailing force to the challenging context under the fifth phase administration. In 2020, we articulated new outcomes for our engagement in the sector to align with this new strategic focus and in 2021, we articulated a new partnerships policy which enables us to walk hand in hand with a few select civil society organisations whose work resonates with our own. This approach was built on our long-term experience with JamiiForums. What started as an instrumental partnership to distribute our content online has evolved into a deeply synergistic partnership as we recognise the JamiiForums platform as mission critical to our strategy.

We also initiated two brand new media partnerships. The first with the Tanzania Editors' Forum (TEF) began slowly and tentatively. While we had mixed feedback about their work and were aware of their credibility and legitimacy challenges, we were also aware of their powerful potential as a collective of Tanzania's editors. We convened four joint sessions with TEF to examine key national issues from a media perspective. The convenings have been engaging and featured vibrant discussions on diverse issues including media as the Fourth Estate, the right to bail in Tanzania, laws impacting the media, and access to information. We held a strategic retreat and helped draft a new strategic plan for them through a participatory process that also included some leadership development aspects.

The second strategic media partnership involved a program of support for TheChanzo Initiative. This is a brand new digital media platform with an exciting approach to content and analysis. We conducted an extensive assessment of their work both operationally and programmatically and then

agreed with them to support the development of a simplified set of financial regulations and an accountant post, the development of a risk register, fundraising guidance, some equipment and recruitment of four correspondents based in different regions around the country. Our support is ongoing and a full assessment of the effects and emerging impact of this partnership to their development will be conducted in 2022.

Although these partnerships are in the early stages of development, what we are excited about sharing is this approach to influencing media. As the space for dissenting opinion and alternative voices narrowed in Tanzania, we were able to design and develop new ways to ensure that we could continue to impact public debate and narratives. This approach lowers risk for Twaweza as it reduces direct coverage of our work and likewise means our partners take on less of that brand association risk. Nonetheless, it enables us to continue to influence the values and narratives that are communicated by major media outlets both online and offline.

Stronger together: nurturing civil society organisations in Tanzania

As part of our reflections around our capacity and space to influence Tanzanian democracy and governance under the previous administration, we came to realise that some of Twaweza's strengths also put us at risk. Our ability to turn research into insight, or to respond to sudden shifts in context or government action, or to mobilise international voices, makes us a target of intense official scrutiny.

To mitigate the risk of being isolated, and to strengthen the civil society ecosystem, we have invested in strengthening a selection of more aligned organisations. We selected organisations from across the spectrum of civil society, whose work resonates with ours and who bring complementary skills and capacities. We worked with a broad coalition of youth organisations coordinated by Tanzania Bora Initiative; political parties through the Tanzania Centre for Democracy (a forum of all political parties in the country); and with Equality for Growth who have an exciting and seemingly successful model for movement building, mobilising and conscientisation among market women traders.

We were introduced to the youth coalition and Equality for Growth (EfG) through activities in 2020 around the elections. Our experience with both of these groups was positive and we quickly recognised the great potential of their work. In the case of the youth coalition, they came together to develop a youth manifesto for the elections but wanted to make sure that their work did not end there. So they decided to design a five-year program built around their manifesto. We supported them to design the program with an inclusive and participatory methodology. As we enter 2022, they will host a launch for the program and are already in promising conversations with funders to ensure that their great plans are implemented. While it is too early to see the fruits of this labour, our engagement has shown us that supporting independent facilitators and investing to ensure the program was co-created and jointly owned is valuable: it has generated collaborations between members of the coalition, built trust and put these major youth-focused and youth-led organisations on a solid path for better coordination overall.

With Equality for Growth, we conducted an extensive capacity assessment to establish their weaker areas. Contrary to many NGOs that we work with, the support required was in program advocacy and monitoring rather than their own governance or financial management. We were enthusiastic to work with them given their grassroots and movement-oriented approaches and because our monitoring work from the previous partnerships demonstrated clearly that they had something special in the model they had developed. Findings from the monitoring revealed that women engaged in EfG's programs, when compared with a control group of women market traders, are

much more likely to express desire to work for community development and many more of them report having done so. Likewise, they are more likely to have engaged local leaders to solve their problems. In 2021, we were able to conduct learning sessions for EfG staff on media engagement, advocacy, collecting success stories and fundraising. In 2022 we are supporting: a broader evaluation of their approach, documentation and production of multimedia content from their success stories, and their fundraising efforts.

The Tanzania Centre for Democracy (TCD) invited us to support the development of a strategy to revive the organisation from the irrelevance. This was a painstaking and drawn-out process given the complete breakdown in trust and collegiality between the ruling party and the main opposition party. Many of the strategy workshops focused on rebuilding trust and cultivating the willingness to engage. The strategy will be launched in early 2022. During 2022 TCD will also host a number of important national dialogues on democracy and multi-partyism in Tanzania with support from Twaweza and other local civil society organizations.

We look forward to continuing to explore the validity and effectiveness of these approaches in 2022 as we continue the work we have started with these partners.

Embracing our NGO status and strengthening the NGO sector in Tanzania

In 2019, after more than ten years of preciously guarding the space to operate we had carved out for ourselves as a company limited by guarantee, we were forced by changes in the law to re-register as an NGO. This action generated concern throughout the sector: the compliance requirements alone were overwhelming.

At Twaweza, we decided to embrace our new identity and we jumped into substantive engagements around the restrictive NGO regulations. These regulations in many cases went outside of the mandate of the main law itself. We were part of trying to coordinate the sector better to respond to these dramatic and sudden shifts in our regulatory environment. In January 2021, we helped conceptualize and organize a sector-wide engagement with the relevant ministry and NGO Registrar. Over 200 representatives from NGOs across the country attended alongside the deputy minister, permanent secretary of the ministry of health (which at the time was responsible for NGO coordination), the NGO registrar and a range of officials from related agencies including the revenue authority and immigration. This was the first of its kind and generated robust discussion in the room. The meeting generated a joint declaration much of which was on our radar to push forward for the rest of the year.

In mid-2021, we contributed, alongside several other NGOs, to the revival of the National Council of NGOs (NACONGO), a statutory representative body for NGOs in Tanzania, by supporting an election process that refreshed the organization's governance after years of dormancy.

Emanating from the joint forum, the Ministry of Health held another NGO Forum, opened by the new President of Tanzania. This forum marked a change in tone and content from the government. They acknowledged the important work done by NGOs, including the injection of TZS 1.4 trillion (over \$500 million) into the national economy in 2020 alone, and committed to being more collaborative and facilitative partners.

A year of extensive engagement in sector issues was crowned by a spirited and engaging Civil Society Week in October. The event was in sharp contrast to the 2020 edition in which cowed CSOs were lambasted by the one government official who chose to be present. During CSO Week 2021, there was extensive government participation (beyond the opening and closing ceremonies) and robust

responses to critique from government. There was also a much greater spirit of self-confidence and validation among the NGOs and a more conciliatory and collegial tone from government officials. Our presence and contribution was well-acknowledged by the Steering Committee and will go a long way to helping dispel some of the ideas of Twaweza as a lone wolf.

In 2022, we look forward again to CSO Week but most importantly to continuing the conversation on amending the NGO Act and related regulations, and to continuing to push back on negative narratives around civil society, or the perception that NGOs should work as hand-maidens to government service provision.

Missions 01 – 03: Agency, Voice, Civic Space

Holding up half the sky: supporting women's voice and agency in the face of gender violence *Bringing the missions together*

In 2021, we continued to work on the sexual violence phenomenon *Teleza*, surfaced through the animation process. In that year, our partners, Voice of Change, trained 10 street level Violence Against Women Committees (MTAKUWWA Committees) and conducted in-depth briefing sessions for the 10 committee chairs. They also continued to support the women's economic co-operation and solidarity society and the young men ambassadors whom we had previously engaged with. And they continued the careful work of engaging with district officials across a range of sectors.

Twaweza's own independent monitoring visits at the start of 2022 revealed strong and successful results from our engagement in Kigoma to combat *Teleza*.

Following the training and conscientisation the government committees that have been put in place to address gender violence issues are coordinating a participatory night patrol program (for which we provided tools) whereby residents volunteer their time to keep areas secure at night; have instituted a new protocol whereby any new residents in the ward have to register themselves with the street chairperson; and have run awareness sessions on gender violence to community groups.

The survivors' association continues to undertake activities together to show solidarity with all survivors but they are facing challenges in terms of their leadership and management. They continue to sensitise the community on gender violence issues also. The group also acts as a small savings and loans co-operative.

The police try to raise awareness of gender-based violence in households individually when there is a case and also more broadly through schools and on radio. The young men champions also continue to be engaged in these issues and have gone on to further sensitise their peers especially *bodaboda* (motorbike taxi) drivers.

District officials have undergone perhaps the most significant transformation. We received reports of gender-based violence being discussed in village meetings and other government engagements. They have also established a 'one stop centre' to enable survivors to seek all legal services in one place. And they continue to conduct outreach and trainings on the issue via community case workers and health workers and at colleges via special clubs. Finally, they have also enacted by-laws to regulate the selling of alcohol in specific premises and at designated times.

Although our work met with many stops and starts, and took a long time to implement we are proud of what has been achieved through our tenacity, perseverance and hard work. We also learned a lot

from this engagement and are incorporating these lessons into our broader program. We share a number of insights because they are relevant to a lot of what we do.

The solidarity among the women forced authorities to respond and act. There is something powerful about having a group of women come to demand that one of their sisters is treated fairly when she has been the victim of violence compared to when she is on her own, already traumatised and unable to fight for her rights. Similarly artists and market women have achieved success through solidarity and directly advocating for their own interests.

The 'street level' local government committees benefitted from our training more and were able to turn the engagement into practice changes especially when compared to the ward level committee. However there are also limitations to their power. Engaging the different levels of government, those that are more and less proximate to citizens' lives, requires sensitivity, nuance and thoughtful navigation of the power balance between them.

Some of the important successes of our interventions were driven by creating linkages between all the different actors and bringing these to life: the survivors, the responsible authorities in the police and among health workers, the anti-violence committees, higher level leadership at district and regional level, young men in the community, the wider community. All of these actors have some role to play in preventing and addressing gender-based violence so bringing them together is an important element of any intervention in this area

In 2022, we are seeking to integrate these insights and this approach and issue into all our mission areas more holistically. We are working to integrate gender-based violence into community dialogues and village meetings more broadly in the districts in which we are doing participation work. In Tanzania, we find that some form of gender violence is surfaced through the participatory action research (thus far in every village) but that it is often not properly acknowledged or taken into account when issues to be addressed are prioritised. In Uganda we find that the issue does not come up at all. Further, through our strategic partnership with Equality for Growth, initiated in 2021, we will explore opportunities for engagement in Kigoma itself. And finally in Tanzania, we also hope to hold a convening for youth-led community organisations that work on this issue and generate more public debate through small media grants. We have identified gender-based violence as a core issue that is being raised through the animation work that has national relevance and so requires concerted intervention on multiple fronts and levels.

Learning and Adaptation in 2021

Learning remains central to Twaweza's way of being: understanding and analyzing the contexts in which we work, critically questioning the effectiveness of initiatives we try out, learning from others in the governance field and contributing to a collective body of knowledge. We look for insights from our work through systematic monitoring of our implementation, and rigorous testing of our theory of change (hypotheses testing) through formative and exploratory research. To ensure that these insights inform our work, we organise internal and external learning sessions.

In 2021, our emphasis on adaptation proved useful in navigating new contexts in all three countries driven by the ongoing Covid-19 pandemic, elections in Uganda, build-up to elections in Kenya and change of administration in Tanzania.

In the preceding sections of this annual report, we have captured the key lessons and insights from our implementation and programmatic monitoring in 2021. Below, we summarize the key learning and adaptation initiatives at Twaweza in 2021:

- Annual retreat in Naivasha, Kenya
- Animation baseline studies in five districts in Tanzania and Uganda
- KiuFunza III

Annual retreat: Reflecting on and refining our work

From November 14-20, 2021 all Twaweza staff gathered in Naivasha, Kenya for our annual retreat to reflect on our strategy, theory of change, contexts and progress so far. We have extended our strategy period to December 2023 instead of December 2022 mainly due to slowed implementation in 2020 following Covid-19 restrictions in the three countries. As such, 2021 marked the new midpoint in our current strategy. It was the right moment to reflect on the dynamic context that necessitated the strategy and whether our theory of change still holds. We intended to pause, reflect and plan our next tactical and strategic actions to contribute in enhancing citizen agency, promoting open and responsive governments and defending the conditions that enable meaningful citizen-state interactions.

We spent the first three days reflecting about one country context in the morning and our country implementation progress in the afternoon. The fourth day was dedicated towards discussing 2022 annual plans and the last day was a whole-day excursion in Nairobi. We invited external speakers for each of country context discussions: for Uganda, Gilbert Sendugwa from AFIC (Africa Freedom of Information Center); for Tanzania, Dr Abel Kinyondo from the University of Dar es Salaam and Ms. Mwanahamis Singano from Femnet Africa; and for Kenya, Christine Mungai and Charles Obbo both journalists. These conversations also paid attention to regional and global changes in politics, democracy, development, economies, media, technology and their implications on citizen-government relations and the role of civil society organizations like Twaweza.

Important highlights from the retreat include:

Although the problem context is manifested differently from when we developed our strategy, Twaweza and partners' contributions are needed more now than ever

We summarized the problem context as follows:

- Covid-19 had a net negative effect on civic space and democratic deepening.
- Citizens in all three countries continue to be disengaged, disempowered and uninformed.
- Governments remain largely unresponsive. They deploy tokenistic citizen engagement (many spaces and meetings) but display little evidence of real inclusion of citizens input.
- Civic space remains restricted across a number of fronts: deliberate weakening of the political opposition, disruption of CSO activities and restrictions of media freedom.
- Public service delivery remains poor despite increased budget expenditures.

To effectively contribute to addressing the identified problems, we must sharpen some of our tactics and strategies.

We need to work with diverse actors in support of democracy including unusual actors and we are compelled to apply more creative approaches in order to be effective. This calls for investing more in enhancing the ability and readiness of citizens and other actors such as fellow CSOs and the media to take advantage of emerging opportunities (political, legal, technological, economic) in defending democratic principles. We need to demonstrate linkages between better governance and improved service delivery to provide evidence for increased citizen participation and government accountability. We also resolved to continue working with progressive insiders who can spread

practice and defend democracy even in challenging situations. In doing so, we need to remain focused on the issues more than the individuals.

We also gained a range of insights from the country experts and our own interactions including:

- Is Twaweza bridging gaps or filling holes: between national and local; between policy and practice?
- Across the region, participatory planning and budgeting is more widely understood and practiced than are citizen-inclusive implementation or monitoring practices. We observed similar tendencies in our own work.
- Should Twaweza invest more in looking at triangulations: between citizen experiences and government commitments as evidenced in the budget, policies and key statements?
- Government officials tend to see citizens as ignorant of what is good for them. And they see citizen engagement as a distraction at best and dangerous at worst. Can Twaweza help to influence these attitudes in a more progressive direction?

Staff deepened their understanding of Twaweza's programmatic work across units and its overall strategic cohesion and coherence. After the isolation forced on everyone by the Covid-19 pandemic, the in-person retreat was hugely beneficial for team spirit and morale.

Baseline studies for the animation work in Tanzania and Uganda

Between February and May 2021, we applied qualitative and quantitative research methods in collecting baseline data in two districts in Tanzania (Pangani and Maswa) and three districts in Uganda (Kamuli, Namutumba and Kole) where we were introducing the animation work. We sent two teams to each district. The qualitative team covered four villages per district conducting four focus group discussions in each village separated according to age and gender, several key informant interviews at the village/LC1 and district level, collected observational data and reviewed relevant documents such as village records. The quantitative teams conducted at least 40 semi-structured surveys with randomly selected households per village in 15 randomly selected villages per district. Several Twaweza staff participated in these data collection exercises for their learning and to ensure collection of quality data. We collected data on: village demographic and socio-economic information, situation of citizen participation and access to information, capacity of local governments in executing their mandates and the status of service delivery particularly on health, water, transportation infrastructure, education and electricity. Highlights from the baseline research include:

- Citizen attendance of public meetings remains low for a number of connected reasons. Citizens are discouraged by failure of their local governments to act on their concerns. They also complain about poor meeting organization by leaders such as scheduling meetings when citizens are busy with their livelihood activities. Local government leaders are discouraged from organising meetings due to low attendance.
- Baseline data reveal that citizens prefer to contribute their labor or material contributions but not monetary contributions because they do not trust their leaders.
- Citizens tend to overstate their participation in meetings and other community projects, contrary to the data in actual village attendance records. This implies that citizens may be more willing to participate in planning and implementation of community projects if their local governments improve how they inform and engage citizens in order to build trusting and collaborative relationships between them.

- Local government capacity remains low in Tanzania and Uganda as evidenced by failure to mobilise citizens and other actors to improve public services, and their inability or lack of willingness to meaningfully engage citizens in decision-making.
- Generally access to electricity, public transportation, health services and access to clean water remain poor in most villages and have not improved in the previous one-year.
- Women and youth are less involved in decision-making compared to their counterparts, but they are the most affected by the decisions made.

KiuFunza III: Concluding research in preparation for scaling-up the teacher incentive initiative in Tanzania

KiuFunza III is formative research aimed at scalable implementation of teacher performance pay in Tanzania. It is based on the earlier KiuFunza experiments (2013-2016) that have shown substantial improvements in early grade literacy and numeracy in public schools, with high cost-effectiveness. KiuFunza is currently collaborating with two Ministries in Tanzania and with the RISE (Research on Improving Systems of Education) Tanzania research team to test a scalable performance pay system. The practical design and implementation are subject to small but continuous improvements based on experience, feedback and discussions with team members. At policy level, the goal of KiuFunza is to insert the principle of learning-centered teacher performance pay into the early grade primary education system in Tanzania.

The third year of the KiuFunza scale pilot was implemented as planned, with in-person school visits (rather than remote as in 2020). While our teams continued to take COVID-19 precautions during trainings and implementation, there were no pandemic related school closures in the 2021 school year. Our periodic checks using staff surveys did not provide reasons for concern or changes to the program. All implementation phases (baseline, midline, endline testing) were completed successfully and at the time of writing we have just completed the teacher reward payments based on 2021 performance.

In 2021 we received encouraging results from the Principal Investigators, a J-PAL affiliated team of academics that evaluate this implementation phase. They find evidence of strong impact on foundational learning in the 2020 data, both in the survey data (low-stakes) and in the implementation data (high-stakes). The findings so far are consistent with the previous KiuFunza phases, in the sense that in year 1 (2019 data) we saw little impact in the survey data, and in year 2 (2020) we see strong impact, despite the school closures. The difference is explained by the realization by teachers that KiuFunza promises are real, after they have received their year 1 payment. Preliminary evidence for year 3 again shows significant positive impact on learning outcomes. This scaling phase has made substantial reductions of about 60 percent in performance testing costs, meaning these results were not guaranteed ex-ante. However, they imply increases in cost-effectiveness of the program.

In 2021, we started a new initiative called Kipimo (“measurement”). Kipimo aims to improve visibility of and accountability for foundational learning, by providing KiuFunza learning assessment tools to officers of the School Quality Assessment (SQA) Department. The SQA officers are part of KiuFunza teams and asked for the tools to be introduced to their colleagues. Kipimo is thus demand driven and provides opportunities for systematic measurement of learning outcomes during school inspection visits. As such, Kipimo is part of the KiuFunza scaling strategy, although it uses “open data” and light-touch administrative accountability pressure rather than cash incentives to improve learning. The decision to include the SQA officers in KiuFunza implementation has thus resulted in an

unexpected spin-off. It is, however, a challenge to convince the SQA leadership of the merits of this initiative.

Policy engagement has picked up since the pandemic and the change of the top leadership in Tanzania. We have continued to report to the national and local governments about the implementation and results of KiuFunza. We are planning a public engagement to celebrate high performing teachers in 2022. Public and policy engagement has benefited from a series of videos about KiuFunza that tell stories of change and show the human face of the intervention, and its results.

In 2021 we were approached by a private donor interested in supporting performance incentives, and willing to finance a next, larger phase of KiuFunza. Twaweza has made a commitment to continue implementing KiuFunza in the period 2023-2025. This commitment is based both on the funding offer, but also by the belief that we have an obligation to apply more widely the knowledge, experience and impact we have gained over the years.

The current public-private model of implementation has an independent CSO as a “third party” responsible for public sector performance assessment and is based on funding by donors interested in incentivizing foundational learning. Fundamentally, we believe that it is the right model at this point. At the same time, we will continue to engage government partners and look for opportunities to insert performance norms, monitoring and accountability inside government systems. In the short term, we will explore additional fundraising opportunities for KiuFunza performance pay in Tanzania.

Governance and Management, Operations and Finance

Finance: the pillar of Twaweza’s organisational credibility

We continue to maintain and enhance the highest standards of transparency, accountability and ensure we get value for money in all organizational expenditures through our centralized procurement, contracting and payment systems.

We have continued to manage our cash resources efficiently and have only been requesting funds from donors as well as converting funds to shillings on a need basis. This has seen us having sufficient funds to meet our obligations as well as minimizing exchange losses. It also helped us to mitigate any risks related to “excessive liquidity” in our accounts that could draw unnecessary attention from authorities.

We continued to meet all tax obligations in the three countries by ensuring that all taxes are correctly calculated and paid in line with the country tax requirements and at the required time.

Once again, we produced yet another set of unqualified audited financial statements for 2021, and with no management comments from the auditors. This demonstrates, once again, our continuing dedication to the highest standards of financial probity.

Governance and Management: Twaweza’s steady navigators in a dynamic context

In 2021, we continued to navigate the disruption caused by the Covid19 pandemic and worked to strengthen our resilience by reviewing and adjusted our plans and budgets to respond to the evolving local and global context.

We developed a Strategic Reflections Paper in mid 2021 to review progress some 30 months into the current strategy. In discussions with the Board and our donors in September, we were encouraged by the validity of some of our initial assumptions, and the pace and acceptance of change in some key areas of work. We acknowledged that the pace and extent of progress has been mixed. This has prompted us to refine some of our hypotheses to align with what we have learnt and experienced so far. We also extended the period of the current strategic plan by a year to allow us intensify our citizen agency work, deepen experience and harvest more insightful outcomes and impact.

Our Board of Directors welcomed a new Chairperson, Elieshi Lema and we look forward to her solid leadership and advice from her deep experience in promoting gender equality and freedom of expression. We also welcomed Gertrude Mugizi to the Board. She brings with her long practical and scholarly experience of public sector accountability. We look forward to their engaged guidance of our work and way of being beyond 2021.

Our donors continue to support us through these challenging times. The UK's FCDO reinstated and disbursed a final £500,000 tranche of their grant to Twaweza that had been cancelled in late 2020. IN June 2021, we secured new funding from Hempel Foundation, a Danish private sector foundation, to support the scale up of KiuFunza starting from 2023. Wellspring Philanthropic Fund (WPF) renewed their core funding grant, and processed a second one dedicated to our work in Uganda. SIDA Tanzania launched a detailed due diligence process for renewing a multi-year grant to Twaweza.

Part 2: What did it all add up to?



ANNUAL REPORT 2021

PART TWO

Reporting on progress towards our strategic goals and strategic outcomes

Corresponding to the two related problems we want to contribute to addressing as guided by our three part mission statement, we articulate three broad strategic goals that we aim to achieve by the end of the strategic period in 2023. Each year, we hope to make some progress towards attaining these three broad goals:

1. *Citizens have the ability, willingness and opportunity to articulate their problems, come together to discuss them, express their views in the public sphere and take civic actions to address these challenges. They are acting, organising for change, and they use multiple strategies to do so.*
2. *Local and national government agencies operate in ways that take account of citizen concerns, voices and civic action, and are able and driven to act in response.*
3. *Civic space is less restricted in regard to basic respect for free expression, association and assembly; access to information; and established rule of law.*

To give our strategic goals measurable metrics, we have articulated twenty four (24) outcome statements. These outcomes mark our direction of travel, what we think the described activities could achieve, and what we think is required to make some progress in terms of our wider ambitions and vision. Across all our interventions, we are working to achieve outcomes first at the level of specific targeted actors, and then at a wider societal level. We are seeing some measurable progress on actor level outcomes at this stage of the strategic period and we aim to make some discernable contributions to our wider societal outcomes by the end of the strategic period.

1. Local change agents in selected geographies

Painstaking conscientization of individuals to work on behalf of their communities and peers works. Lived problems can be solved, the change agents themselves are transformed and local leaders become more responsive. But are these effects felt by those outside the intervention? Can we change practices and norms, form new ways of being and engaging? And can these norms in turn spread to communities beyond the intervention?

By local change agents, we mean community members with a spirit of service, well-regarded in the community and imbued with the desire to imagine the world anew. We tend towards young people and pay regard to gender in selecting these local change agents to be community animators. They are equipped with skills such as facilitation, consensus-building and listening. For our core animation interventions, we work with two animators per village, and people's committees of six to ten elected community members per village.

The animation approach involves the use of participatory action research (PAR) facilitated by the local change agents to unearth the underlying community problems and develop action plans to guide the actions and interactions of citizens and their local authorities in addressing those problems.

In Tanzania, we have worked in three districts: Mbogwe, Maswa and Pangani through local partners: Mbogwe District Animators Network (MBODANET), Kawiye Social Development Foundation (KASODEFO) (Maswa) and Pangani Coast Paralegal (PACOPA) respectively. Our work in Mbogwe started in 2018 and covered 11 of the 17 wards in the District. In 2021, we partnered with Tamasha and MBODANET to implement animation in 15 wards (including new wards) such that there are now animators in all the wards in the district. Our assessment of MBODANET resulted in us providing assets (computers, printer, land for office, motorbike) and capacity support in outcome mapping and financial management.

The work in Maswa is at a preliminary stage. We identified and contracted a local NGO, KASODEFO that we are partnering with in implementing the animation work there. We concluded an organizational assessment process for KASODEFO, trained them on the animation approach and the use of outcome mapping, and provided them with a motorcycle to facilitate their work. We also worked with KASODEFO and our long-standing technical partner, Tamasha, to select and train change agents from 18 villages. They conducted participatory research sessions in their villages, established people's independent monitoring committees and, together with the members of the communities, prepared draft action plans by the end of the year. We expect to report on the outcomes from the action plans during 2022.

In Pangani, we piloted a modified version of the animation approach that combines participatory action research, community film production and public screening. We piloted the approach in three villages whereby we produced between four and five short films per village involving villagers as the actors/actresses in their own stories. We then organized 16 public screenings that were attended by 2,442 villagers (1,163 men and 1,279 women). Surprisingly, more women than men attended and spoke during the public screenings despite these taking place in the evening. Dialogues were held after the screenings of the community films and citizen follow up committees were formed to develop action plans and work on the priority issues with the support of PACOPA.

In Tanzania, we also continued to explore alternative pathways to citizen agency and government responsiveness. Through our partner Equality for Growth (EfG), we have supported market women to organize themselves and present their priority issues to local leaders. This was done in six regions. Our evaluation findings from our joint 2020 project with EfG (released in 2021) confirmed that they have a powerful process of empowering market women traders. We also concluded our work in Kigoma on sexual violence issues which was implemented by our partner, Voice of Change.

In Uganda, we worked in the districts of Namutumba, Kamuli and Kole with the implementing partners: Namutumba NGO Forum (NNGOF), Aids Education Group for Youth (AEGY), and Ama Cradle for Development (AMACOD) respectively. We have enabled change agents and follow up committees to prepare for, attend and contribute ideas or present community issues to public officials at council meetings and budget conferences at sub-county and district levels. Citizens' voices do not regularly feature in these fora. In addition we successfully launched the participatory action research initiative in Kamuli and Namutumba districts.

We supported the change agents, follow up committees and implementing partners to convene dialogues at community, sub-county and district levels. During these meetings, the communities set their own agenda and invited public officials to address community concerns. In the process the leaders were able to provide more information to communities, share feedback on progress around issues of interest, commit to allocating financial resources and, together with the communities, agree on ways to solve the problems of greatest community concern.

The change agents and follow up committees also held face-face meetings with public officials to follow up on issues in the action plan and to keep track of the commitments made by the local officials to address these issues. Change agents prepared status reports on the community problems, and sent letters seeking support, most often looking for information or resources. These documents and actions then served as the agenda for meetings, enabling the change agents and the follow up committees to have the upper hand in guiding and focusing their engagements with leaders.

As part of our drive to facilitate peer and collaborative learning, and to spread the seed of animation principles, we facilitated training, sharing, reflection and learning events, and refresher training for change agents as part of addressing identified gaps, continuing to build their confidence in working with participatory research and creating opportunities for peer learning among them.

Outcomes

Animators and people's representatives mobilize citizen accountability actions and participation, problem-solving (TZ, UG)

TANZANIA

In Pangani District the following stories were captured:

Msaraza village

- Change agents mediated to reach a workable solution for a long standing conflict between pastoralists and farmers that had crippled community involvement.
- Change agents supported the restoration of working relationships with the village leaders. This resulted in increased attendance of village meetings, and greater willingness to contribute to development initiatives.
- Villagers contributed towards raising resources for a teacher at the local school and the teacher was posted.
- After national changes to the management of local water sources, residents of Msaraza were boycotting a particular water source and refusing to contribute to the cost of water for the local school because no information was shared as to why these changes were taking place. After the intervention of the people's committee, a discussion was held, water prices were lowered and citizens are now using this source and contributing to the costs of providing water to the school.

Mkwaja village

The village leaders built eight covers for public wells as a demonstration and the village authority set aside TZS 1,400,000 (US\$ 600) to assist the safe water project which will include cleaning and covering 10 more wells.

Through our work with Equality for Growth, market women traders are continuing to organize themselves to advance their own agenda. In Mwanza, the women organised themselves and one of their number was selected as secretary of the main market committee. In addition, Kinyerezi market now also has a female chairperson. Our evaluation data found that women trained and mobilized by EfG are much more likely to express desire to contribute to improving their communities and to report having done so; and are even more likely to report having contacted local leaders to share their challenges and needs.

- Women trained by EfG (86%) and other traders (84%) say it is important to engage in activism and advocacy in their communities but women engaged by EfG (49%) are twice as likely to have achieved this as other traders (26%).
- Both women trained by EfG (83%) and other market traders (82%) aspire to have good relations with their leaders, but women who were part of EfG's work (47%) are more likely to have achieved this than other traders (26%).
- Similarly, both women engaged by EfG (80%) and other women traders (87%) say it is important to work for the community but market traders in general (25%) are much less likely to have done so than the women trained by EfG (43%).

In Kigoma, our work on the gender violence phenomenon, Teleza, through our partner Voice of Change, drew to a close with important results. The survivors' association continues to undertake activities together to show solidarity with all survivors but they are facing challenges in terms of their leadership and management. They continue to sensitize the community on gender violence issues also. The group also acts as a small savings and loans co-operative. The young men champions also continue to be engaged in these issues and have gone on to further sensitize their peers especially bodaboda (motorbike taxi) drivers.

UGANDA

In Uganda, eight stories/case studies of problems solved as a result of animation were documented in Kamuli and Namutumba.

Seeking information: communities of Mpologoma, Busongole, Bwase-Bugobwe and Kiroba engaged their leaders by way of having face to face meetings or inviting the leaders to their communities and asking for information to clarify issues of concern. The information sought included: how to access on-going livelihood programs; budget information on how and whether community projects had been prioritized; details of implementation timelines for interventions; and how to deal with violence against women and children.

Voice / demand: The communities in Makwi sought answers as to why their only borehole was not being repaired after they had mobilized funds and sent them to water office – they followed up persistently and with various leaders, culminating in a discussion at the sub-county dialogue which resulted in commitments to repair the well, build a new one and repair a road. In Nawampiti the community advocated for by-laws to secure their water sources.

During the sub-county dialogues, several pledges were made. District Health Officers made pledges to upgrade the health centres at Kikalu, Bunyana, and Mulama on the condition that

local leaders mobilized communities, secured land for expansion and officially communicated to his office for planning purposes. Similar pledges were made to open, expand and fix five community roads.

In Kamuli, funds were allocated to fix various community roads. The district water office allocated boreholes to four villages. And Namwendwa sub-county included UGX 90 million (\$25,000) for the construction of the staff quarters at Kinu Health Centre III in their budget framework paper for 2022/2023.

Monitoring service delivery: In Namuwondo village, the community raised a complaint that resulted in a visit from the District Engineer who in turn summoned the responsible contractor.

Contributing ideas and resources: Communities across Kamuli and Namutumba have contributed their labour to build classrooms, maintain wells, and repair roads.

Dialogue: Several communities were represented by the change agents and the follow up committees at the sub-county and district dialogues, resulting in leaders at these levels making commitments. For example, in Namutumba, the District Water Officer sought support from a local NGO for piped water systems in three villages. In Mpologoma village the system is in place and community members are waiting for the distribution stands.

More generally, change agents have self-reported increases in knowledge, exposure and better understanding of how government works. They have asked for information on plans, priorities and budget allocation, they say they have skills to express themselves in public and have capacity to present issues in meetings.

At least four change agents have been asked to support community mobilization for government programs and three were co-opted onto the parish development model implementation committees.

Improvements in citizen-government interactions have resulted in increased provision of clean and safe water, improved the state of community roads, and enabled communities to benefit from government livelihood improvement programs and the vaccination outreach initiative.

Also in Uganda, there are increased community self-help interventions. This demonstrates an apparent shift from the *Government etuyambe* (government come help us) mindset. Previously, communities had been reduced to wait on government, even for basic issues such as cleaning a water well, which undermined the sense of individual and collective responsibility.

Animators and people's representatives request public information and engage in local government processes (TZ, UG)

In Tanzania, animation meetings were attended by 1,413 people (832 men, 581 women) in Mbogwe and 2,332 people (1,287 men, 1,045 women) in Maswa, theatre for development community level meetings were attended by 2,442 people (1,279 men, 1,163 women) in Pangani; and water quality feedback focus groups were attended by 119 people (70 men, 49 women).

In Uganda, meetings at community level were attended by 6,274 people (3,120 men, 3,154 women), community feedback meetings in Kamuli attended by 526 (272 men, 254 women) in six villages and in Namutumba by 662 people (285 men, 377 women). 14 Dialogues (12 Sub-County, 2 District) and district launches were attended by 854 (448 men, 406 women); and 23 public sector meetings were attended by 45 change agents (23 men, 22 women). Furthermore, 23 petitions were submitted by change agents in Namutumba and 18 request letters were sent seeking action on various community problems.

What we are learning

In Uganda and Tanzania, the power of collective efforts is reaffirmed. Leaders continue to pay attention to issues put forward by organised citizens' groups affected by an issue over those proposed by individuals or entities speaking on behalf of others. For example in Uganda where the communities were more organised, leaders gave feedback and took action e.g. in Busongole and Bunama-Bugweri villages in Kamuli, and Mpologoma in Namutumba.

The idea that someone is listening, will respond and act is a major incentive for a disengaged / resigned community. A visit from a public officer in response to an invitation by a community sends the message that they have power. This propels communities to think of better ways to do more to solve their own problems as was the case in Budhubirwa, Kiroba, Mpologoma and Makwi in Namutumba district.

The change agents in Makwi village displayed significant perseverance, despite the leaders' indifference, and ensured their community borehole was repaired. They continued their advocacy for a new water well which was granted. And they further secured a budget to fix their community access road. However, community resilience and appetite for persistence varies across the different locations in which we are conducting this intervention. In the long run this may be a critical factor in the long-term success or failure of these interventions. We may need to explore means for early detection of this spirit of persistence as an additional enabling factor in district and community selection.

More broadly, there are significant variations in the level of success of the intervention between geographies and communities. We will need to invest in investigating whether these are driven by fixed geographically linked elements (proximity to the capital, economic endowments), specific dynamics of leadership or citizenry, or their connections to powerful people or institutions.

The midline assessment will detect whether the animation intervention is creating echoes and effects in the wider community. While we see the resolution of problems identified through the participatory research, we do not yet understand how the wider community, especially those who have not been directly engaged in the process, perceive these changes and how they attribute them. Are we creating the wider sense of responsiveness and accountability from officials among community members such that they may be inspired to start making demands of their own? Is animation shifting their attitudes on what is possible, or even probable, to expect from their local government? Or are we feeding the generalised sense of 'government as rain' – when it comes you are grateful but you have no control over what or when it delivers.

As interventions progress, gender continues to be a key concern. We are looking for opportunities to encourage more direct participation of women and girls. The alternative means

and pathways should only be temporary solutions since they perpetuate patriarchal values. Beyond the emphasis of including women's and girls' voices in these processes, we have struggled to incorporate gender issues into the action plans in Uganda in particular. Though these issues are surfaced in women's discussions, they almost never appear in the consolidated action plans from the communities. Moving forward this is an important area for further emphasis. In Tanzania, women continue to describe multiple and alarming forms of gender violence through the participatory research processes although there are still some limitations in these issues being widely accepted.

2. Parliamentarians (MPs) and district executives (DEDs) and village government leaders (in selected geographic areas)

We have made headway in prompting responsiveness from a range of local officials. But the barriers to change are so significant that even if we can transform specific individuals, the system remains stubbornly resistant to change. Our best hope may be to design interventions that prompt responsiveness from relevant officials and which in turn encourage and engage citizens such that their norms and patterns change. These new more assertive citizens will generate continued responsiveness and accountability from more officials over longer periods of time.

Our strategy aims to unblock factors that constrain effective governance on both the demand side (citizens) and supply side (government). As a result we proactively engage local government authorities at the village (LC1 in Uganda), ward (sub-county in Uganda) and district level, and people's political representatives such as Members of Parliament and Councilors.

In Kenya, we participated in the devolution conference in Makueni where we promoted *Sauti za Wananchi* to 5,000 delegates. We also worked in Makueni County, Elgeyo Marakwet County and Vihiga County. In Makueni, we held a presentation with a group of persons with disabilities sharing our data on the same topic. The engagement included county officials. We also continued to engage closely with the Makueni County government to share our data on Covid-19 and in developing all our data collection tools. In Elgeyo Marakwet and Vihiga, we held two validation sessions with technical staff around our findings from the Wasemavyo Wananchi studies (qualitative data on citizen participation, citizen-government interactions, service delivery and local government performance). These have generated follow up engagements and we have designed accountability-focused interventions in two Open Government Partnership (OGP) Local member counties based on the insights from the studies.

In Uganda, we are able to track what is happening in parliament and present citizens' interests for policy dialogues through a partnership with the Center for Policy Analysis. The goal was to have parliamentary discussions informed by citizen voices. We also launched points of entry citizen data on Covid-19 in two districts, including health officials from neighboring districts. District task forces, headed by Resident District Commissioners, were represented alongside the Ministry of Health itself.

In Tanzania, we presented *Sauti za Wananchi* special panel data to about 50 secretaries of parliamentary committees and their deputies as well as approximately 50 MPs. We also shared the data in a number of government fora and civil society events including the Tanzania Government Communication Officers Forum, the event to mark World Press Freedom Day, and during CSO Week.

In terms of the participation interventions, we kept district, ward (local council in Uganda) and village level officials closely involved throughout the process. They are both actors in unblocking citizens' challenges (so in some sense partners in the work) as well as targets for follow up to ensure the shared resolutions are implemented. We held 38 meetings in Uganda that included local authorities. In Tanzania, the follow up has taken different forms in Pangani and implementation is at early stages in Mbogwe and Maswa.

Outcomes

MPs, councilors and local government officials participate in, endorse and institutionalize Twaweza / partner citizen agency processes and evidence collected (TZ, UG)

UGANDA

Stories shared during the change agents' reflection meetings show evidence of local governments listening to some of the community concerns, prioritizing them by re-allocating budgets, meeting communities, providing information and feedback. It is important to note that, aside from the instances of community direct action through contributions of materials, money and labour, almost all of the community problems were solved through making demands to government. Even when communities have initiated direct actions, they engage government officials.

Following problem analysis and communities' acknowledgement of their own capacity to be part of solving the problems they face, communities were able to secure support from public officers like community development officers and women councilors who held sessions to raise awareness and chart ways to reduce child labour, teenage pregnancy, domestic violence, insecurity (petty theft especially in Kamuli district).

MPs, councilors and local government officials escalate and/or respond to citizens' voices and challenges, entrench them in decision-making (KE, TZ, UG)

KENYA

In Kenya, we continue to be strong partners to Makueni County Government.

- Makueni County leadership has appointed a contact person from every sector to input into all data collection tools. And data from the baseline and four call rounds was referenced in public participation activities around the budget.
- Specific data rounds on topics (identified in collaboration with county officials) have also influenced decision-making: youth focused data informed the formulation of the county youth policy that is currently being debated at the County Assembly; technical officers from the department of health shared that Twaweza data on Covid-19 knowledge, attitudes and practices informed county Covid-19 interventions early on in the pandemic; and the data shared around people with disabilities resulted in the issuance of formal people with disabilities' cards for all those in attendance and led to a commitment from the minister for people with disabilities to include in the 2021/2022 budget the establishment of an orthopedic workshop in Makueni County's people with disabilities centre to reduce the distance people have to travel to have their devices repaired.

TANZANIA

In Tanzania, our partner Equality for Growth continued to support market women traders to present their priority agenda to local officials - Members of Parliament, District and Regional Commissioners and ward councilors. In Dar es Salaam, Mara, Mwanza, women traders met with leaders and advanced some of their agendas. In Dar es Salaam, the councilor and community development officer are supporting the women to organise and access loans from the municipality. In Mara the district director instructed that the market be provided with electricity and traders are now able to trade later into the night.

In Kigoma, through our work on Teleza with our partner Voice of Change, we contributed to government action. Following our training, the government committees that have been put in place to address gender violence issues are coordinating a participatory night patrol program (for which we provided tools) whereby residents volunteer their time to keep areas secure at night; have instituted a new protocol whereby any new residents in the ward have to register themselves with the street chairperson; and have run awareness sessions on gender violence to community groups.

The police try to raise awareness of gender-based violence in households individually when there is a case and also more broadly through schools and on radio.

And district officials have undergone perhaps the most significant transformation. We received reports of gender-based violence being discussed in village meetings and other government engagements. They have also established a 'one stop centre' to enable survivors to seek all legal services in one place. And they continue to conduct outreach and trainings on the issue via community case workers and health workers and at colleges via special clubs. Finally, they have also enacted by-laws to regulate the selling of alcohol into specific premises and at designated times.

UGANDA

In Uganda, two MPs made remarks at *Sauti za Wananchi* launches on the social impacts of Covid-19 on women and on maternal health during Covid-19. The Parliamentary Secretariat utilized *Sauti za Wananchi* data in inducting new MPs into two parliamentary committees on agriculture and on water and sanitation.

Additionally, a member of parliament, Hon. Sarah Achieng moved a motion for a resolution in parliament urging the government to address challenges facing the girl child and children in general following our release of data on these issues during Covid-19.

Further, the senior communications analyst at parliament wrote an Op-Ed based on our *Sauti za Wananchi* data urging MPs to communicate better with citizens on the role of MPs.

In Uganda, the District Health Officer of Kyotera district responded to citizens' concerns and queries on Covid-19 on the radio show.

What we are learning

We have a potentially interesting and somehow incongruent role to play in improving the flow of information (in both directions) between sub-national and national jurisdictions. We have found significant progress in discussions at sub-national events when we are accompanied by officials from central or national government institutions: they can provide clarity and receive important feedback and they can also share the latest central government thinking and plans.

We are learning that it is important to engage both the technocrats and politicians at the local and national levels. Depending on variations in power dynamics, personalities and place, different actors wield more or less power and can be more or less open to the ideas and interventions we are promoting. However in doing so, we need to pay careful attention to individual motivations and barriers. At the same time, we acknowledge that it is hard to predict and read the individual politicians and their responsiveness (when it happens) leans more towards one-off interventions and moments. We need to reflect deeply on how to engage MPs and local officials to influence systems change or individual, longer-term attitudinal shifts rather than being too content with individual, one-time actions or reactions to our data. An interesting element to explore here can be to interview officials with whom we have been closely engaged but who have moved positions to understand whether they have carried any of our types of values into their new spaces.

3. Traditional (national and local) and online media

We have diverse approaches to media work. We generate media debate through our work and our social media presence in Tanzania is strong. Our partnerships also generate content around our values and ideas. Media continues to play an important role in achieving outcomes among other target actors while also being a critical part of our influencing a progressive vision for society.

We work with media in all three countries, serving both a more instrumentalist content-driven agenda as well as the broader aims of protecting civic space. Through the media we offer new approaches to old problems, share new evidence on what is really going on and help to reframe and reshape contemporary debates. We can reach many different target audiences at once and we can give wings to our agendas. We do this through media partnerships, by inviting media to our events, by participating in talk shows and interviews, by promoting data points to media electronically and providing micro-grants for citizen-centric and data-driven reporting, by supporting early stage independent digital platforms with a shared agenda and writing opinion pieces in newspapers which we know are still read by almost all government officials.

In Kenya, we operate in a much more crowded media space. In the year we held two launch events producing briefs, vox pops, data videos, infographics and press releases for each one. The diversity of outputs helps us to reach further and generate conversation around the data. As part of our efforts to encourage more coverage, we invite more specialised journalists to launches so that we are providing relevant content. We held five meetings with the media including data editors to try to generate appetite for our data outside of the launch cycle.

We complemented our traditional media engagement with expanded efforts in the social media space. In particular we engaged new influencers whose content is more broadly relevant to Twaweza's missions, who can mobilise other influencers, and who have even larger number of

followers. Nonetheless the pace of growth is slow; Kenyans on social media are cynical about institutional, broadcast style content and we are naturally bound by brand considerations.

In the local media space, we visited Ene FM (Makueni County) to conduct a capacity assessment to inform a partnership in 2022.

In Tanzania, we have grappled for many years with trying to generate media coverage and public debate in the absence of our ability to share citizens' perspectives from *Sauti za Wananchi*. Thus, most coverage was generated by our participation in CSO Week and other coalition events. But also, we have renewed our focus on media partnerships to ensure that our values, ideas and lessons continue to be injected into media content. In 2021, we refined and broadened our approach to media partnerships, with a focus on online media, looking at both structural support for the organisations as well as production of high quality content. We are supporting The Chanzo to establish themselves as an organisation, Kengele Media to develop their online satire platform and JamiiForums to continue to work on digital governance and free expression. Our social media presence continues to grow and is the site of our most active public engagement. We produce videos, flyers, and infographics and continue to maintain influence and engagement in this space.

We designed a local media focused intervention with long-term partner Maa Media, after engaging substantively with organisations and individuals with experience in this space, to build on our #MbungeLive show. Through this work we aim to embed the accountability posture of the national TV show into local radios in order to try to influence more and more sustained behaviour changes among MPs and subsequently their constituents. We conducted preliminary visits for capacity assessment and initial training to 11 radio stations. We trained over 40 journalists. We provided phones for the training and signed contracts with 10 radio stations and 20 journalists.

In Uganda, we held 12 launches including six press engagements in partnership with the Ministry of Health. We also published five opinion pieces, held six citizen voices shows on NTV, and 13 radio talk shows at both national and sub national level.

We held two sub-national launches in animation districts, two to launch sub-national Covid-19 data, and two trainings on access to information which included journalists. We partnered with Uganda Radio Network to produce regular content for their website and three audio features on *Sauti za Wananchi* data which were distributed to 100 radio stations.

We incorporated a strong media engagement component into all our sub-national activities including live broadcasts and talk shows and interviews. We encouraged partner radios to facilitate interaction between government officials (in studio) and citizens (often through call ins).

We continued with our data journalism work, providing nine print journalists and five sub-national radios with small grants to promote data journalism and citizen voice and agency focused reporting. We award these grants by tracking use of our data based on short data mail outs pegged to international days and national news hooks.

The work around data journalism is intentionally pegged to events happening at national and international level. This we do by mailing out Twaweza data relevant to the subject. Following

this, we are seeing that media houses are using *Sauti za Wananchi* data without any prompts in articles, data is now naturally being incorporated in the stories and generally citizen voices are being highlighted and given the attention they deserve.

Outcomes

Individual journalists and outlets have increased and improved coverage of civic space issues, citizen voices and agency (KE, TZ, UG)

KENYA

In Kenya we received a total of 45 pieces of coverage:

- In the Standard and Star dailies, *Sauti za Wananchi* data on Covid-19 featured on the cover page and an additional spread
 - The Nation and The Star dailies have used *Sauti za Wananchi* data to design infographics
- We were in the top five trends on two different occasions, around our two *Sauti za Wananchi* launches. Feature story on Voice of America featured *Sauti za Wananchi* data.
1644 Twitter followers, 1.25 million Impressions and 652 followers on Facebook

TANZANIA

In Tanzania, we achieved approximately 70 pieces of coverage given our lower visibility approach to our work.

However our media partnerships generated an additional 50 pieces of direct coverage of Twaweza work, over 400 civic space, service delivery and governance focused articles on JamiiForums, 60 satirical articles and cartoons on Kingo Online, 35 analytical articles on governance issues through TheChanzo online platform. All content generated through partnerships focuses on Twaweza areas of interest and values. In addition, 20 stories of change driven by animators' work on Azam Media and 20 stories on Nukta Media were documented and shared.

We also published four opinion pieces over the course of the year and engaged in five talk shows at national level and the same number of interviews on local radio in animation districts.

We have reached 91,300 Twitter followers, 3.4 million Impressions, 10 million monthly impressions using the same hashtags across the region, 11,102 followers on Facebook, 1,914 followers on Instagram, 3,520 subscribers on YouTube, 58,734 website views and 24,066 website users.

UGANDA

In Uganda, we achieved approximately 360 pieces of coverage from all the activities held. Of these 92 were from our media partnerships. Additionally, we had three audio features based on *Sauti za Wananchi* data produced by Uganda Radio Network that were distributed to over 100 radio stations. We also published five opinion pieces, held six citizen voices shows on NTV, and 13 radio talk shows at both national and sub national level.

Under a partnership with Uganda Radio Network a total of 2,870 stories, and 11 national perspectives in areas of Twaweza interest were produced.

We reached 842 Twitter Followers, 962,000 impressions and have 772 followers on Facebook.

New outlets arise which are independent, investigative, digital, evidence based, and popular (TZ)

We are providing seed support to TheChanzo to put them on a stronger footing as an institution. Although we are yet to collect monitoring data, we have anecdotal feedback that indicates they provide insightful analysis and new approach to content.

Likewise we supported Kengele Media to develop satirical content on themes relevant to everyday lives, reframing political and governance issues.

In selected geographic areas, community media facilitate citizen-government interaction and highlight local collective action and response (KE, TZ, UG)

In Tanzania, we have established a partnership to feature MP-focused accountability content on 10 local radios including those in animation districts. Each visit involved radio interviews. We have also engaged in an opportunistic way with local radios when we visit animation districts for other work.

In Uganda, our journalists covered change agent stories with interviews from citizens and local leadership, resulting in six stories aired on radio and TV. We held 11 talk shows focusing on vaccine willingness. In these talk shows we ensured to have local authorities and citizens both in studio and others given an opportunity to call in and participate

What we are learning

In Kenya, we have been able to steadily increase media coverage in particular through working with a media expert, increasing the range of outputs we produce for media, pre-engagements not related to events, invitations to specialized journalists, and government participation in the launches.

In Tanzania, the lower direct visibility of Twaweza contributes to an impression of diminished work. Nonetheless when we cumulate all the coverage related to our issues of interest and values that we generated, we are still able to do justice to this outcome. This was an important adaptation to our work style that we made to enable us to weather the sharp constraints on civic space, and we believe it has been effective (in terms of volume) in ensuring our issues are out there. However, we need to investigate whether there is any effect of the content not being directly associated with Twaweza beyond lower name recognition of the organisation and awareness of our work.

On social media in Uganda, substantive discussions are more often held by citizens in the diaspora. Domesticating our social media audience continues to be challenging.

Although online outlets lend themselves to tracking readership and viewership, we are yet to find meaningful ways to understand their impact in a more substantive way. In 2022, we are planning to explore social listening and WhatsApp distribution as new potential means for

understanding the effects of our support for online content. In the age of information, and information overload, perhaps each piece of information holds less power.

We continue to learn about how media can contribute to enhancing the pipeline of information between local and national levels in both directions: too often people outside of the capital cities are the last to hear about entitlements and policies, and often the central government is under-informed about what is happening in the farthest corners of the country. We are particularly keen to explore the role of an agency like Uganda Radio Network in this regard and intend to embark on a strategic partnership with them in 2022 to explore opportunities to share:

- Stories, ideas, and lessons across localities for inspiration
- Content from national government to local authorities more efficiently
- Feedback, experiences and challenges from local to national

4. Specific ministries and institutions (including ministries of information, legal affairs, local government, communications regulators)

We have developed open relationships of mutual respect with specific government institutions as we demonstrate the value of citizen input – participatory models for planning, execution, assessment – to the success and impact of government action. We are even beginning to see seeds taking root as some of our ideas have been adopted by government and media institutions in Uganda. But we also acknowledge that we are pushing against the grain of a strong culture in government that lives beyond individuals and institutions, making it insidious and endemic. We remain committed to trying to change influential institutions and to embed participatory approaches in policies and activities to achieve wider resonance.

Twaweza uses its creative and credible communications capacity to channel the views and voices collected through our community-based work vertically through different levels of government in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. In all three countries we continue to use *Sauti za Wananchi* as a platform to collect representative citizen views on democratic freedoms and civic space issues, the issues unearthed through our work in communities including key service delivery challenges and government mandated entitlements and standards as well as the Sustainable Development Goals. These avenues serve as mechanisms to underscore the importance of citizen participation, agency and voice.

In Kenya, we continued with the national *Sauti za Wananchi* and the sub-national *Sauti za Makueni*. At national level, we engaged carefully and methodically with the Ministry of Health: we co-produced a brief with the technical team in the ministry (although it has yet to be published) and are co-producing a paper, we were invited to pitch communication ideas to their team and we shared the data with numerous officials in the ministry. We presented ideas for demystifying Covid-19 modelled on successful engagements in partnership from across the border in Uganda. Colleagues from the Ministry of Health in Uganda were part of a video pitch created for their counterparts in Kenya in which they strongly endorsed the centrality of citizens' perspectives and experiences in their response efforts. Although these elements were not picked up by Kenyan ministry officials, we received a letter of support from them, they are listed as co-investigators on the research protocol for our data collection and we collaborated on vaccine promotion on social media.

Alongside extensive ongoing engagement with the Ministry of Health, we worked with Kenya Revenue Authority (KRA) via the National Taxpayers' Association (NTA) – Kenya and with the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IBEC) on voter readiness data. We look for opportunities to add value with the data, exploring the unexplored. For example we focused on youth analysis for the voter preparedness data as this was a gap in available data.

In Uganda, we have been deliberate to ensure we co-create with ministries in each call round. As we plan a call round, we contact the technical staff at the ministries and interest them in our methodology and some of the key information areas that we explore. At the end of these sessions, we have gained both their trust to use our platform but have also received the areas that they feel are a gap in terms of what they know of citizens' experiences. Nurturing these relationships has led to continual inquiries from the same ministries on any available data. We ensured we complied with all research regulations to cement our credibility with authorities, and we present our data in an objective and non-partisan way to authorities generating trust and an ability to absorb even the more challenging findings.

For the ministry of water engagement, the lead development partner - on seeing our report presentation at the joint sector review - made remarks in his presentation that there was no need for the ministry to report that they had no data on access to piped water when other non-state actors like Twaweza had credible data. He pointed out the need to report on the population that has access to clean and safe water. A year later, one of the ministry officials informed us that after that joint sector review, they had started reporting by proportion of the population with access to piped water.

The Ministry of Information, Communication Technology and National Guidance worked with us to co-create the Access to Information Guide for civil servants following the challenges in access to information highlighted in the *Sauti za Wananchi* data. The ministry continues to work with Twaweza in the promotion of the guide in selected districts, by participating at a high level in training sessions, and through their social media pages.

We ran seven weekly media engagement sessions run in collaboration with the Ministry of Health. Participants included journalists, ministry officials and CSOs, and participant numbers were often in the hundreds. The sessions helped to demystify Covid-19. We also worked with the ministry on six Citizen Voices shows on NTV which featured ministers and high level officials in live interviews responding to citizens' concerns.

Alongside these targeted engagements with key ministries, we continued to reach out to various government institutions directly and to keep the public aware and the pressure on, we had a total of 12 events and continued an intensive program of media engagement.

We invested in making our content accessible and engaging: we produced a range of outputs including videos, briefs, fact-sheets, and audio features.

In Tanzania, given the change in administration, our engagements with national government were more on a one to one basis – through briefings and relationship-(re)building. We were invited to share further details on the data from artists around the country and amendments to media related laws. Through the Coalition on the Right to Information in Tanzania, we engaged with the Ministry of Legal and Constitutional Affairs, and the Ministry of Information to take

forward potential amendments to the Media Services Bill (2016) and better implementation of the Access to Information Act (2015).

We also engaged extensively in shaping the NGO sector via the Registrar of NGOs and the Ministry of Health (when they were responsible for the NGO sector) through an early year engagement between approximately 200 NGO attendees and a wide team of government officials which gave rise to a joint declaration; through supporting the National Council for NGOs' elections; through engagement in the government's new annual NGO Forum and through CSO Week. These regular engagements have yielded early results on the implementation side as the government works to take on the issue of NGO sustainability, in which we are closely involved, and through an ongoing process via Tanganyika Law Society to review the NGO Act and its regulations.

Outcomes

Government officials seek citizen views on policy and laws, have increased insights about citizen challenges (KE, TZ, UG)

KENYA

In Kenya, the Ministry of Health requested data from all Covid-19 and Covid-19 vaccine rounds to be presented to high-level ministry officials to inform policies, advocacy and mobilization of citizens to take up the vaccine.

Because of the invaluable data that we provide, Twaweza was requested to join two Covid-19 task force committees (Advocacy and Communication, Community Engagement and Monitoring and Evaluation work streams), and to provide a template County Vaccine Communications Plan to be rolled out in counties with the lowest vaccine uptake so far.

The Ministry of Health and Council of Governors have attested to the credibility and utility of *Sauti za Wananchi* data.

Twaweza secured a memorandum of Understanding with Kenya Institute of Public Policy Research and Analysis - the government research service - to enable *Sauti za Wananchi* data to feed into public policy for different sectors.

The Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission requested Twaweza's support to collect voter preparedness data. Kenya Revenue Authority invited Twaweza and the National Taxpayers Association - Kenya to engage their teams on our taxation data for input into tax policy review processes.

TANZANIA

In Tanzania, we were invited to present views on legal amendments including those that outlawed public interest litigation. We submitted analysis supported by a coalition of over 200 organisations to the parliamentary committee, religious leaders and editors.

Our ongoing engagement with legislative processes generated the invitation to engage more broadly with the parliamentary secretariat and thus find a regular conduit by which to channel insights from citizens into the legislative arm of government.

Our engagement with the regulation of the NGO sector, although ongoing, yielded some preliminary victories including a softening of rhetoric, acknowledgement of the importance of NGOs' contribution to the country by the President.

With our support, the Creative Industries Network Tanzania (CINT) compelled the Ministry of Arts, Culture and Sports to delay plans to review arts sector regulations until artists' input from around the country had been collected. Similarly, our partners JamiiForums supported the development of a model data privacy law and persuaded the Ministry of Information to slow their own process until wide stakeholder consultations and the draft model bill were complete.

UGANDA

In Uganda, the Ministry of ICT and the Parliament of Uganda requested us to collect citizens' views on their behalf and co-created the tools with us. The data on access to information will be used to inform amendments to the relevant law while the data for Parliament fed into the induction of new MPs and highlighted areas for ongoing outreach by the parliamentary secretariat. With the Ministry of Water and Environment, we continued to collect data from citizens' perspectives as we have in previous years. After we shared these data as part of the Joint Sector Review, the ministry changed their reporting indicator: they are now reporting using the percentage of households reached nationally and not the geographical location.

Our concerted engagement with the Ministry of Health, driven by the Covid-19 pandemic continued to yield fruit. We were included in two technical working groups, the risk communication pillar and evidence generation pillar. They also co-created all research tools on health. The Director General in the Ministry of Health has requested further engagements at national level around our vaccine willingness data after participating in the Tororo launch.

Government officials endorse, participate in and create spaces in which they interact directly with citizens (KE, TZ, UG)

In Uganda, six ministries and two government agencies were represented in the NTV Citizen Voices show where they engaged with citizens' perspectives through *Sauti za Wananchi* data and by answering questions submitted by citizens. However, only 6% of Ugandans were aware of the show. Although 3 out of 4 of those who remembered the show liked it, half of them could not remember and did not learn anything from the show. The Ministry of Health requested Twaweza support to organise media sessions for them to share information and answer citizens' questions. Following six successful such engagements, the ministry has adopted the model and are continuing to hold engagements characterised by responding to citizens' queries and concerns.

Government officials make decisions informed by citizen input (KE, TZ, UG)

In Kenya, data were collected in close partnership with the Ministry of Health who are using the Covid-19 data to inform their advocacy efforts and mobilisation for uptake of the Covid-19 vaccine.

The Ministry of Health also use *Sauti za Wananchi* data to inform their interventions; these data are referenced regularly in their discussions and meetings. In particular, *Sauti za Wananchi* data was used to set the baseline for the risk communication pillar's work and to change the vaccine messaging to be more positive and inform citizens about the benefits of vaccination.

Government officials encourage their peers to create new spaces for interaction, citizen expression and action, and government responsiveness (KE, TZ, UG)

The Ministry of Health in Uganda supported us in making a video for their counterparts in Kenya to encourage uptake of citizens' voices and experiences in their work.

What we are learning

Sauti za Wananchi data continues to be a significant asset to Twaweza in all three countries. We are learning that it is possible to co-create call rounds with relevant government ministries, departments and agencies without compromising the credibility and objectivity of the methodology. Moreover, we are realizing that government ministries, departments and agencies are more receptive and responsive to the citizens' voices when they are involved in designing data collection tools. Our government counterparts are also aware that they sometimes make difficult demands and they are appreciative when we stay with them and work through these. For example the ministry of health in Kenya were quite erratic in engaging with us around the brief we were supposed to co-produce (long periods of silence and then a sudden influx of comments – sometimes contradictory to previous comments – that needed immediate attention) but when we persevered they eventually came to acknowledge us publicly as strong partners providing invaluable evidence.

We need to be ever-conscious of resting too much on our laurels when government officials praise our data and the insight provided. This is in essence a building block for the outcomes we really want to achieve. Nonetheless without government recognition as a credible, reliable, safe partner, we cannot hope to interest them in the data and ideas we are promoting.

The Ministry of Health in Uganda has a long track record of emphasizing citizen engagement in their work. In public health spheres overall there is greater recognition for the importance of citizen input and we have been able to build on that understanding through our Covid-19 engagements. Despite the ministry's long track record in this space however, we do not see this posture influencing other government institutions. Since Covid-19 affected societies broadly and touched on the work of so many ministries and agencies it may provide this opportunity to spread the gospel of citizen input beyond ministries of health. We do feel that Covid-19 raised wider appreciation for the importance of citizen engagement among government officials and thus provides future opportunities for embedding this culture in government institutions.

5. Civil Society

We have significantly expanded our work with civil society in recent years, particularly in Tanzania. These partnerships contribute to our flexibility to act on emerging opportunities and issues. However assessing whether this work has meaningful and sustained impact on the organisations themselves and subsequently on the wider world

will be challenging. Nonetheless there are signs that we have had positive effects on our direct partners, and we hope these result in longer-term changes to their work.

Solidarity among civil society organizations in a time of closing civic space is vital, there is greater strength in numbers. During 2021, particularly in Uganda and Tanzania where we implemented most of our work despite the challenging Covid-19 pandemic, Twaweza worked more closely with peer civil society organizations on a number of initiatives.

In Tanzania, we worked to develop a new model of partnership to support organisations whose work we view as inherently valuable to our broader vision. In 2021, we supported the development of a new strategy for Tanzania Centre for Democracy (a forum for all political parties) and for Tanzania Editors' Forum. We also supported registration and regional engagements for the Creative Industries Network Tanzania, as well as collecting data from 1,000 artists on their views on the regulatory environment for government advocacy. We continued strengthening the systems and procedures and offered strategic advice to JamiiForums, TheChanzo and Equality for Growth.

We also worked to widen the variety of civil society organisations that we engage with: we ran capacity sessions for local radios to work on accountability content, trained religious leaders on advocacy strategies and media engagement, and facilitated private sector bodies' strategic reflection sessions.

We continued to focus on youth voices by supporting a coalition of seven youth orientated NGOs to come together to develop a joint five year program, building of their consultative youth agenda that was developed around the elections. These organisations were convened by Tanzania Bora Initiative. We also ran a learning session for them on working together effectively. In the same area, we input into the content for and supported part of the YouLead Summit to try to deepen our regional engagement.

In the legal space, we engaged in closed door advocacy around the Companies Act. And we worked with over 200 organisations to submit analysis on proposed legislative amendments.

We were also closely involved in the bi-annual Data Tamasha convened by Tanzania Data Labs which provided an important opportunity to assert our continued engagement in the data space despite challenges in collecting and disseminating citizen data. We successfully advocated for inclusion of conversations around the regulatory environment in the agenda as part of our ongoing push to open the space for Twaweza to re-awaken *Sauti za Wananchi*.

And we played a significant role in advocating for improvements in the regulation of our own NGO sector. We co-organised and input significantly into the declaration from a government and NGO engagement early in the year. We subsequently continued to push for implementation of the declaration. We supported the National Council of NGOs elections and participated in the first Government-NGO forum attended by the President of Tanzania. And we were core members of the Steering Committee for Civil Society Organisations' Week: we took the lead in shaping the agenda and participated in ten sessions. We helped bring in artists to engage with NGO delegates, encouraged the inclusion of the private sector and invited journalists to engage in open exchanges with NGOs.

In Kenya, we invited key stakeholders to the *Sauti za Wananchi* launches as panelists and this yielded a number of partnership leads. Following engagements at launch events, we followed up with multiple interactions to solidify these partnerships with Transparency International, the National Taxpayers Association, Queen Esthers Foundation and Organisation of African Youth. Given our smaller size and more limited programming in Kenya, this is an effective way to achieve wider impact. We also expanded our reach and influence through support to Mzalendo Trust on co-creating Kenya's fourth Open Government Partnership (OGP) National Action Plan (NAP). We co-convened a discussion event during OGP Week and participated in a number of the discussions and deliberations around the development of the fourth plan.

In Uganda, our main engagement and contribution to our peers is through the data that we collect and produce. In addition to these engagements, we worked closely with Africa Freedom of Information Centre given our shared interest and agendas – we participated actively in their events around Right to Know Day including through bringing in the Editors' Guild. This resulted in the access to information training work and into wider plans in this space for 2022. We also engaged Uganda Radio Network to ensure they survived near closure driven by the depletion of their resources due to higher costs for work during Covid-19 lockdowns and the suspension of the Democratic Governance Facility.

Unusual actors mobilize, coalesce and work together to take specific actions in defense of democracy (TZ)

In Tanzania, through Data Tamasha, the government via the National Bureau of Statistics committed to continue to solicit feedback on the regulatory environment for data and actively encouraged independent data collectors to support their efforts. In CSO Week, officials from the Ministry of Health welcomed independent Covid-19 perception data and applauded the contribution of the sector. These are minor but important steps towards a more open independent data environment which is a key element in an open civic space environment.

The artists' network that we supported to exist established links with CSOs through our facilitation of their participation in CSO Week and are now engaging the private sector as well to engage in joint advocacy on tax issues.

During CSO Week, we were witness to a much more robust and self-confident posture from NGOs. Although this was largely driven by the new governance dispensation, we believe that our collective engagement with our regulators throughout the year and careful crafting of the agenda for the convening helped to push our regulators and other government institutions into a more open and collaborative posture.

In Kenya, OGP engagement has connected us to a wider group of civil society actors and enabled us to feed our data into these processes. Although these are not as such unusual actors, the OGP space represents an important site to promote shared values around open governance and engage with the government on the same.

CSOs have increased advocacy, financial management and fundraising capacities (TZ, UG)

In Kenya, we made inroads towards supporting CSOs to access data for use in their advocacy work thus enabling them to be more evidence based.

In Tanzania, through our critical feedback exercise, partners and other NGOs acknowledge our contribution in providing support to others. We continue to provide capacity support to a number of organisations in terms of programs and governance and management. These include Equality for Growth, Legal and Human Rights Centre, JamiiForums. Capacity support to district partners is being assessed through longitudinal studies.

In Uganda, capacity support to district partners is being assessed through longitudinal studies. National CSOs are able to conduct evidence-based advocacy using our data.

Citizens express trust in civil society and view their work as constructive and critical (TZ) - None

Individual activists are better organised, networked, resourced, skilled and tooled (TZ, UG) - None

What we are learning

In Tanzania, as government and media engagement have been more difficult and slow to progress in recent years, we have focused on civil society engagements and media partnerships. We do believe these will help to strengthen the sectors and contribute to providing counter-balancing forces to the immense power wielded by the government. Moving forward, we need to return to direct government engagement around our data, ideas and experiences and we wish to generate media debate on critical issues through our data while continuing to develop this important new strand of work with civil society.

Feedback from our critical friends review continues to be mixed in terms of our engagements with other NGOs, with some peers being extremely positive and others continuing to describe us as arrogant and uncollaborative. We hope that our deeper engagement with more civil society organizations will dispel such perceptions.

In Kenya, there is a need for improved public participation in the OGP action plan co-creation processes to ensure citizens' views are meaningfully captured by widening the channels of conducting public participation i.e. apart from social media.

Wider societal outcomes

To what extent have our various activities in each country contributed to shaping the evolution of the underlying context? We had hoped to present some measurable progress at this juncture of the strategy. However powerful external forces have shaped the context.

First, the Covid19 pandemic has had a major impact on citizen agency and, government responsiveness and the authorities' respect for the rule of law. Our signature contribution has been to inform government decisions and citizens' awareness through our Sauti za Wananchi data, and related public and media engagement.

But, has this demonstrated the wider value of citizen-generated data? Has it persuaded governments to systematically seek and incorporate citizens views in public policy and

execution? Are authorities at local and national levels more willing to receive and respond to (organized) citizens' demands as a matter of course? These are open questions.

Secondly, the establishment of a new administration in Tanzania has been accompanied by significant changes in rhetoric, tone, better engagement by government with civil society, and a reduced enthusiasm for enforcing the more repressive laws and regulations. It is too early to detect any attributable effects of civil society in general and Twaweza's strategy in particular on the evolution of Tanzania's civic space.

Are citizens perceiving an improved space for engaging with authorities to solve their priority problems? Are media entities confident enough to drive challenging, evidence-informed and participatory debates on civic space and service delivery performance? Are government processes more open, inclusive and accountable? Are restrictive laws much less in use, have they been amended, and are new laws less restrictive? These too are open questions.

What we are learning

In September 2021, we prepared and reviewed with the Twaweza Board, a Strategic Reflections Paper to examine what we have been able to achieve since January 2019. Three years into our strategic period, we can offer these emerging summary observations about our contribution to wider societal outcomes:

1. As a result of our animation initiatives, local change agents in selected locations are igniting, focusing and channeling citizen agency in productive ways for the benefit of their communities.
2. Members of Parliament, district executives and village government leaders are warming up and starting to respond to their citizens' demands.
3. Through the Sauti za Wananchi platform, we are enhancing our credibility with local and national government ministries and agencies.
4. Civil society is diversifying and amplifying voices to strengthen solidarity
5. Traditional and online media vary in strength and reach, however their influence on government policy and performance is patchy.
6. While some individuals inside government are enhancing their responsiveness to citizens' inputs, we are struggling to make government systems and processes, work better for citizens.
7. While recent developments in Tanzania offer some room for cautious optimism, the legal and policy environment for less restrictive civic space remains elusive and respect for the rule of law is fragile.

We conclude this third Annual Report of the current strategic plan with a reminder of the three strategic goals and five (one is new) big bets that we are aiming to achieve we are aiming for:

1. **Strategic Goal 1.** *Citizens have the ability, willingness and opportunity to articulate their problems, come together to discuss them, express their views in the public sphere and take civic actions to address these challenges. They are acting, organising for change, and they use multiple strategies to do so.*
 - a. **Big Bet:** Action by animators, community representatives and local government champions will increase the ability, motivation and opportunities of citizens in selected geographies to participate in development decisions

- b. **Big Bet:** Through advocacy and communication, Twaweza and partners will demonstrate that citizen participation in local governance and service delivery lead to improved outcomes. Furthermore, these local experiences and insights will influence national conversations, media and policy.
- 2. **Strategic Goal 2.** *Local and national government agencies operate in ways that take account of citizen concerns, voices and civic action, and are able and driven to act in response.*
 - a. **Big Bet:** Provision of contextualized, systematic and regularly collected voices will compel public officials to engage citizens more in discharging their mandates (be more responsive to citizens' priorities)
 - b. **NEW Big Bet:** Early adopters of citizens' voices and participation will be encouraged and will encourage their peers to spread ideas and practices through early, even smaller successes. The positive outcomes will re-enforce and entrench these attitudes and behaviours helping to start a shift in norms among their peer group.
- 3. **Strategic Goal 3.** *Civic space is less restricted in regard to basic respect for free expression, association and assembly; access to information; and established rule of law.*
 - a. **Big Bet:** The confluence of diverse actors protecting and promoting democratic values within their spheres of influence compels Government to soften/tone down restrictive measures.

Partners 2021

Tanzania

- Azam Media to produce and broadcast news clips and talk shows on citizen agency
- Creative Industry Network Tanzania on research, advocacy and planning
- Ebony FM, Radio Habari Njema, Huheso FM, Pangani FM, Bukoba FM, Fadhila FM, Utume FM, Bariadi FM, Divine FM, Mazingira FM on local #MbungeLive
- Equality for Growth to evaluate their model on agency among market women traders, document success stories and support fundraising efforts
- Foundation for Civil Society on CSO Week 2021, National Council of NGOs elections, and government-sector engagement
- JamiiForums to produce and disseminate content that generates debate on governance, service delivery and livelihoods
- Kawahiyo Social Development Foundation on animation in Maswa
- Kengele Media for a partnership on satirical content via their online platform Kingo
- Knowledge Aid Community Development Association (KACODA), Global Education Partnership (GEP), NDELA Kituo cha maendeleo ya vijana Kigoma, Action Development Plan (ADP) Mbozi to implement the KiuFunza randomised control trial
- Kwanza TV to pilot a new television format with audience interaction known as YouDecide
- MaaMedia to implement a local radio version of the #MbungeLive MP accountability program
- Mbogwe Animators' Network for animation in Mbogwe
- MS Training Centre for Development Cooperation to deliver the governance day and East Africa Tubonge Day for YouLead 2021
- Mtandao wa wanawake wa pupinga na kutokomeza Ukatili wa Kijinsia katika Halmashauri ya Manispaa ya Kigoma Ujiji (MWAKUKUKI) is the women's association on gender violence in Kigoma which we helped to create and with whom we work to combat gender violence
- Nukta Media to promote citizen agency ideas, values, lessons and successes
- Pangani Coastal Paralegal Association on film and animation work in Pangani
- Tamasha to deliver animation in Tanzania
- Tanzania Bora Initiative, Agenda Participation Initiative, Bridge for Change, Open Youth Opportunity, Restless Development, Tanzania Youth Coalition, Tanzania Youth Vision Association, United Nations Association, Youth with Disabilities, Youth Partnerships Countrywide, Youth of United Nations Association Tanzania, Zanzibar Fighting Against Youth Challenges Organisation to design a five-year youth program built on the 2020 Youth Manifesto
- Tanzania Centre for Democracy to organize a national conference with participation of a broad range of democracy actors and stakeholders and to develop a new strategy
- Tanzania Data Labs on the biannual Data Tamasha to promote use of data and advocate for an enabling regulatory environment
- Tanzania Editors Forum on public discussions events with editors and strategic planning
- The Chanzo Initiative to develop their network of correspondents and their governance and management
- The Coalition on the Right to Information on media regulation and free expression advocacy, and implementation of the Access to Information (2016) Act
- Umoja wa Waraghbishi Manispaa ya Kigoma Ujiji (UWAMKU) is the Kigoma animators' network which we helped to found

- UNESCO on World Press Freedom Day and work on media and gender violence
- Victory Attorneys and Consultants on a Moot Court competition
- Voice of Change to address gender violence in Kigoma (Teleza)

Government Collaborators

- District teams in Pangani, Kigoma, Mbogwe and Maswa on participation work
- Ministry of Education and Vocational Training
- Ministry of Gender, Social Welfare, Children and the Elderly
- President's Office - Ministry of Regional Administration and Local Government
- School Quality Assurance Officers in Simiyu, Singida, Songwe, Kigoma, Tanga, Pwani
- Tanzania Association of Government Communications Officers

Uganda

- 11 print journalists from various media houses to promote data journalism
- Africa Freedom of Information Centre to advocate for improvements to the access to information law and to deliver training and a guide for civil servants
- Aids Education Group for Youth (AEGY) to deliver animation in Kamuli District
- Ama cradle for Development (AMACOD) to deliver animation in Kole
- Food Rights Alliance co-creation of SzW data on livelihoods under Covid-19
- Foundation for open Development to launch Covid-19 data in Tororo
- Fun Factory to produce skits on Covid-19
- Kamuli Broadcasting Station, Ssebo FM to promote participation success stories
- Media Challenge Initiative on production and social media
- Namutumba District NGO Forum (NNNGOF) to deliver animation in Namutumba
- NTV on producing and broadcasting the Citizens' Voices show
- Rakai Development Counsellors to launch Covid-19 data in Kyotera
- Rock Mambo, Elgon FM, RFM, Jogoo Fm, Buddu Broadcasting Services, Radio Sesse, Mbabule FM, Kooki Broadcasting Services, Trans Nile Broadcasting Services (Moyo), Radio Wa (Lira), Kamuli Broadcasting Services, Busoga One, Mighty Fire FM, Boona FM to promote data journalism and citizen voices
- Southern and Eastern Africa Trade Information and Negotiations Institute (SEATINI) to engage the government on citizens' perspectives on tax and economic issues
- The Centre for Policy Analysis to engage MPs around citizens' voices
- The Editors' Guild to amplify citizens' voices in the media space
- Uganda Musicians Association to produce a song to promote vaccinations
- Uganda Radio Network to produce informative content for local radio on citizens' voices, agency and experiences
- Uganda Water and Sanitation Network (UWASNET) to engage the Ministry of Water around citizens' experiences

Government Collaborators

- District teams in Namutumba, Kamuli and Kole on participation work
- Ministry of Health
- Ministry of ICT and National Guidance
- Ministry of Water
- Office of the Prime Minister

- Uganda Bureau of Statistics
- Uganda Revenue Authority

Kenya

- Ene FM for engagement on citizens' voices
- MAPACA Trust - partnering in the monitoring of the LAP I implementation and to lay foundation for the design and curation of the LAP II in Makueni county
- Mzalendo Trust to design and curate the process to produce the fourth Open Government Partnership National Action Plan
- National Taxpayers Association - Kenya on data collection and government engagement
- Organisation of African Youth to collect data and engage young people in election issues
- Queen Esthers Foundation to collect data and engage the county government in Makueni on gender issues
- Transparency International - Kenya on data collection and advocacy and engagement
- Uraia Trust - To collect data on election monitoring with special interest on ASAL counties and the Hotspot counties

Government collaborations

- Council of Governors
- County officials in Nandi, Elgeyo Marakwet, Vihiga, Kilifi
- Government of Makueni County
- Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC)
- Kenya Institute for Public Policy Research and Analysis (KIPPRA)
- Kenya National Bureau of Statistics
- Kenya Revenue Authority
- Ministry of Health