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Twaweza Independent Evaluation Design


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*THE CENTER FOR
INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION*

AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS, AMHERST



TWAVEZA INDEPENDENT EVALUATION DESIGN

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Table of Contents

| Section | Page |
|--|------|
| Introduction to Twaweza | 1 |
| The Independent Evaluation | 3 |
| <i>Goals</i> | 3 |
| <i>Purposes</i> | 3 |
| <i>Principles & Assumptions</i> | 4 |
| Theoretical Perspectives on Social Change & the Twaweza Strategy | 5 |
| <i>A Complex, Organic Systems Model of Social Change</i> | 5 |
| Key Contexts & Concepts | 8 |
| <i>The Political, Economic, Social and Environmental Context</i> | 8 |
| <i>Bureaucratic Culture, Structure, and Capacity</i> | 10 |
| <i>Information Processes</i> | 12 |
| <i>Agency: Self-Efficacy & Action</i> | 14 |
| <i>Institutional Response</i> | 16 |
| <i>Quality of Public Services: Water, Health, and Education</i> | 17 |
| Key Evaluation Questions | 18 |
| Implementation of the Evaluation | 19 |
| Components of the Mixed Methods Design | 19 |
| Approaches & Methodologies | 20 |
| Audiences, Communication, Dissemination & Links | 21 |
| References Cited | 22 |
| Figure 1. A Classical Model of Evaluation | 6 |
| Figure 2. A Complex, Organic Systems Model | 6 |
| Table 1. Key Concepts & Methodologies | 25 |
| Table 2. Methodologies: Description, Purpose, Sampling & Timing | 26 |
| Table 3. Preliminary Indicators of Key Concepts | 27 |
| Annex A. Implementing Evaluation Questions | 28 |
| Annex B. Evaluation Components Matrix | 33 |

TWAVEZA EVALUATION DESIGN

Twaweza is a Swahili word that means “we can make it happen.” In Tanzania, Uganda, and Kenya ‘Twaweza’ is the name of a citizen-centered initiative focusing on large-scale social change throughout East Africa.

This document describes the theoretical and conceptual framework for the independent evaluation of Twaweza. It describes and amplifies Twaweza’s theory of change: its key concepts, relationships and assumptions, and on this base articulates the evaluation’s conceptual framework, principles, approaches and methodologies.

A fundamental premise informs this work: the perspectives and lived experiences of citizens in East Africa will shape the theory and its evaluation. By implication, this design document provides a starting point (building on the body of previous research on evaluating social change and Twaweza’s work on this) that will be modified and shaped by experience with communities, citizens, institutions, and Twaweza’s partners.

This document begins with a brief introduction to the Twaweza initiative and to the goals and purposes of the independent evaluation. It then examines the premises and implications of Twaweza’s theory of social change, understood as a complex, organic system, an ‘ecological’ model, as Twaweza seeks to foment an ‘ecosystem of change’. It places the Twaweza’s strategy of working through established partner institutions to energize citizen agency and action within the context of political, social, and environmental conditions. It also describes the character of state bureaucracies, and the range of their responses to citizen agency, including greater engagement with citizens leading to improvement in the reach and quality of public services: water/sanitation, health, and education. This overview of the theory of social change, including its key concepts and processes, provides the basis for describing key questions and hypotheses, and the independent evaluation principles and methodology. Details on the evaluation design include key evaluation questions; implementation; components; approaches and methodologies; concluding with a discussion of strategies for communicating and disseminating evaluation elements and findings. This body of the document ends with matrices mapping key concepts onto methodologies (Table 1); linking methodologies, sampling, and timing (Table 2); and preliminary indicators of key concepts (Table 3).

Introduction to Twaweza¹

When exposed to the ferment of information and ideas, and having access to practical tools, pathways and examples of how to turn these ideas into actions, ordinary citizens can become the drivers of their own development and act as co-creators of democracy.

Twaweza embodies the democratic ideal that sustainable change is driven by the actions of motivated citizens...and that public pressure and public debate are more effective drivers of change than expert or policy driven technocratic reforms. Twaweza recognizes that citizen action in practice requires leadership and is made possible by organizing through social networks, and that not every person is likely to take initiative. There are individuals across all spheres and all levels with a desire for and

¹ The text from this section is drawn from documents on the Twaweza web site: www.twaweza.org.

ability to make change. In every village and urban neighborhood, there are (extra-)ordinary citizens who are analyzing, agitating, organizing, and acting to improve on issues of concern to them. In this approach, community level change agents are not identified by Twaweza or its partners; rather, an environment is created in which information, ideas, and connections are enhanced – where actors ‘self-identify’ themselves, grab the opportunities they find compelling, and run with them, and that over time a critical ecosystem of change is developed. Twaweza will seek to help citizens reclaim government and animate public institutions, and over time to help develop a new, more responsive ‘compact’ between citizens and the state.

Twaweza’s strategy is to begin with key institutions, networks, and leaders that already have substantial reach (with wide distribution networks that touch large numbers of people) and the capacity to act as agents of change, even where their stated purposes are not ‘development’. These large networks may be effective vehicles to reach citizens, but a core Twaweza principle is that content should be determined by citizens themselves. Information needs, interests, and propensities of citizens vary across time, location, sex, and age. The core idea is not to identify or predetermine information ‘needs’ at one fixed point and then supply that through one fixed channel, but to expand the means and options by which people can reliably access and communicate information that they care about. The emphasis is on making information meaningful and transparent, user-friendly, and that resonates with ordinary citizens. There is also emphasis on citizens generating information themselves; both are intended to encourage them to exercise voice.

For the purposes of the independent evaluation, Twaweza’s strategy of citizen-centered social change can be articulated as a set of two assertions and three propositions²:

Assertion 1: Citizens in Tanzania, Uganda, and Kenya, especially the most marginalized, do not currently have easy access to information about the quality and reach of basic services (especially health, education, water/sanitation) and the functioning of government (policies, programs, initiatives).

Assertion 2: Through its partnerships, Twaweza will expand the channels through which information about public services is generated, accessed, and shared, thereby multiplying the means and modes of communication.

Proposition 1: Provided with, or having generated, information that is understandable (language, medium, complexity) and meaningful, citizens will creatively transform and share that information, becoming more aware of and knowledgeable about their circumstances and choices.

Proposition 2: Given enhanced knowledge and a disposition towards action (agency), citizens will give voice to their perspectives and knowledge within the public sphere, including the media, social and political leaders, and with local public services (schools, health clinics, and water/sanitation agents, among others).

Proposition 3: As society hears and responds positively to citizens’ voice, and these perspectives and information become part of public discourse, social action will lead to an improved quality of public services, including more effective performance by government agencies (those responsible for education, health, and water, among others).

² These have been modified from what was in CIE’s evaluation proposal.

The Independent Evaluation

The [Center for International Education](#) (CIE) at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst has been appointed as the independent, external evaluator of Twaweza, for the first phase of its work 2009-2014.³ CIE has formed partnerships with three Universities: the Institute for Development Studies at the University of Dar-es-Salaam; the Institute for Development Studies at University of Nairobi; and the Institute for Social Research at Makerere University in Kampala. The independent evaluation will involve baseline surveys in each country followed by a range of qualitative and quantitative studies throughout the full five years.

Goals

As the independent evaluator, CIE is charged with four primary goals: 1) verification of Twaweza's outputs; 2) identification of outcomes/effects; 3) analysis of the relation between outputs and outcomes/effects; and 4) review of the appropriateness of Twaweza's theory of change⁴.

A secondary goal is to contribute to Twaweza's learning and communications processes by making rigorous analyses which invite probing questions and discussions available on a regular basis to the Learning & Communications Team. This is often referred to as 'formative evaluation', although that concept trivializes the depth of interaction and supported questioning that Twaweza is committed to. These analyses and discussions will focus on 'what is working well', on 'what needs re-positioning or re-calibrating', and on 'what is just not working at all.'

Overall, CIE is charged with assessing broad changes and impacts in society over time. That is, to assess whether there appear to be ecosystem effects across three key elements in Twaweza's Theory of Change logic:

- Access to information
- Citizen agency
- Service delivery

Effects at the service delivery level (that is, changes in the provision of basic services in education, health care, and clean water) will not be rigorously assessed until the end of the second five-year period. However, trends may be identified towards the end of the first five-year period. To that end, measurement in these areas will be part of the baseline study.

Purposes

Given these broad goals, the purposes of the independent evaluation are:

- To describe and analyze broad changes in citizen engagement in the public sphere;
- Should such changes occur, to infer how Twaweza partners' contribute to fostering this ecosystem of change⁵;

³ Twaweza also organizes an on-going internal evaluation, which includes each partner tracking its own activities and outputs. The focus of these efforts is organizational learning (see the Monitoring and Evaluation document on www.twaweza.org.)

⁴ The goals and purposes described here are stated in the contract between Twaweza and CIE/UMass. We note that these terms are somewhat at variance with Twaweza's theory of change and represent a 'traditional' approach to project planning and evaluation (see Reeler, n.d.).

⁵ Twaweza defines 'ecosystem of change' as "Ecosystems and ecology are metaphors for the dynamic interconnectedness of people, resources, structures and institutions, and the networks, niches, flows and pathways of

- To contribute robust analyses to Twaweza’s learning and communications agenda;
- To make public and transparent the evaluation design, instruments, and analyses;
- To seek regular critical feedback on design and instruments; and
- To contribute to debate and discourse about social change and evaluation.

Principles and Assumptions

The goals and purposes of the independent evaluation are outlined above. Given that Twaweza is seeking to animate public debate and encourage greater agency among ordinary citizens across East Africa, it is clearly consistent with social change-oriented groups, organizations, and movements. While there is variability in emphasis, many such groups take as central that they are working to “reduce poverty and oppression by changing underlying unequal power relationships”⁶. As discussed above, CIE’s view is that Twaweza is attempting to shift the relationships between citizens and the state towards greater public debate, transparency, and accountability of the state towards its citizens, primarily through the media.

Initiatives seeking broad-scale social change cannot be easily evaluated using traditional monitoring and evaluation approaches and methods. Recent thinking on ways to assess such initiatives soundly critiques traditional methods as impoverished in capturing broad social changes⁷ and as stifling the critical reflection and learning that “enhances social change processes”⁸.

Largely because the ‘foment’ of ideas can take unexpected directions, stipulating specific outcomes is problematic. Changes triggered at least in part by Twaweza partner activities will likely be non-linear, affected by other initiatives taking place within the country contexts, and long-term in their evolution. Tracing broad changes that may take many forms demands an open and flexible approach to evaluation. However, Twaweza must also meet accountability demands from its funders, as is quite appropriate. The evaluation, therefore, must meet both needs: evaluation for accountability and evaluation for learning⁹. Meeting both needs demands flexibility in design and implementation, as the evaluation learns from its own processes and preliminary findings.

CIE espouses the following principles to guide the evaluation. First, the evaluation will adhere to the highest standards of ethical practice¹⁰. This means that individuals will not be treated as means to ends, but rather respected for their intrinsic worth as they share their perspectives, beliefs, life experiences, hopes, and expectations. An ethical stance also means that CIE will seek, to the extent feasible within a given methodology, to engage with citizens on their own terms, to protect their security and confidentiality, and to build rapport, trust, and even intimacy over time. Clearly, these latter considerations will be most salient for the case studies, especially those occurring over time.

Second, CIE is committed to listening to the multiple, sometimes conflicting and different, voices of local citizens. Seeking a diversity of perspectives, especially from those most marginalized, is a principled stance that we take.

information and communication” (Twaweza, Theory of Change, v.3, internal document made available to CIE on April 5, 2010.

⁶ Gujit, 2007, p. 4

⁷ See, among others, the Institute for Development Studies’ Participation, Power and Social Change initiative at <http://www.ids.ac.uk/go/research-teams/participation-team>; the Outcome Mapping Learning Community at <http://www.outcomemapping.ca/index.php>.

⁸ Gujit, 2007, p. 2.

⁹ Bakewell, Adams & Pratt (2003) articulate four broad purposes for monitoring and evaluation: accountability, improving performance, learning (both internal and external), and communication.

¹⁰ See Rossman & Rallis (in press).

Third, we will employ a variety of methodologies, some of which could be considered ‘alternatives’ to traditional monitoring and evaluation, as noted above, because of their power to contribute to learning – from and with citizens, within Twaweza, and in the larger global domain of those committed to civic driven change and development and the evaluation practices which accompany them. While quantitative measures are important, especially to establish baseline descriptions and for purposes of accountability, we will be parsimonious in their use. The specific methodologies to be used are detailed below.

Fourth, as articulated above, CIE espouses the fundamental principles of ecological change: because systemic change is unpredictable and occurs within complex and interacting spheres of influence, attributing direct causality to Twaweza partner activities is highly problematic. Thus, the evaluation will infer Twaweza partners’ contributions to observed changes while remaining closely attentive to the multiple other influences that might also contribute – or even more directly account for – such changes.

Finally, given the nature of social change-oriented initiatives, CIE adheres to the principle of flexibility. Key concepts, indicators, and specific questions to be pursued, will evolve and emerge as the evaluation unfolds.

Theoretical Perspectives on Social Change and the Twaweza Strategy

Twaweza’s experiment with democracy seeks a changed relationship between citizens and the state, by which institutions of government responsible for delivering services (water, health, education), become responsive to citizen’s articulated needs and demands. There is an organic (ecological) relationship between the 1) political, economic, social; and environmental forces; 2) citizen agency and action; 3) the development of an ecosystem of public debate that is recursive; and 4) government institutional culture, capacity, and response.

Twaweza’s change strategy is based on premises that 1) the state in its exercise of power is willing and able to assure security, the rule of law, a system of justice (including the suppression of corruption in public office), support of human rights, and freedom of information to support democratic processes; and 2) state bureaucracies (Ministries of Water, Health, and Education) are willing and capable of responding to citizen agency in providing improved welfare services. The analysis of these two premises, as they affect the development of citizen agency and the political and bureaucratic responses to that agency, is an essential aspect of the evaluation of the Twaweza initiative.

A Complex, Organic Systems Model of Social Change

Citizen agency and citizen capacity to influence improvements in public services are shaped by two interrelated contexts. First, political, economic, social, and environmental forces shape and constrain the exercise of citizen agency. These forces include issues of security, justice, and the rule of law; the freedom of information and human rights; issues of social power and stratification (by wealth, class, gender, ethnicity, religion) and exclusion; and conditions of poverty and opportunity for livelihood. These issues arise and are embedded within a broader context that includes colonial and post-colonial history, cultural norms and practices, the radical increase in communications technology (with the majority of adults having cell phone access), population growth and urbanization, global economic and cultural forces, and the changing natural environment (water sources, land, forests, biodiversity suffering accelerating degradation).

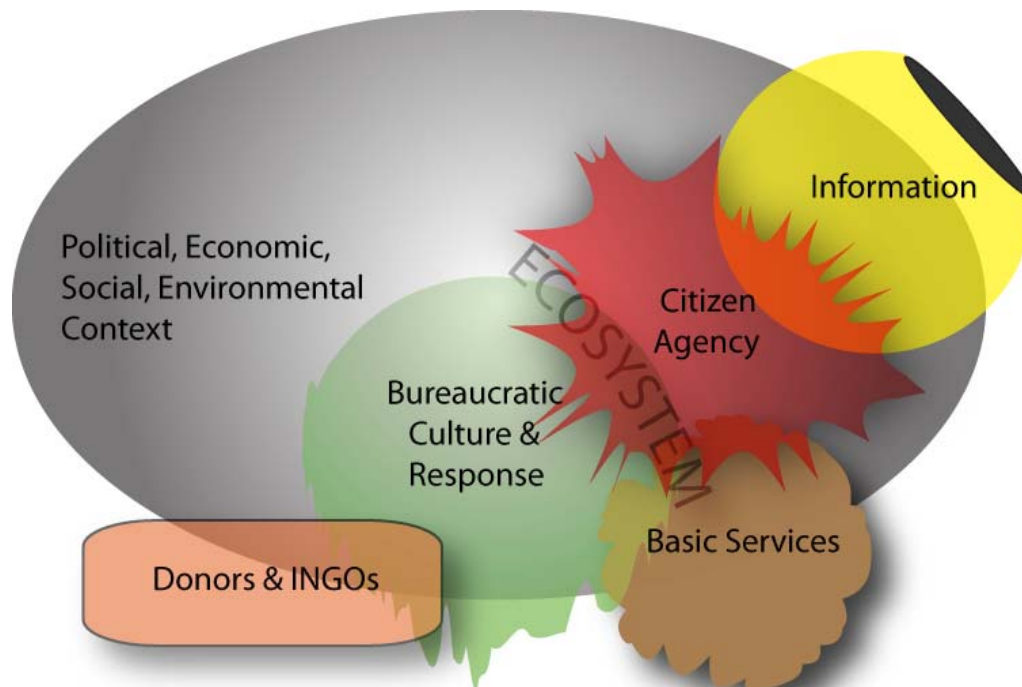
Second, the effectiveness of citizen agency and action to seek improved public services is profoundly affected by bureaucratic culture, structure and capacity, which is embedded within the larger national context of governance. Bureaucratic response to citizen agency and action may take the form of non-response, denial, active victimization of citizens, or, in the best case, the reflection on and modification of dysfunctional policies and/or practices.

We do not agree here that these are linear, causal links, although there are undoubtedly causal factors at work. Rather, these forces interact with citizen agency in a complex set of relationships. Our theoretical understanding of this process affects the practical concepts that will guide the evaluation. Rather than a classical model that examines hypotheses along a linear and causal chain, with independent, intervening, and dependent variables, we see a complex, cyclical system of processes and relationships with feedback which acts upon each process. This system can move towards improved political, economic, social and environmental conditions, or regress, reducing citizen freedom and agency. These contrasting theoretical perspectives can be simply presented as follows:

Figure 1. A Classical Model of Evaluation

| Independent Variables | | | Dependent Variables | |
|------------------------------|--|--|--|-------------------|
| Information → | Citizen Agency → | Citizen Action → | Bureaucratic Response → | Improved Services |
| Intervening Variables | Political, economic, social, environmental context | Bureaucratic culture, structure and capacity | Influence of global forces and actors, incl. donors, INGOs | |

Figure 2. A Complex, Organic Systems Model (an ‘Ecological’ Model)¹¹



In this conception of social change, the national political, economic, social, and environmental context (within which are the state bureaucracies – Ministries – providing public services) shapes (and may well condition and/or constrain) the disposition and freedom of citizens to take action to improve public

¹¹ This graphic was prepared by Jason Schweid, University of Massachusetts.

services. Citizens are influenced and encouraged in doing this through generating, receiving, and acting on information (specifically information that is stimulated and shaped by Twaweza partners). Citizen agency will result in actions that stimulate an ecosystem of public debate and discussion which may, in turn, elicit a response from government agencies; that response will be shaped by the bureaucratic culture, structure, and capacity. Donors and INGOs work to enhance that capacity through a myriad of projects and ‘sector’ support financing. The Ministries’ (and their offices at district and local levels, including clinics and schools) responses will affect the access, equity, and quality of public services, and citizen agency will, in turn, be influenced (either strengthened or weakened) by that response.

This is a complex and non-linear system in that there are myriad and unpredictable events in the political (civil conflict arising from an election) and economic contexts (rapid inflation, energy crisis), within the environment (drought, food shortage from crop failure), within bureaucracies (the change of a Minister or top official or an increase in corruption), and from the international actors (a major World Bank institutional strengthening program), that can overwhelm other system influences, including government programs, donor programs, and/or citizen agency.

In addition, each of the processes indicated by the arrows has a feedback loop, which profoundly influences these processes in a complex and recursive manner. Citizen agency is enhanced by its success, or thwarted by its failures, in influencing a government bureaucracy. A change in the provision of services, either beneficial or otherwise, will likewise generate information and again influence citizen agency. More broadly, a national crisis, such as a food shortage, or an economic shock leading to rapid inflation and energy crisis, will generate a cycle of interactions including new information and bureaucratic responses which affect citizen agency.

Given this characterization of the social change process, the task of evaluating Twaweza’s strategy – catalyzing citizen agency through its Partners by stimulating, generating, and shaping information – requires an evaluation design that can assess the conditions under which that agency is nourished and effectively contributes to a positive government response.

We believe it is critically important to understand that the Twaweza initiative reflects a paradigm shift in development thinking that puts citizens’ freedom, agency, and welfare at the center: “In our theory of change, citizen agency is an end in itself, and expected to contribute to improved service delivery outcomes over the medium to long term.”¹² The improvement of basic services of education, health, and clean water is not the touchstone for Twaweza’s effectiveness. Indeed, it is a part of citizens’ role, rather than only experts or evaluators, to make judgments about the quality of public services. From this perspective, the improvement of basic services, *in the judgment of citizens*, is a contributing variable to enhancing citizen freedom and agency.

With these preliminary remarks on the concepts of social change that will guide and inform the evaluation of Twaweza, we move now to articulate the concepts and examples of indicators that will provide the basic information needed for the independent evaluation. It bears repeating here that these conceptions and indicators are starting points. The perspectives and lived experiences of communities, citizens, institutions, and Twaweza’s partners will have to shape the theory, its concepts and its evaluation.

¹² From Twaweza’s Monitoring and Evaluation document on www.twaweza.org. This paradigm shift reflects Sen’s argument that human freedom is the touchstone of development, and that social wellbeing depends on that: “*basic civil rights and political freedoms are indispensable for the emergence of social values...the freedom to participate in critical evaluation and the process of value formation is among the most crucial freedoms of social existence*” (Sen, 1999, p. 287, italics added).

Key Contexts & Concepts

The central concepts and relationships guiding the evaluation arise from Twaweza’s articulated theory of change and amplified by the theoretical considerations just discussed. They include:

Political, Economic, Social and Environmental Context
Bureaucratic Culture, Structure and Capacity
Information Processes
Citizen Agency and Action
Institutional Response
Access, Equity and Quality of Basic Services: Water, Health, and Education

In transforming these broad contexts and ideas into usable – operational – concepts for the evaluation, it follows from the complex systems approach that they are understood not as static entities, but rather as interrelated, dynamic processes. Thus the term ‘information’ is not a ‘thing’, but represents the complex interface of individual and social cognitive-emotional responses to on-going streams of communication. This approach shapes both the approach to acquiring data and information and the analysis.

It should also be noted that, while the independent evaluation is charged with assessing ‘broad changes and impacts in society over time,’ its particular charge is to examine effects across the three key elements in Twaweza’s theory of change: access to information, citizen agency, and service delivery. These are the elements where the evaluation will place the greatest focus and level of effort.

The Political, Economic, Social, and Environmental Context

“The freedom of agency that we individually have is inescapably qualified and constrained by the social, political and economic opportunities that are available to us. There is a deep complementarity [sic] between individual agency and social arrangements... and there are interconnections between instrumental freedoms of economic opportunities, political freedoms, social facilities, transparency guarantees and protective security.”¹³

Over the past twenty years, there has been a growing realization that governance is a central constraint on development and the enhancement of people’s wellbeing in the poorest countries. As Hyden and Court note, “A brief review of the literature highlights *governance quality as the most critical variable in promoting development across the world...* Even when societies are considered to be democratic, there is often a sense of impotence about the inefficient, unresponsive, and unjust ways in which governance takes place.”¹⁴

A large body of research and literature analyzes governance within the developing world, and specifically for Africa. There are significant advances in defining the concepts, the indicators, and surveys of good governance at the national level. These include Transparency International, the Ibrahim Index for Africa, the work of the Africa Capacity Building Foundation (ACBF), and the Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI). While there are significant theoretical and conceptual differences among academic researchers and institutions involved in this work, the World Governance Indicators is a reasonable standard¹⁵

¹³ Sen, 1999, p. 288.

¹⁴ Hyden & Court, 2002, p. 32, italics added.

¹⁵ WGI reports aggregate individual governance indicators for 212 countries and territories over the period 1996 – 2008. It combines the views of a large number of enterprise, citizen and expert survey respondents in industrial and

The key dimensions of governance in the WGI are:

- Voice and accountability
- Political stability and absence of violence [security]
- Government effectiveness
- Regulatory quality
- Rule of law, and
- Control of corruption

To this set of governance dimensions, we must also, for the purposes of analyzing the context within which citizen agency is exercised, include the following:

- Economic conditions including high inflation, loss of livelihoods
- Social policy and practices on equity and inclusion (of women, reaching the marginalized)
- Environmental conditions and ecological resources.

There are arguments that good governance is not simply a matter of a constitutional or legal framework and practice. It is noted that those nations that are most corrupt do have various laws and mechanisms to control corruption, but it continues¹⁶. However, the indicators of good governance are clear to ordinary citizens, even though they are largely absent from contemporary practice of governance in Africa. These include: moral responsibility and obligation; sacrifice; compassion; justice; and an honest effort to strive for and achieve social goals¹⁷.

In an analysis of governance in post-colonial Africa, Dwivedi notes “African countries have been disarticulated since colonial times from their indigenous institutions of problem solving. Instead of Africa’s post-independence governments redressing these anomalies, they have further aggravated them by reproducing local despotism at the national level – emerging as forms of authoritarian or patrimonial rule.”¹⁸

The symptoms of the crisis in African governance noted by Olowu and other analysts¹⁹ include:

- A dominant authoritarian/patrimonial rule paradigm, placing the ruler and his closest advisors and supporters above the rules. Autocracy leads to the violation of human rights, systemic clientism, corruption, and misuse of state resources;
- Breakdown of public governance and services, evidenced by creeping decay from petty corruption by low-level bureaucrats to big-time grand corruption by many leaders;
- An increasing number of citizens seeking solutions to their problems outside state structures, through community-based security arrangements and alternative means of obtaining essential services (private and community clinics, schools, etc) ;

developing countries. The individual data sources underlying the aggregate indicators are drawn from a diverse variety of survey institutes, survey think tanks, non-governmental organizations, and international organizations.

¹⁶ Transparency International.

¹⁷ Dwivedi, 2002.

¹⁸ Dwivedi, 2002.

¹⁹ Olowu & Soumana, 2002, pp.59-60. See also Davidson, 1993; Mandami, 1996; and Dwivedi, 2002, among others.

- The persistent tendency for state policy to be guided by the urban elites rather than rural productive interests, leading to rapid urban migration and a high impoverishment of urban areas without adequate infrastructure and public services;
- Degeneration of capacity to manage the physical environment, especially the damage from imported agricultural technology and equipment, chemical fertilizers, seeds and grains, and practices such as commercial deforestation leading to desertification, cyclical drought, loss of biodiversity and rural impoverishment.

The challenge that faces the evaluation of Twaweza is how to reflect these key concepts as they affect the exercise of citizen agency in a manageable and cost-effective approach. At the national level, this is possible by using existing research and indices, particularly data and information from the WGI and TI, as well as a mapping of national newspapers and media. To that we will add data on issues of economic and social equity (available through our household surveys and DHS) and existing analyses of environmental status and degradation.

At the local level, which is where citizen agency and action is exercised and where its impact is felt and seen, the analysis of governance, economic, social, and environmental conditions is problematic since this is such a broad range of forces. Also, the dimensions of governance relating to security, rule of law, and corruption, which are vital to citizen freedom and agency, are difficult to assess through a questionnaire, since honest responses require a level of trust not achieved in household surveys.²⁰ However, it is possible to inquire into these issues through in-depth community profiles, in which evaluators establish trusting relationships and direct knowledge of the history, conditions, and exercise of power within a community. The key conditions and citizen views to assess at the local level include:

- Security: protection and safety;
- Prevalence of drugs, arms, and criminal gangs;
- Rule of law and justice in dealing with crime and corruption;
- Protection of citizens in the exercise of rights, especially: speech; association; public assembly;
- Role and ‘voice’ of the press, radio, TV, and mobile phones;
- Role of religious institutions, teachers and trade unions, consumer goods networks;
- Corruption of political and government leaders;
- Economic conditions: activity of formal and informal markets;
- Livelihoods, income and poverty indicators (including food security, living costs); and
- Indicators of environmental conditions, degradation.

Bureaucratic Culture, Structure, and Capacity

It is essential for the independent evaluation to assess the character of government bureaucracies responsible for water/sanitation, health, and education so as to understand their response to citizen agency and action. Dwivedi traces the trajectory of contemporary government institutions in Africa that are charged with providing public services in these terms:

²⁰ Galasiński & Kozłowska, 2010.

“Power shifted from bureaucrats at the end of the colonial period to politicians, who, within a short time, to achieve political ends, moved away from established norms of professionalism, neutrality and objectivity, and the shift in civil service appointments, promotions came: politicians acting as brokers between business concerns and government departments, the politicizing of the interpretation and enforcement of [regulations] and laws; the censoring of mass media so that anti-regime views are not circulated; interference in the normal functioning of administration to secure appointments of supporters and relatives; influencing the sale of government property and issuing of contracts and licenses...Such an environment has influenced the behavior and attitudes of public servants...consequently, the bureaucracy in many countries has become a pawn in the use and abuse of power and authority”.²¹

A fundamental feature of government bureaucracies that impacts on citizen agency to work for a change in public services is the nature and level of corrupt practices. These include:

- Actions to secure an income by front line government workers (underpaid teachers, community health workers) by charging fees for what are supposed to be public services, such as of CHWs using pharmacies to dispense medicines, public school teachers tutoring for a fee, and charges for access to public water points.
- Charging ‘unauthorized’ fees and taxes for official registrations, licenses and certificates (exam fees, health certificates, market sellers’ license).
- Illegal acts of bribery or fraud – especially in recruitment, promotion of public service staff (police, teachers, health workers).
- Incompetence in keeping records or accounts (where materials, supplies, money ‘disappears’ with no records).
- Large scale embezzlement, fraud, bribery and kickbacks (by highly placed officials or politicians especially in connection with contracts and private sector actors).²²

These forms of corruption inure the bureaucracy against improving the quality of its services, since this would act against the private interest of government staff who gain income, or power, by the practices. Example: a teacher who depends on private tuition in return for having students pass will resist improving instructional practice within the school classroom (eliminating the market for private tutoring).

In addition to corrupt practices, government bureaucratic culture and structure will have a direct bearing on how public institutions respond to citizen agency and action. One useful framework of analysis is to characterize structure and leadership within public agencies along a spectrum from authoritarian and rule driven, to participative and performance oriented.²³ These categories of organizational leadership and

²¹ Dwivedi, 2002, p. 42, italics added.

²² See Chapman, 2002.

²³ A good resource for the analysis of bureaucratic leadership, culture, and structure is Rondinelli et al., 1990.

structure provide rubrics for examining specific bureaucratic process such as planning and budget preparation, allocation, and use; staffing recruitment, promotion and accountability; and evaluating and reporting organizational performance. As numerous analysts and commentators have noted, African government ministries generally have a highly centralized, authoritarian, and regulation driven culture, which simultaneously is driven by those with political power and control. This limits their openness to engage with citizens in the performance of their services

Apart from corruption, bureaucratic culture, and structure, the issue of capacity will also be central in the response to citizen agency and action. ‘Capacity’ is taken here to mean resources, leadership, and the quality of staffing. A Ministry of Education that allocates over 90 percent of its recurrent budget to personnel will not have the resources to improve the supply of instructional materials, or pay for transport to assure that schools have professional support and inspection, even if these items are central to citizens’ concerns. Also, if the leadership of a district office, or of a health clinic, charges citizens and staff for services and medications, and is not held to account, this will frustrate citizen agency. Finally, if the district offices, clinics, schools or water services do not have knowledgeable, skilled staff, or if the staff are not paid or supervised, these local institutions cannot effectively respond to citizen needs.²⁴

In summary, key elements of an analysis of bureaucratic culture, structure and capacity that will shape the response to citizen agency and action include:

- Corrupt practices, especially private fees, bribes for public services
- Bureaucratic culture and structure: authoritarian to participatory
- Capacity: resources (including budgets) and staffing

The Twaweza evaluation does not have the capacity, nor the mandate, to analyze on a large scale or with rigor the elements of the bureaucratic culture, structure, and capacity. The focus of our evaluation will rather be on the *institutional response* to citizen agency, particularly as it is manifested at the local level in health clinics, schools, and water services. However, it is vital that, through the community profiles, and in special targeted studies, we address these elements and analyze their influence on the institutional response to citizen agency

Information Processes

The catalytic effect of developing, sharing, spreading, using, and generating information is central to the Twaweza social change process. As noted above, ‘information’ is not just a message (a noun); rather we construe it as a complex set of processes that energizes citizen agency. It has these characteristics²⁵

- Information is not a ‘thing’ – a datum – but a dynamic, ubiquitous force in social life. Its root meaning derives from *in - form*. Life uses information to organize matter into form. Societies, communities transform information into knowledge and organize to change social institutions.
- Citizens’ capacity for meaning-making plays a crucial role: they – individually and in groups – are interpreters, deciding which information to pay attention to, which to suppress. A metaphor for *meaningful* information is ‘nourishment’ for social change.

²⁴ Of course it is possible and expected (in the Twaweza strategy) that these are precisely the issues that citizen agency and action, taken to the next level of governance, can critique and change.

²⁵ Thanks to Margaret Wheatley (1999) in her work for these characterizations of information dynamics within human organizations and complex systems.

- As soon as people become interested in an issue, their creativity is engaged. Information that stimulates reflective conversations, especially among different parts of a community, will spawn new interpretations, new meanings, new stories – new information.
- It is not the amount of information, nor its broad generalizations, that is key in the change process, but its *meaning* to individuals/groups that makes it potent (or not). When information is identified as meaningful, it becomes a force for change. Such information circulates and grows and mutates in the conversations and interactions that occur.

The role of Twaweza, through its partners, is to nourish citizens with truthful, meaningful information that catalyzes information development, increasing diversity of meanings and experiences. Information then becomes a dynamic force working through social networks and organizations, to engage the attention and response of institutions and leaders.

Twaweza’s unique perspective and strength as a development initiative emerges from the new dynamic of information technology. The following example illustrates this principle:

‘Where the really exciting stuff is happening’

“Real and meaningful change, says Rajani, can only be achieved by engaging the political process. And key to this engagement is learning how to work with the media. Take, for instance, a water project in Tanzania described during the session as a success story from the perspective of accountability. Government funds were provided for improving water services in a particular district, but this was implemented in only some quarters and not others. When the prime minister visited the area to inaugurate the project, citizens were able to organize through a combination of local radio and text messaging. They blocked the road on which the prime minister was traveling, and managed to show him that the project had not been implemented as planned. The prime minister then continued on to the inauguration event and publicly castigated the district water engineer.

Here we see citizens taking it upon themselves to make sure their voices were heard – by tapping into the local media ecology. It was a combination of traditional and new media technologies that enabled both community organizing and the exercise of voice. In fact, in terms of making change happen through accountability mechanisms, Rajani emphasized that “media is where the really exciting stuff is happening.”²⁶

A cautionary note is in order. The widespread access to cell phones and texting, the proliferation of local radio, and access to the internet do not necessarily provide more accurate or truthful accounts of political, economic, and social issues. Indeed, as has recently been demonstrated in the USA, widespread access to new media technology can be turned by those with political and economic power into distortion and rumor and create a toxic environment for social discourse. Likewise, in societies (Kenya, Rwanda) with leadership committed to enhancing personal power, using divisive ethnic and political antagonisms fueled by historic injustices, the media can quickly escalate civil grievances into outright conflict.

²⁶ Antonio Lambino reporting on a presentation at the Center for Global Development by Rakesh Rajani, March 2010. Retrieved March 25, 2010, from <http://blogs.worldbank.org/publicsphere/where-really-exciting-stuff-happening>.

In seeking to assess Twaweza's partners impact on information in the three countries, we are looking for compelling messages provided through multiple channels and media about public services, that increase awareness and interest of citizens and stakeholders in improving services.

An important distinction needs to be made between information interpreted as a private issue (e.g. daughter dropping out of school, child having diarrhea which is a reflection of private failure) and information that is interpreted as a reflection of a social service or system weakness (many dropouts linked to absence and abuse of teachers, widespread diarrhea reflecting contaminated water).

What are some characteristics of 'compelling information', information that 'sticks'? Some hypotheses (that need to be verified by asking citizens):

- Attracts attention, 'disturbs' existing understandings;
- Perceived to be truthful, reliable (provided by trustworthy source);
- Personally meaningful – in form and content it engages attention, emotional response in its medium (language, song, visual image) and message;
- Confirms a suspicion or belief and provides evidence supporting that strengthening that belief; links to 'your' story;
- Affects your wellbeing, or your loved ones' wellbeing – your survival or livelihood;
- Privileges the information, something you want to share with others, enhancing personal efficacy/power; and/or
- Reinforced through multiple channels – neighborhood, leader, media.

We conceive of information as animating and fermenting a discussion of ideas and imagined possibilities, and thereby contributing to public debate. The role of information and information channels and technology in catalyzing citizen agency is central to the evaluation of the Twaweza initiative. Key aspects of information processes that we will assess include:

- The channels of communications available and utilized by citizens, with particular focus on new technologies of mobile phones, vernacular radio, internet;
- Frequency and intensity of use of various communication modes;
- Types/channels of information citizens' pay attention to and which they ignore;
- Availability of information about basic rights and services, through what channels: especially water/sanitation, health, education;
- Citizen awareness and knowledge of policies, programs, financing for public services;
- Citizens' level of trust of information – by source/content; and
- Citizen utilization of information: sharing, adding personal experience/stories, engaging in public discourse.

Agency: Self-efficacy and Action

A central concept in Twaweza's theory of change is *agency*. In its documents, Twaweza defines four elements of agency:

- Getting information/coming to know and understand in order to make meaning (contingent, contextualized).
- Being able to monitor: budgets, laws, entitlements in relation to others, to the past and to put things in perspective. What is crucial is day to day monitoring, observing, noticing and being able to make observations more explicit.

- Voicing/expressing/communicating in public sphere. Thinking about different channels (written, verbal, symbolic/material). Moving from communication in private sphere/proximal domains to public and more distant domains i.e. being able to project meanings and ‘jump-scale’. There is a relationship here between individual agency and collective agency. What is the role of intermediaries and brokers?
- Action/change: Action in the sense of projecting meanings that collect in chains of significations to make things happen, that make a material difference and have concrete outcomes. 90% of this can be actions that people can do themselves, 10% of this can be actions that are about holding the government to account. There is a relationship between small, everyday actions and bigger public events.²⁷

There is now a considerable literature and research on citizen agency and empowerment, with founding work by Bandura, Alsop and Heinsohn, and the emerging work from Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative.²⁸ The World Bank’s web sites on empowerment and social capital are a rich source of literature and research.²⁹

For the purposes of the Twaweza evaluation, we have interpreted the term ‘agency’ to mean a disposition within an individual towards action on a specific public issue and within a particular context. Agency is a personal sense of efficacy (capacity to take action) linked to a sense of (public) purpose which is meaningful to the individual. *Action*, another central concept, we take to mean the activity which flows from that sense of agency. For matters related to public services, we think that it implies working with others (since the issue is not just a personal ‘problem’ but is a ‘system’ problem shared by others).

In our review of the literature as it applies to the Twaweza evaluation, there are three core elements of citizen agency that appear central to framing our inquiries:

1. How do citizens describe their sense of agency in relation to public issues?
2. How do citizens exercise that sense of agency in sharing, organizing, working with others?
3. What actions do citizens take to influence performance of public services and agencies?³⁰

In seeking to understand how and why citizen agency is affected by the information processes described above, there are a number of dimensions to the sense of and exercise of agency that need to be considered and reflected in the evaluation process, and assessed by the tools that are used. These include:

- Security/Risk – how safe is it to engage in social action? What is the risk of retribution and victimization?³¹

²⁷ These ideas are in the ‘Purpose, Goals & Objectives’ document and have subsequently been elaborated in communication between CIE and Twaweza.

²⁸ See Bandura, 1989; Alsop & Heinsohn, 2005; Alkire, n.d.

²⁹ See

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTPOVERTY/EXTEMPowerment/0,,contentMDK:20245753~pagePK:210058~piPK:210062~theSitePK:486411,00.html>

³⁰ Note that individuals can take action, particularly if they have power or money, to improve their experience of public services through petty corruption, purchasing extra teaching time, medicines, water. This, however, further corrupts public service.

³¹ As in the case of the Mzee who was victimized for protesting school fees, from the 9 Villages stories.

- Legitimacy – degree to which individual conceives that it is ‘legitimate’ to be an actor in a social change processes – that it is ‘my place’ to
- Power distance and status – the actual/perceived scale between the most and least powerful in affecting social change, including the power distance between providers (health workers, teachers) and the citizen(s), and the individual’s perceived location on the power distance ‘scale’, eg, at the bottom, the middle or the top.
- Individual vs. Social – there is an implicit assumption that individual citizens will be motivated, and will act, to address not only issues of *private* wellbeing (from rational agent economic theory) but *social/community* wellbeing, which is also conceived as necessary or conducive to personal welfare. Social agency reflects the degree to which one conceives of action beyond the self and immediate family, and identifies with a particular group (association, religion, community, etc) in engaging in social action.

The outcome of personal agency related to public issues will be *actions*. It is this element of citizen agency that is most open to observation and analysis. These actions include (these are illustrative, not exhaustive):

- Initiating conversations, dialogue and moving from framing the personal to become a public issue;
- Organizing by getting people together to collectively address the issue – putting it on the agenda of community/public discourse;
- Networking with other people/groups/associations through exchanging information, experience and perspectives;
- Engaging public actors/agencies with information, stories, evidence, concerns
- Establishing oversight/monitoring mechanisms and accountability;
- Acts of advocacy, lobbying with regional or national political, organizational leadership;
- Use of media, including radio, TV, newspapers and internet to highlight issues;
- Develop alternatives to public services through community-led initiatives.

Institutional Response

A key element of the overall social change process is the response of the public agencies to citizen actions; this may well be mediated or shaped through the ecosystem of public debate that Twaweza envisions. Citizen action, as indicated above, may involve advocacy, action, oversight of public service providers (e.g. teachers, headteachers and schools) dealing with both local problems/weaknesses, as well as more systemic governance problems. The response of the public service agencies, either directly to instances of citizen agency or mediated through the ecosystem of debate, will be critical to evolving improved partnership with communities. Possible responses will likely array along a continuum of more negative to more positive:

- To ignore citizen voice and concerns, arguing that officials answer to bureaucratic authority, not to citizens;
- To threaten or punish those who criticize government agencies or staff;

- To bypass or co-opt the issue by a formal response – including setting up a committee to investigate;
- To attempt a local response to improve services (e.g. teacher absences reduced after a meeting with the PTA);
- To put issues on a policy agenda for the (re)design of programs, regulations, and commitment of resources to address the issue. This may link to donor agendas and activities;³²
- To provide government support for community-initiated alternative services (as, for example, government support for volunteer community-health and service workers).

Which of these responses will occur is a reflection of the bureaucratic culture, structure, and capacity in relation to the issue that citizens raise. The process of reform of policy and practice typically involves a complex struggle and negotiation within government bureaucracies.

*“Policy reform is as much about politics as about technocratic ability. By definition, policy reform is all about resource allocation, subsidization, and taxation. And, particularly if properly understood, policy reform effects changes in the institutional **rules** that determine these things, rather than just causing the superficial changes that are so often mistaken for policy change.... For example, teacher union leaders, confronted with the possibility that hiring and firing might be done at the community level, and that salaries might correspond to effort deployed, will engage in collective actions such as strikes...”³³*

While it is important to track cases where the bureaucracy ignores, deflects or responds with hostility and victimization, we are particularly interested in the cases where the institution responds to the ferment of ideas in the ecosystem, taking citizen action seriously and seriously ‘listening’ in order to reflect on and to act to transform policy and practice. The evaluation will seek to understand and analyze interactions that occur, over time, between citizens and the bureaucracy. This interaction, if it is not killed off at its earliest stage, will be a process, not a single event. Documenting and understanding that process is at the heart of the Twaweza goal to change the compact between citizens and the state.

Quality of Public Services: Water, Health, and Education

When community leaders, politicians, or a public agency (at local, sub-national or national level) respond to citizen action positively, this can encourage increased citizen agency. This may or may not actually result in better services or outcomes. There is considerable experience and literature documenting thwarted attempts at implementing public agency reforms. It is an implicit assumption of Twaweza that, with citizens involved in a continual process of advocacy, oversight, and action, chances are increased

³² As Crouch, Healey, & DeStefano note, “In fact, many of the current problems may have been caused precisely by government imposing populist solutions apparently backed by the common sense of the masses (e.g., ‘free’ education for ‘all’ with ‘fair’ salaries for teachers, leading to budget explosions and drops in quality that leave the net amount provided exactly where it was before). In some cases, the apparent obviousness of the solution was so great that the leaders could give these policies as gifts to the masses, without much undue and messy discussion of the finer technical points and the limits of state intervention. The results are the social policy equivalent of basing navigation and exploration policy on a participatory assessment of the earth’s obvious flatness” (1997, p. 25).

³³ From Crouch, et. al., 1997, p. 15, italics added.

that institutional responses will result in better services and outcomes (such as reduced rates of diarrhea, malaria, TB, worms, and higher rates of literacy). However, these outcomes are not the touchstone of the efficacy of the Twaweza initiative, since they may occur over a long period of time, during which time there will, hopefully, be continued transformation of citizen agency, positive bureaucratic response, and improved governance.

The indicators of improved access and quality of services and the outcomes of this are still under development. It is important that there be citizen input into these indicators, and during the evaluation these will be negotiated through the community profiles and special studies. However, the initial indicators include items such as:

- Access to and use of clean water for drinking and sanitation;
- Access to quality health services and appropriate medications, addressing the most prevalent and treatable issues for family health;
- Transparency on school financing (capitation and other grants);
- Public financing transparent and received on time;
- Teachers who are capable and present;
- Learning materials available.

Over the longer term, it is expected that there will be:

- A reduction in childhood morbidity and sickness due to preventable diseases, especially diarrhea, intestinal parasites, and malaria;
- Increased access to public primary education and reduction in dropout rates;
- Higher percentage of children are literate and numerate.

Key Evaluation Questions

The following are preliminary key questions that the evaluation will rely on to frame specific approaches and methodologies. More specific implementing questions are in Annex A.

- How does the political, economic, social, environmental, and governance context shape, nourish, and constrain citizen agency?
- What constitutes engaging, ‘meaningful’ information for citizens? How is information used creatively, shared, transformed? How does information ‘disturb’ citizens and groups, and lead to public action?
- How does expanded access to or generation of information enhance citizen agency?
- How does citizen agency work through groups, associations, and social networks, especially the five networks or institutions, to create a climate for social action and institutional response?
- What influences institutions to notice and pay attention to citizen action? What are the institutional responses? Do those responses transform institutional policy/practice to engage with citizens and to provide improved services? What is the time frame for this process?
- What evidence is there that public services (water & sanitation, health, and education) extend their reach and improve in quality? What impact does this have on citizen agency and action? Is the process sustained?

- Are improvements in the access and quality of services most dramatic and visible for populations which are otherwise under-served and marginal?
- What has been the reach and scope of Twaweza partners' work? What externally-driven initiatives in the ecosystem of each country might have played a role? What government initiatives may have contributed to changes? What unpredictable events may have contributed (failed elections; earthquakes; crop failures; widespread violence; pandemic disease outbreaks; for example)?

Implementation of the Evaluation

As noted above, the evaluation is being implemented through and with our university partners in East Africa, given our commitment to building capacity and honoring their knowledge of local conditions and methodological expertise. Design of surveys and especially case studies will be collaborative, as one of our core values. CIE's partners are the Institute for Development Studies, University of Dar es Salaam (the prime partner); the Institute of Development Studies, University of Nairobi; and the Makerere Institute for Social Research, University of Makerere. We are in the process of agreeing on a contract for the implementation of the baseline surveys.

A core team based in Dar, the Resident Manager and the Partnership Coordinator, will work collaboratively with the partners to ensure the highest quality evaluation methodologies. This core team is supported by the team at CIE in the USA which has considerable intellectual and methodological resources for the evaluation. In addition, CIE has identified key advisors who have or will review key documents, providing us with independent critical feedback.

In developing the baseline surveys, CIE is working very closely with scholars at the Oxford Poverty & Human Development Initiative³⁴ and the team leader for the AudienceScape studies³⁵ at Intermedia, based in Washington, DC.

Implementation calls for the following:

- Integrative baseline study, including baseline surveys, baseline case studies, selected secondary analyses of relevant databases, and related literature review.
- On-going literature reviews, policy environment scanning, secondary analyses.
- Follow-up case studies in 2011, 2013, and 2014.
- Targeted micro-survey in 2013.
- Follow-up surveys in 2014.
- Final report.
- Regular communication with the Learning & Communication Team.
- Dissemination through scholarly and popular and text-based and other media.

Components of the Mixed Methods Design

As articulated in CIE's proposal, the overall design of the evaluation is for a *mixed methods approach* for the Twaweza initiative. The first year's methodological implementation will follow a "sequential explanatory design"³⁶ where quantitative data gathering precedes qualitative data gathering and informs it. In this model, quantitative analyses inform subsequent qualitative data gathering, data are analyzed separately, and the two sets of analyses are integrated during the interpretation phases. With this approach, qualitative analyses are generally used to explain or elaborate on quantitative analyses. This

³⁴ See <http://www.ophi.org.uk/>.

³⁵ See <http://www.audiencescapes.org/>.

³⁶ Creswell, 2003, p. 213.

approach can be especially useful when there are unexpected or surprising results from the quantitative analyses that call for ‘stories’ of experience and personal perspectives to more fully understand the analyses. A matrix of the evaluation components and timing is provided in Annex B.

We adopt this approach because it is relatively straight-forward and the purposes of data gathering at each phase are clear. Further, this approach moves well beyond the mere triangulation of data for purposes of corroboration which has been soundly critiqued on ontological and epistemological grounds³⁷. More generative triangulation purposes include elaboration, development, and initiation³⁸. Of these, elaboration and development map neatly on the sequential explanatory design. In elaboration, analyses from qualitative methodologies “illuminate ... different facets” of the phenomena under study³⁹. In development, qualitative methodologies (often focus and sampling) develop from quantitative analyses and are directly linked.

This mixed methods design draws on the strengths of probabilistic logic in random sampling for the quantitative data collection (specifically the surveys) which are balanced by the analogic logic of qualitative data gathering. Thus, rigorous sampling strategies and reliable surveys will form the core of the quantitative data collection, with systematic in-depth interviewing and other methodologies (eg, body-mapping, most significant change) to capture changes in some of the ‘soft’ outcomes being sought by Twaweza, such as improved self-efficacy and citizen agency as experienced by the various groups of citizens, especially the most marginalized.

The integrative analyses will be informed by discussions, on-going scholarly research, public policy documents, and other events of importance that may shape the strength of the inferences drawn (eg, the World Bank loaning billions of dollars for clean water development). Also embedded in integrative analyses will be secondary analyses of such databases as World Governance Indicators, Transparency International’s African Education Watch; AudienceScapes studies of media and communication; DHS, Afrobarometer, PETS, and the like, as relevant. We envision creating ‘country profiles’ in the full baseline study that will integrate these various materials.

Approaches and Methodologies

The approaches and specific methodologies to be employed in the evaluation may well change as both Twaweza and the evaluation learn. That said, there are specific methodologies that will be relied upon.

Quantitative methodologies will include randomized surveys, secondary analyses of existing databases, and targeted document reviews of newspapers (under consideration). The surveys will be conducted in the three countries focusing on households, facilities (schools, health clinics), and communities. Baseline surveys will be conducted in 2010; targeted ‘micro-surveys’ (perhaps using the LQAS methodology⁴⁰) at the mid-term; and follow-up randomized surveys towards the end of 2013. These are described in more detail in the Baseline Survey document.

The purpose of these quantitative assessments is, first, to establish a baseline against which changes can be measured and, second, to test preliminary hypotheses about the relationships between key variables. Preliminary intriguing hypotheses are included in the Baseline Survey document.

³⁷ Rossman & Wilson, 1994.

³⁸ Rossman & Wilson, 1994. See also Rallis & Rossman, 2003, and Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003.

³⁹ Rossman & Wilson, 1994, p. 321.

⁴⁰ See Valadez & Devkota (2002) for a short description and application of the LQAS methodology.

Qualitative approaches, as articulated in CIE’s proposal, are guided by principles of Appreciative Inquiry⁴¹ which rest on assumptions of assets-based approaches to evaluation. Further, we will adhere to the highest standards of ethical practice⁴², including

- To create close, intimate relationships;
- To capture people’s stories as they narrate them;
- To honor individual and collective sensibilities;
- To protect those participating from undue harm;
- To respect privacy and confidentiality; and
- To listen.

The overall qualitative approach will be to conduct a series of case studies focusing on groups, neighborhoods, and issues of concern to ordinary citizens. Some of these will be modeled after the Reality Checks⁴³ methodology which entails in-depth mini-ethnographies of communities. Within this approach could be more traditional methods such as participant-observation, in-depth informal interviews, focused observations. Other methods may be Body Mapping, PhotoVoice⁴⁴, and the Most Significant Change interviewing approach⁴⁵. It should be noted that the specific methods will be collaboratively identified with our university partner teams and reviewed by key qualitative methodologists.

Other qualitative approaches will be on-going reviews of relevant literature, including scanning the scholarly literature on citizen-driven development, media and communications, and development, as well as the ‘grey’ literature (that is, not peer-reviewed scholarly articles) available on key websites, essays by informed experts and practitioners, and relevant blogs. These scans, reviews, and integrations will be guided by principles of qualitative research reviews, notably meta-syntheses of documents⁴⁶.

Audiences, Communication, Dissemination, and Links

Wide engagement with a variety of audiences about the evaluation is central for contributing to the public exchange of ideas around Twaweza’s theory of change and the evaluation. To that end, the evaluation design has been shared at an international conference (the Comparative & International Society annual meetings, March, 2010) and will be shared at another in November (the American Evaluation Association meetings). The design will also be shared through the 3ie network⁴⁷ and with key independent advisors to the evaluation.

A full plan for dissemination and communication will be developed during the second half of 2010. However, the evaluation team is committed to sharing the design, methodologies, and findings as broadly as possible. To that end, we will post the baseline questionnaire and preliminary analyses on our website (<http://www.umass.edu/cie>) and seek independent reviews at key moments. In addition, given Twaweza’s commitment to fostering broad public debate, the audiences for the evaluation will also be the public – writ large. This will include the popular press in East Africa, scholarly audiences throughout the globe, and evaluation experts. Communicating with these audiences will entail fashioning the evaluation findings into formats that encourage taking up the ideas and discussing them in venues of choice. Thus, web-sites, posts to existing blogs, email discussions, as well as the standard presentation at scholarly conferences and publications in scholarly journals (or books) will be pursued.

⁴¹ See the Appreciative Inquiry Commons at <http://appreciativeinquiry.case.edu/>.

⁴² See Rossman & Rallis, in press, and Rallis & Rossman, in press.

⁴³ See Shah, 2007, and Bangladesh Reality Check Annual Report, 2008.

⁴⁴ See PhotoVoice at <http://www.photovoice.org/>

⁴⁵ Davies & Dart, 2005.

⁴⁶ See Rossman & Yore, 2009, for a typology of approaches to integrating documents and qualitative studies.

⁴⁷ The International Initiative for Impact Evaluation. See <http://www.3ieimpact.org/>

Sharing the findings on an on-going basis with the Learning & Communications team will be central to engaging in dialogue and learning, as articulated in the principles of social change and the purposes of the evaluation, described above.

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Table 1. Key Concepts and Methodologies

| Key concepts | Secondary Analyses Literature | Literature Reviews | Baseline surveys (HH, facilities, communities) | Intensive Case Studies | Other Studies | Micro-surveys | Follow-up surveys |
|---|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|---|-------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|
| Political, social, economic context | √ | √ | | √ | | | |
| Institutional context: MoE, MoH, Wat/San | √ | √ | | √ | √ | | |
| Information flows & response | | √ | √ | √ | √ | √ | √ |
| Citizen Agency | | √ | √ | √ | √ | √ | √ |
| Citizen Actions | | | √ | √ | √ | √ | √ |
| Reach & quality of services | | √ | | √ | | | √ |

Table 2. Methodologies: Description, Purpose, Sampling & Timing

| Methodology | Secondary Analyses Literature | Literature Reviews | Baseline surveys (HH, facilities, communities) | Intensive Case Studies | Other Studies | Micro-surveys | Follow-up surveys |
|--|---|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| Description | Media Africa Afrobarometer Ibrahim Report DHS AudienceScapes OPHI TI African Education Watch | Academic, 'grey', agency, websites, blogs – relevant commentary and research | Stratified randomly-sampled households | Intensive mini-ethnographic case studies of communities and groups | Media reviews Targeted studies Institutional Reform scanning | LQAS? | Stratified randomly-sampled households |
| Purpose | Background analyses | Provide background and theoretical arguments | Establish baseline conditions; test preliminary hypotheses | Provide detailed portraits of information, agency, action | Provide targeted information on media reach, content; government and donor initiatives; others as determined | Targeted study of key questions emerging from baseline study | Assessing change over time |
| Sampling (in Uganda, Kenya, TZ) | Purposive, as relevant databases identified | Purposive | Estimated 2500 households per country | Rural, peri-urban, urban 4-6 per country, each visit 5-7 days | To be developed | Targeted randomized procedures | Repeat of baseline sampling |
| Timing | Ongoing | Ongoing | Q 2-3 2010 | Q3-4 2010, 2011, 2012, 2014 | On-going 2012 | 2012 | Early 2014 |

Table 3. Preliminary Indicators of Key Concepts

| Key concepts | Information & Communication Channels | Citizen Agency & Actions | Reach & Quality of Services |
|---------------------|--|---|---|
| Indicators | Access to information <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to information • Access to new technologies • Variety of communication channels • Intensity of use • Purpose of use | Self-perception of agency <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Sense of self-efficacy ▪ Perception of risk ▪ Response to opportunities or challenges | Basic education: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • enrollment and retention rates of girls or other vulnerable groups • teacher attendance • availability of learning materials |
| | Awareness of local plans <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education • Health • Water • Other initiatives | Exercising voice <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Speaking out in public forums ▪ Building coalitions | Primary health care: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • accessibility of service • health workers attendance • availability of medicine |
| | | Monitoring government services <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opportunities to participate in monitoring | Safe water: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • accessibility of clean water • cost of clean water |
| | | Taking collective action on issues of concern | |

Annex A. Implementing Evaluation Questions

Baseline Implementing Questions

This section provides a discussion of the logic and rationale behind key questions to be explored in the baseline surveys and case studies.

1. What do citizens currently know about and how do they judge the responsiveness of local government and the provision of public services? (descriptive)

Shifting the compact between the citizen and the state is central to Twaweza's theory of change. Government agencies and service providers should become more transparent, responsive, and attuned to local citizens' needs and interests. The baseline exercise will describe citizens' awareness of and perceptions about their local government: issues of trust, transparency, corruption, and efficacy will be explored, primarily through the case studies.

- Are citizens aware of their local political leaders?
- How do they view their roles and responsibilities?
- Are local political leaders viewed as responsive to concerns?
- Are there perceptions of and reports about petty corruption among government officials?
- How do citizens describe these circumstances? What stories do they narrate?
- Do citizens report participating in local and national elections?

2. How do citizens describe their access to and use of information? (descriptive)

Information, while not defined in Twaweza documents, is taken here to mean facts that are communicate or generated. This, however, raises the question of what constitutes a 'fact' and whether the construct includes rumor, gossip, and deliberate mis-information. It also raises the question of the interpretation (meaning ascribed to) of those 'facts.' We assume that ordinary citizens are surrounded with information: we are receivers of information and generators of information. However, for the purposes of the evaluation, we must focus this down. Thus, to define and operationalize this construct, we stipulate that 'information' means that which is available and generated through communication channels, whether strictly 'factual' or not. 'Information' includes stories which are shared either face-to-face or through more formal channels.

- What channels of communication do citizens have access to (social networks; community groups; mobile phones, radio/television, religious organizations, trade unions and teachers, market distribution lines)?
- What access do citizens have to new technologies (mobile phone, M-Pesa, Internet, vernacular radio stations)?
- How frequently and intensely are these used?
- What access to information on basic rights and services do they have? Through what channels?
- What are citizens' levels of awareness about plans for and use of resources allocated for public services?
- What sources of information are trusted by citizens?
- How does information become meaningful to citizens? How does it 'stick' or 'disturb'?
- Are age, gender, rural/urban related to access to and use of information?

- Are age, gender, rural/urban related to levels of awareness?
- What stories do they narrate about accessing, generating, and using information?

3. How do citizens describe their sense of agency or self-efficacy? (descriptive).

Agency, as defined in Twaweza documents, is “citizens’ ability to exercise greater control over their lives and make a difference.” Given that Twaweza views ‘agency’ as an end in and of itself, as well as how it fosters voice and action, we will measure this through the OPHI modules in the baseline survey and explore it more deeply through the baseline case studies. Here we also note that ‘agency’ in Twaweza’s metrics framework⁴⁸ is defined as ‘access to information, voice, monitoring, influencing resources, and making things happen.’ Thus we will use a definition of ‘agency’ that incorporates self-perception as well as reports of voice, action, and monitoring in the public sphere.

- What stories do people narrate about resilience and coping strategies in such matters as trying to make a living, rising prices, dealing with crime and security, ethnic conflicts, paying for services (petty corruption), political issues, water shortages, prevalent diseases (Malaria, diarrhea, HIV/AIDS), and other issues?
- Does the self-perception of agency relate to new innovations and technology? (M-Pesa, mobile phones, vernacular radio stations, Internet)
- What stories do people narrate about how new technologies build their self-perception of agency?
- Does participation in new projects foster a sense of agency?
- Does access to and use of information encourage a sense of agency and a willingness to speak out?
- Does agency in the proximal space (home, family) lead to agency in the public space (SMC, VHC)?
- Does agency in one domain lead to agency in another domain?

4. What actions do citizens report taking to express concerns and to influence decisions that affect their lives? (descriptive)

Action can take a multitude of forms: taking with a neighbour; discussing concerns at the beauty parlor or while watching a football match; attending a School Management Committee; and others. The baseline survey will capture reports about taking various actions; the baseline case studies will provide in-depth descriptions of these actions.

- What concerns do citizens describe expressing in public venues?
- What concerns are expressed through social networks?
- What concerns are expressed through new technologies (mobile phones, vernacular radio, Internet)?
- What actions do describe taking (participating in organizations; talking with influential individuals, call-in radio talk shows, Internet posts, etc)?

⁴⁸ Twaweza *Theory of Change and Approach*.

- What actions do they take that are hoped to bring about improvements in the quality of basic services?
- Are age, gender, rural/urban related to taking action?
- How does action take place (individual, collective, through a key important person)?
- What are citizens' perceptions about the risks of taking action?
- Do age or gender shape perceptions of risk?
- Does participation in social networks promote a willingness to take action?
- What stories do they narrative about voicing concerns and taking action?

5. What is the institutional response to citizen action? (descriptive)

As noted above, changing the relationship between citizens and government is central to improving public services. The baseline exercise will describe citizens' current perceptions about how government responds, when and if citizens express concerns in the public sphere and take action.

- How do citizens describe government response to taking action?
- What stories do they narrate?
- What are their judgments about the risks and benefits of these actions?
- What are citizens' perceptions about how and why a local service provider (school, clinic, office) made this particular response?
- If the response has not been positive, why is that (disagreement with the citizens, lack of approval from above, budgets, capacity)?
- If the response has been positive, do citizens believe that services will improve? Why?
- Is there a process by which this issue will continue to be discussed and addressed with citizens?

6. What are the current conditions of basic service delivery? (descriptive)

The baseline exercise will establish 1) what citizens' perceptions are about schooling, health care, water, and other concerns not yet identified through the baseline household survey and case studies; and 2) what are current conditions in those three areas through the facilities and community surveys.

- What do citizens know about the conditions of schooling (teacher absences; private tutoring practices)?
- What are current teacher absenteeism rates?
- What are private tutoring practices?
- What are current practices regarding transparency of information about school funding?
- What are citizens' perceptions about these conditions?
- What do citizens know about the conditions of local health care services (health care worker attendance rates; availability of basic medicines; private pharmacies)?
- What are current health care workers' attendance rates?
- What is the current availability of basic medicines?
- What are citizens' perceptions about these conditions?
- What do citizens know about the availability of clean water (proximity; cost)?
- What is the state of clean water access and cost?
- What are citizens' perceptions about these conditions?

Comparative, longitudinal questions

1. What changes take place over time among citizens in terms of access to and use of information?

- Are there changes in citizens' reports about their access to and use of communication channels?
- Are there changes in citizens' reports about their access to information on basic rights and services?
- Are there changes in citizens' reports about their awareness of plans for and use of resources allocated for public services?
- If changes occur in access to and use of information, how do citizens describe and understand the evolution of these changes? (analytic)
- What stories do they narrate about these changes?

2. What changes take place over time among citizens in terms of perceptions and indicators of agency?

- Are there changes citizens' reported self-perceptions of agency or self-efficacy?
- Are there changes in reports of actions taken that are related to use of new technologies?
- Are there changes in the concerns that citizens report expressing in public venues?
- Are there changes in how concerns are expressed through social networks?
- Are there changes in citizens' perceptions about the risks of taking action?
- Are there changes in the stories citizens narrate about how they cope with disasters such as HIV/AIDS, crop failures, the recent economic downturn, political instability, ethnic unrest, widespread violence?
- If so, are these related to new technologies? Government response?

3. What changes take place over time in terms of citizen action?

- Are there changes in frequency and intensity of actions hoped to bring about improvements in the quality of basic services?
- Are there changes in how action takes place (role of media; information channels; individual, collective, key important person)?
- Are age, gender, rural/urban related to changes in taking action?
- Does greater participation in social networks lead to changes in actions in the public sphere?
- Are there changes in agency that relate to new innovations and technology? (M-Pesa, mobile phones, motor bikes vernacular, radio stations, Internet)
- What stories do people narrate about these? How do they connect new technologies and agency?
- If changes occur in taking action, how do citizens describe and understand the evolution of these changes?
- What stories do they narrate about these changes?

4. What changes have taken place in institutional response to citizen action?

- Are there changes in government service providers' (health workers, headteachers, supervisors) level of awareness of citizen actions?
- Are there changes in service providers' responses (more positive, responsive; more punitive)?
- Have service providers created more 'spaces' and processes for citizens to participate in decisions about services?
- If so, are these working effectively?
- Have there been changes in policies, regulations, or procedures?
- Is the 'compact' between the citizen and the state more transparent and responsive?

5. What changes have occurred in essential public services?

- In terms of basic education, are there changes in teacher attendance and availability of learning materials?
- In terms of primary health care, are there changes in the availability of health care services (workers in attendance, sufficient number, availability of drugs)?
- In terms of safe water, are there changes in access to clean water (closer, less costly)?
- What government policies or initiatives may have affected changes in these areas?
- What other initiatives at the national or regional level may have affected changes in these areas?
- What stories do citizens narrate about being able to take action to make improvements in areas that matter to them?
- How do citizens describe exercising agency about their access to essential public services?
- What are the processes of emergent change?

6. How has Twaweza contributed to changes?

- What has been the reach and scope of Twaweza partners' work?
- Is there evidence that this work has fomented public debate and action?
- What externally-driven initiatives in each country might have played a role?
- What government initiatives may have contributed to changes?
 - What unpredictable events may have contributed (failed elections; earthquakes; huge crop failures; etc)?

Annex B. Twaweza Evaluation Components – revised, April 2010

| Component | Timing | Deliverables | Communication / Dissemination |
|---|--|--|---|
| 1. ‘Workshops’ on: A. Overall evaluation questions and design B. HH, facility, community survey design | Q2, 2010 Q2-Q3, 2010 | Detailed 5-year evaluation plan for all components Agreement on sampling design and content of questionnaires | Moderated postings of proposed evaluation design on Twaweza website, Evaluation networks / listserves, Post questionnaires on website |
| 2. Baseline study: A. Secondary data analysis B. Case studies (4-6 per country) C. HH, facility and community surveys D. Literature reviews E. Complete baseline study | On-going Q2-Q3, 2010 Q2-Q3, 2010 On-going Q4, 2010 | Summaries of relevant secondary data by country Case study reports – synthesized and individual (with network maps, significant changes, etc) Report with complete analysis and interpretation of survey data Integrated into baseline study report Full baseline study report integrating all sources | Feed key secondary data to InfoShop for potential product development 2-3 stories illustrating current state of and links between info access, citizen agency, and service provision Popular briefings on key data (e.g. by sector) to share and spur debate with line ministries, dev’t networks, etc PowerPoint with notable findings for presentation e.g. at ‘feedback debates’ Radio interviews for dissemination / feedback to primary sources of study Academic article(s) e.g. on methodology, surprising findings |
| 3. Further case studies (4-6 per year) | 2011 2013 | Reports on individual studies | Sharing of quasi-experimental evaluation designs with evaluation communities for critique / input Short video(s) or photovoice reports illustrating dynamics of change re info access, citizen agency, and service provision Popular briefings and/or articles citing evidence |

| | | | of impact (or lack thereof) |
|---|--|--|--|
| 4. Mid-term review: A. 'Micro' survey to gauge coverage / exposure B. Case studies (follow-ups in initial sites) | Q1, 2012 (or spread over time) Q2-Q3, 2012 | Report on coverage / exposure by country Case study reports –synthesized and individual | Summaries by Twaweza goals / 'intervention areas' (e.g. water), mainly for partners' use 2-3 stories illustrating significant changes and challenges Presentation(s) at evaluation conference(s), e.g. AEA |
| 5. Follow-up to baseline study (end of 1 st cycle evaluation): A. Secondary data review (of recent sources) B. HH, facility, and community surveys C. Case studies (longitudinal) Complete follow-up study / impact evaluation | Q2, 2013 Q3-Q4, 2013 Q1-Q2, 2014 Q3, 2014 | Summaries of relevant secondary data by country Report with complete analysis and interpretation of survey data Case study reports – synthesized and individual Full follow-up study / impact evaluation report integrating all sources | Popular briefings on key data PowerPoint with notable findings Radio interviews Academic articles Postings to eval and dev't networks Publication w/ 'comics' on key findings Stories illustrating significant changes |
| 6. Feedback sessions / debates | Annually Q1, 2010 – 2014 | Summary report of comments and issues raised during feedback and debates | Distillations of key evaluation data, findings, and products over the year(s) under review |