More accountable and responsive governance: How do technologies help make it happen?

A LEARNING EVENT
PRETORIA AND JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA
22–24 MARCH 2017

REFLECTING ABOUT TECH-ENABLED CHANGE FOR MORE RESPONSIVE, ACCOUNTABLE GOVERNANCE

HOW DID WE GET HERE, AND HOW ARE WE LEARNING ABOUT HOW CHANGES ARE HAPPENING?

SEVEN STREAMS OF TECH-ENABLED CHANGE IN PURSUIT OF ACCOUNTABLE GOVERNANCE

VIEWS OF PRACTICE THROUGH THE FRAME

WHAT DOES THIS TELL US ABOUT TECH-ENABLED CHANGE?

CREDITS AND MAVC PROJECT PARTICIPANTS

Making All Voices Count consortium partners
IDS, Hivos and Ushahidi

W   www.makingallvoicescount.org
E   info@makingallvoicescount.org
T   @AllVoicesCount

OMIDYAR NETWORK

Sida

UKaid
from the British people

USAID
FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

Reflecting about tech-enabled change for more responsive, accountable governance

Making All Voices Count is a development programme that has supported 177 projects on making governance more responsive and accountable. Most of these projects develop, use or carry out research on tech-enabled attempts to make governance systems more open and effective, and responsive to the needs of citizens.

Our projects have generated a substantial body of experience, evidence and understanding of when and how technologies contribute to responsive and accountable governance. As Making All Voices Count approaches its final stages, the programme and its partners are on a journey towards consolidating and analysing what we have learned.

An important stage on this journey took place in March 2017, when partners from 34 of our projects met for three days with Making All Voices Count staff and associates in South Africa.

In advance of the event, staff from the programme's research, evidence and learning team prepared a framework to begin unpacking and classifying the different types of change emerging from the programme. This framework provided a structure for exchanging experiences and learning about change.

During the event, participants shared their stories of change, and made facilitated learning visits to four very different initiatives based in and around Johannesburg which are working towards making governance more responsive and accountable. Each of these initiatives has been involved in the Making All Voices Count South Africa community of practice, a vibrant peer learning network (read a report from their **recent learning event**).

This report documents some of what was learned at the event. It shares the framework, gives its background, and illustrates its application to some of the examples of accountable governance work – projects and site visits – that were discussed. It also draws together some of the threads of conversation about how change happens.

As well as this report, Making All Voices Count will share other parts of the event's learning conversation in several different formats and spaces. These include blogs about learning visits, stories of change from our projects, and publications about the framework and its application. Check our website (**www.makingallvoicescount.org**) for more details, and for regular updates **sign up to our newsletter**.

How did we get here, and how are we learning about how changes are happening?

The change Making All Voices Count wants to see is more responsive, accountable governance. The programme has contributed to this change by supporting initiatives that use technologies, and by building understanding of when the technologies help create and support change, and how.

By awarding different types of grants, the programme has supported projects that enable, amplify and channel citizen voice so that it secures accountability and responsiveness from governments:

- **innovation grants**, for projects focused on finding and testing new ideas
- **scaling grants**, for taking proven concepts to scale
- **research grants**, for building our knowledge of how technology is being applied across the wider governance field, and supporting practitioners to learn about how their own projects are working
- **tech hub grants**, for supporting the development of technologies with a focus on 'public good'.

Examining the experiences of these Making All Voices Count-funded projects, in order to learn how tech is contributing to more responsive and accountable governance, is complicated.

First, the changes we want – as grantees, staff and associates of Making All Voices Count – are themselves complicated. They are made of context-specific and often incremental shifts – for example, making it easier for citizens to engage directly with service providers, or provide data on corruption, or engage with open data for online planning.

Second, the programme and its constituents are complicated. Making All Voices Count – itself funded by three bilateral aid donors and a philanthropic foundation, and implemented by an international development non-governmental organisation (NGO), a research institution and a tech-for-development organisation – brings together funders and partners with very different identities. They include development practitioners, researchers, tech developers, private companies, social activists and government staff. Each brings to their work different languages, world-views and understandings of change.

Our starting point in searching for patterns in this complexity was an analysis of how partners described what they initially set out to do with their projects, in response to the programme's call for proposals. This analysis led to the development of a set of descriptions of different ways technologies were expected to enable the desired changes in governance.

These descriptions framed the conversations at the three-day learning event, as partners shared their own experiences, and reflected on whether or not the changes that they initially aspired to were what had unfolded in practice. The descriptions were also used to structure the learning visits.

The discussions not only challenged and re-shaped the descriptions of each of the streams of change, but also described their ebb and flow, their intersections and the shape of the social and political landscape that surrounds them.

Seven streams of tech-enabled change in pursuit of accountable governance

Efforts to amplify citizen voice for more responsive and accountable governance were happening long before the widespread availability of today's range of online and digital technologies, and continue among those who have little access to tech. Technologies and their use are only one part of the landscape of accountable governance change.

To get the best use out of new technologies in projects aiming to promote citizen voice and make governance more accountable and responsive, we also need a broad understanding of how change processes work in accountable governance.

Analysis of pre-digital struggles for social justice and transparency, and against corruption, show – for example – the importance of using multiple methods in accountability processes, the key role that can be played by intermediaries between citizens and power-holders, and the importance and use of legal frameworks.

Looking across our own work – in which technologies are embedded – we need to be mindful of how the changes we want are related to, and have grown from, the roots of these earlier changes in government responsiveness and accountability. We also need to:

- understand where and how technologies for communication and information management – old, new, low, high, digital, internet-based – enhance or enable accountable governance change processes
- trace the synergies and intersections between tech-enabled approaches and non-tech approaches
- trace the synergies and interactions between tech-enabled approaches themselves.

Taking this approach means conceptualising tech-enabled processes as embedded in the broader social and political landscape of governance, and seeing them as just one aspect of the many factors that shape the dynamic relationship between citizen voice, accountability and responsiveness.

For Making All Voices Count, our concern is *how* technologies contribute to accountable governance change processes, making them more efficient, effective, impactful, sustainable and transformative.

Our starting point for exploring these questions at the learning event was an analysis of the goals and assumptions of Making All Voices Count project proposals, from which we drew out a set of descriptions of seven streams of tech-enabled change.

The **information** stream: Through greater transparency (e.g. open government measures, use of Freedom of Information legislation, information on rights), citizens get access to more information about their entitlements and how to claim them, and can use this information to demand and secure their entitlements.

The **feedback** stream: Through feedback provided by citizens or users, governments or service providers know what citizens or users think of them and their performance, and respond by becoming more accountable and responsive to citizens.

The **naming-and-shaming** stream: Technologies are used to expose and shame actors responsible for corrupt, inefficient or unaccountable practices (either in and of themselves, or by comparison with their peers or competitors). As a result, they become more responsive and accountable.

The **conducive innovation system** stream: Public and private actors invest in stimulating and enabling tech innovation systems, and tech innovators integrate a 'public good' aspect into their innovations (the 'double bottom-line'), resulting in innovations that bolster citizen voice and increase government responsiveness.

The **connecting citizens** stream: Digital technologies connect many individuals who want change and seek to exercise voice and achieve responsiveness. Their voices can then be aggregated up to a large scale. This tech-enabled connectedness can help to mobilise large numbers of citizens, which in turn can achieve greater government accountability or responsiveness.

The **infomediation** stream: Using digital hardware or software, 'expert' actors (people who are more data-literate than most) play a facilitating role at interfaces between governments and citizens. This is achieved either by making inaccessible government data accessible, understandable and usable for less data-literate citizens or service users, who then use it to claim entitlements; or by turning citizens' perspectives and stories into data or evidence that is presentable and credible to decision-makers.

The **intermediation** stream: Intermediaries (e.g. advocacy organisations, communications media, academic institutions) work with individuals or collectives of citizens or users, in ways that use technologies, to bolster the citizens' or users' voices and act as go-betweens to achieve government responsiveness. This is done, not via their data or tech expertise, but through their expertise in navigating power relations in various ways.

The next section uses this taxonomy as a frame for examining five of the many different tech-enabled initiatives discussed at the learning event, structuring discussion of how they have contributed to change.

Views of practice through the frame

PLATFORM: MONITORIA PARTICIPATIVA MAPUTO (PARTICIPATORY MONITORING MAPUTO)

CITIZEN FEEDBACK FOR BETTER SERVICES

Monitoria Participativa Maputo (MOPA) is a communications platform – supported by a private–public partnership, funded by the World Bank and co-designed with the Maputo Municipal Waste Management Services – which allows participatory monitoring of waste collection in Mozambique's capital. Once a waste management problem is reported, one of two large waste collection companies and 56 micro-enterprises act to resolve it. Their actions are logged on the platform by municipality staff.
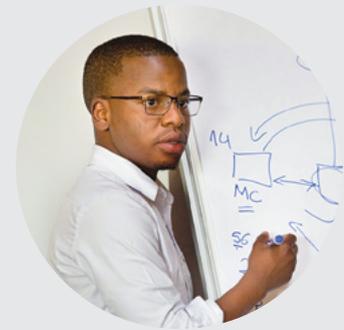
*Guidione Machava,
UX Information Technologies*

It took MOPA some time to get the technologies right. The pilot used smartphones but encountered challenges around digital literacy and connectivity. Following a shift to a Short Message Service (SMS) system of logging complaints, the number of users increased. MOPA used its Making All Voices Count grant to fund the scaling out of the platform to 42 neighbourhoods through a free-to-user mobile app based on Unstructured Supplementary Service Data and SMS.

MOPA's theory of change is located in the **feedback** stream: citizens report problems using the technologies the project provides, and government acts on the feedback using the same platform to show its responsiveness. In this case, the loop works well, with more responses and faster response times since the platform was launched. The **information** stream is also relevant here, as the platform makes service delivery information publicly available, thereby inducing citizens to lodge complaints with the municipal council.

Relationships are key to understanding the success of the feedback loop, and are most relevant to the **intermediation** stream. MOPA is implemented by a mixed team of municipality staff, who are responsible for resolving problems and providing citizen feedback; technical staff from UX Information Technologies, the small company that developed the platform, who ensure it is operational; and a communications team, which publicises MOPA more widely.

This three-cornered approach to intermediation has changed during the initiative. Early in MOPA's development, the platform partnered with an NGO to discover how best to reach peri-urban users, and to recruit community leaders committed to reporting problems. As the platform grew, and problems arose in monitoring responses to complaints, MOPA identified community representatives whose role is to verify that problems have actually been solved, while the NGO partner turned its attention to monitoring and evaluating the project.

MOPA's development also speaks to the **conducive innovation** stream. In this case, the public and private actors who have invested in stimulating an enabling tech innovation system are the international donors who funded the initiative, and UX Information Technologies are the tech innovators who have integrated a 'public good' aspect into their work. As Guidione Machava points out, one of things that they have learned is to, "start from the people, not the problem – and see their needs. That is the way to adapt and find the right solution."

LEARNING VISIT: FREEDOM PARK AND GRASSROOT

AN APP FOR LOW-COST MASS REACH AND CITIZEN INTERACTION

Freedom Park in Johannesburg began coalescing in December 1993 when backyard dwellers from Soweto started informally occupying unused land, in part of a long struggle for black housing.

From late 2002, the government attempted to forcefully remove some residents; but, following strong resistance, changed strategy and began upgrading housing in certain areas. Residents were moved with the promise to return three months later when their homes would be built. Five years on, they were still waiting.

Abahlali baseFreedom Park, a shack-dwellers organisation, and GrassRoot, a start-up tech enterprise, hosting the learning visit

Today, Freedom Park consists of 'RDP houses' (homes built under the government's Reconstruction and Development Programme), but there is still an absence of state facilities. Residents continue to struggle to claim their constitutional rights to land, and to adequate housing and services. As one observed, "if you don't have a place to stay, you're nothing. So that's what we're fighting for."

Freedom Park residents are self-organising citizen activists who mobilise to claim their rights through meetings and demonstrations. They often try 'official routes' to claim their entitlements, but say the government doesn't listen. And when they don't get responses through official channels, they feel entitled to go to the streets, closing economically active streets as a way of making their voices heard.

Their tried-and-tested methods for community organising include going from door to door, and using loud hailers and pamphlets. Residents also make use of University of Johannesburg student community newspapers and radio for organising.

In February 2016, Freedom Park activists attended a meeting of the Making All Voices Count South Africa community of practice. While discussing the subject of closing the feedback loop in local government, they met the founder of GrassRoot Nation – a start-up technological social enterprise supported by Making All Voices Count. This encounter led to the co-design of GrassRoot – an app for helping citizens organise.

At meetings, Freedom Park residents take members' phone numbers and add them to the app, which is then used to send and receive free SMS messages. GrassRoot is used to convene meetings, and to gather people to march. By late 2016, the app was handling over 1,000 notifications and messages per day.

This very simple technology is used for **connecting citizens**. It does not aggregate their voices, but Freedom Park activists point out that by making mobilisation more efficient, time and money have been saved which are invested in strengthening citizen action in other ways.

The way the GrassRoot app was developed locates it in the **conducive innovation system** stream. Here, it was the community of practice which provided the context to the app. But instead of stimulating a tech innovator to take up the 'public good' aspect to their innovation, GrassRoot Nation, a social enterprise, was encouraged to begin looking towards integrating more private sector work to increase its sustainability.

PLATFORM: SUARA KITA (OUR VOICE)

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION BY SMS

Since 2015, governance reforms in Indonesia have given village governments more power and resources. This has created new spaces and potential for citizen engagement as well as responsive and accountable governance at a very local level.

Siti Nurjanah, Women and Youth Development Institute

The gendered dynamics of social and political participation in Indonesia mean that attending an evening meeting at the village hall is an extraordinary commitment for women. Although households are invited to participate in budget discussions with village leaders, invitation letters are usually addressed to male heads of households. If women do go to meetings, they tend not to speak; many are terrified of expressing their opinions in public.

The Women and Youth Development Institute (WYDI) used its funding from Making All Voices Count for a pilot project to support women's participation in political decision-making. It aimed to enable women in a Javanese village to take part in planning processes by creating a platform – Suara Kita – for them to share their opinions using SMS messages. Mobile phone usage in Java is very high – almost every household owns one.

WYDI encouraged village women to use the SMS platform, before presenting the findings to village leaders and lobbying for the women's views to be heard. There is now an SMS centre in the project village, which all villagers can use to contact the leadership. Some of the women's priorities – which focused on income-generating activities over investments in infrastructure – were included within the next year's budget.

The project used simple technology as a way for women to express their opinions without having to speak in public. But the technological aspect was only a small part of the story. While Suara Kita was developed, WYDI did substantial empowerment work with women to build their confidence. Not only did women feel very shy, they initially reported simply not knowing what to say about their priorities for village budgeting.

It was clear to WYDI that this kind of **intermediation** work was needed – so that women could build a stronger understanding of their entitlements and how to claim them – before technology could be used to create change in the **information**, **infomediation** and **connecting citizens** streams.

Equally, in this case, **intermediation** was also required once the technology had been used, to advocate for the validity and legitimacy of women's views on local issues, and their right to have them included in planning. At first, women were discouraged from participating in the process, in particular by misinformation about the nature of the initiative. WYDI had to use its political expertise to counter this, and its experience of working with local power-holders to create the circumstances for women's priorities to shape plans.

FOLLOWING THE OIL MONEY IN GHANA

Oil Journey is a project that aims to empower citizens with information about how revenue from Ghana's oil industry is being used for development projects. It does this through a web platform, mobile phones, SMS, voice messaging, radio and television.

Infosol – the IT company that implemented the project – wanted to stimulate citizen participation in tracking how oil revenues are spent. They used their Making All Voices Count grant to build a platform where people can find development projects in their community. By rating how

Gershon Adela, Infosol

well the projects are performing and highlighting corruption, the theory of change is that there will be demand for accountability, incentivising local authorities to engage around the issues raised.

Oil Journey involved local communities in mapping out existing oil-funded development projects. Interaction with the platform was initially via an app through which users received updates on all projects funded through oil revenue. Through interactive voice response, users were also able to get voice messages – in various local languages – on the projects they were interested in.

The initiative also brought together people from different backgrounds to share ideas and feedback through community engagement. The Infosol project manager mobilised community watchdog groups to regularly monitor projects funded with oil revenue, and organised community engagement sessions with group members, ensuring the participation of less-privileged people.

The search for appropriate technologies has been iterative; technical ambition was scaled back in order to find simpler and more accessible solutions. Few people used the Android or web apps that were initially developed, but using SMS generated a lot of engagement, as did radio and WhatsApp.

Initially, Oil Journey seemed to be most clearly located in the **information** and **feedback** streams of change, making the investment of oil revenues more transparent, and collecting and providing feedback to project planners and implementers.

But **intermediation** was also important; increasingly so, as the scheme involved more and more actors. At first, the initiative focused on talking with elected members of local assemblies, who deal directly with communities and are supposed to answer grievances or forward complaints within government. But assembly members themselves needed to be encouraged to adopt more responsive behaviour.

A turning point was building a relationship with the Public Interest and Accountability Committee (PIAC), which oversees oil revenues and has become an important go-between linking Infosol with parliament and ensuring that feedback travels in both directions.

Oil Journey also uses **naming and shaming** as part of its change strategy. It maintains a list of all completed projects as well as those that were abandoned or not done well, along with the names of the contractors responsible. Based on the contractors' record, Infosol is working with PIAC to implement recommendations that some are no longer employed on projects.

TECH HUB: CODEBRIDGE

INCREASING TECH INNOVATION IN SOCIAL AND DEVELOPMENT SPACES

Codebridge is a Cape Town-based tech hub which was originally a self-run hackerspace; in recent years, its focus has shifted towards data journalism, civic technology and open data. It works to incubate civic start-ups with the aim of increasing tech innovation in social and development spaces.

Jameelah Parker, Code for South Africa

In partnership with Making All Voices Count, Codebridge aimed to connect actors from the domains of civil society, government and technology. Using part of its funding, Codebridge first strengthened its own infrastructure in order to support different stakeholders – from high school students to journalists, tech developers and government planners – to build their skills in civic tech.

Project activities have focused on several areas of social change; for instance, work with the National Treasury to develop an open data application planning interface (API). Developing the API was intended to make treasury data available in easy-to-interrogate formats, in line with South Africa's commitments under the Open Government Partnership. It also aimed to engage non-governmental actors on how data and tech can support their accountability-related activities. The API and the available data were tested at a series of 'data quests', where analysts and developers were encouraged to find stories within the data. A group in Durban has since starting using the API to map out the city's budget data.

The theory of change behind Codebridge's work is that only an informed society can use governance mechanisms to affect change. Access to information – in this case, through technology and data – is crucial to making informed decisions, and taking effective action.

Codebridge's work and the theory behind it resonate with the **conducive innovation system** stream of change. Their work was already beginning to integrate a 'public good' approach before Making All Voices Count invested in stimulating the tech innovation system of which they form a part.

But their work is also situated at the junction of the **infomediation** and **intermediation** streams of change. Codebridge does not see its role as engaging government directly to pursue responsiveness, but rather empowering local agents with tech. In this sense, they are themselves acting as infomediaries, but need to work with intermediaries for the tech innovation system to bolster government responsiveness. In particular, they are currently focused on how to tackle limited public awareness of the technologies they develop and how to identify other intermediaries to help change this.

Codebridge's work also supports the development of data-literacy among intermediaries; for example, building the capacity of journalists to use data to enrich social justice stories, with the intent of amplifying them and using them to trigger change. This amplification is part of the infomediation stream. The complex relationship between data and stories, and how they contribute to change, is part of this process of amplification that warrants further investigation.

What does this tell us about tech-enabled change?

Looking across these five stories of change shows that for each initiative a different combination of tech-enabled change is important, depending on the nature of the surrounding landscape, and the other agents of change that are being supported or influenced by the initiative.

Similar reflections also emerged from the other stories of change discussed at the learning event. But there was also a set of observations about each stream that are important to unpacking how they flow. Some of these reflections are summarised in this section.

Discussions of the **information** stream frequently returned to the point that information is a foundation or building block of nearly every one of the tech-enabled initiatives discussed, and is part of all the other streams of change. As project experiences were shared, some other important themes emerged in terms of where and how information plays its role. It is usually assumed that improved transparency leads to greater citizen access to information about entitlements and how to claim them, leading to activities to demand and secure entitlements:

- A very broad definition of 'information' is needed in order to capture the diverse change processes involved in tech for transparency and accountability initiatives. For example, in some contexts, capacity-building and rights education need to be understood as essential parts of the 'information' needed to create change.

- Many projects found that information can get politicised. This reduces its potential to contribute to change, and means that time must be spent establishing and defending the legitimacy and non-partisan nature of the information that is being dealt with.

- Information on its own seldom creates change; attitudinal change among power-holders is often also needed.

- Sometimes, where there is no culture of public sharing of information, it is less the information itself that makes changes happen, and more the subtle changes in institutional culture or relationships between citizens and government.

The **feedback** stream of change is seldom clear and linear, but usually filtered through multi-actor, multi-space government environments where the relationship between 'evidence', 'policy-making' and 'service delivery' is very variable:

- The feedback to government generated by a single tech-enabled initiative may be only one of many sources of information about services which are received by government.

- Responses to feedback are inevitably shaped by politics.

- 'Government' is not a singular actor, or one entity that pulls in one direction. Getting specific about which part of government is involved in a feedback process is an important part of using feedback to create change in this stream, and the maturity of relationships with government also shapes the possibilities for change.

- The private sector actors and public–private partnerships that are often involved in the feedback stream have different cultures, objectives and goals. This means that feedback, like government, is not a singular thing, but has different purposes and effects on different actors.

- Government actors and service providers often need to be trained or supported to help make feedback happen and deliver full closure of the feedback loop by taking action in response to it.

- It is not always easy to tell what 'closing the feedback loop' actually looks like, or when a change in accountability has happened, or from whose perspective this should be judged.

Many discussions of the **naming-and-shaming** stream of change focused on the different resonance that the idea of 'shaming' has in different cultures:

- In some contexts, the idea of naming and shaming corrupt or unaccountable actors is a high-risk strategy that citizens are not prepared to take, leading them to seek less confrontational and dangerous routes to creating change.

- In cultural contexts where norms of behaviour include showing deference towards powerful people and never exposing them to shame, these norms are used by the powerful and unaccountable to their own advantage, to prevent less-powerful actors from questioning or exposing their behaviour.

- In other contexts, the threat of naming and shaming was an effective way to stimulate change.

What constitutes a **conducive innovation system** is very variable from place to place:

- Perhaps more than is the case with the other streams, change here depends particularly heavily on intermediation. The process of integrating a 'public good' aspect into the work of tech innovators involves translating between the languages and working cultures of different accountability actors, and this translation demands intermediaries.

- The public and private actors who invest in conducive innovation systems usually include donors.

The **connecting citizens** stream of change concerns tech-enabled ways of scaling up citizen engagement to amplify voices, but it was often discussed in terms of bringing different types as well as greater numbers of people into conversations on accountability:

- In many cases, diversity worked well in connecting citizens; a number of projects highlighted the importance of using a range of approaches from the technological toolkit.

- Connecting citizens can also be about adapting existing technology to make it more inclusive and bring more citizens into the conversation.

- It is not just citizens that needs to be connected; in some initiatives, this stream of change was much more about digital technologies to connect stakeholders from different domains (citizens, government, companies) to achieve upward and downward responsiveness.

- Connecting citizens using tech-enabled approaches is sometimes about bringing people together online so they can meet face-to-face offline. In this stream of change, the combination of online and offline approaches is particularly important.

The role of infomediaries in creating change plays out in many different ways across the projects, but in discussions was often framed as closely intertwined with the **infomediation** stream of change:

- Infomediation to make government data accessible is important, but it is also important to get infomediaries involved in explaining and interpreting information not just about what government does, but why it does it, and through which processes.

- Thinking about the actors involved in infomediation is important, but it may also be useful to reflect on the form of information being mediated, and the process of amplification once information has been transformed.

One of the most striking common themes in the discussions at the learning event was just how many of the organisations implementing tech-enabled approaches to accountability find themselves working as **intermediaries**. For some – advocacy organisations, for example – this is a natural extension of their existing approach and competencies. For others – some tech companies, for example – it is a role they have adopted and

are learning about as they have come to realise that technologies alone cannot create changes in governance:

- Intermediation may involve offering the legitimacy and validity of the intermediary organisation to citizen groups and communities.

- Intermediation is not always positive: intermediaries can block and stifle as well as enable.

- Intermediation often involves chains of intermediaries working in different spaces.

- Often, personal transformation – supported by intermediaries with expertise in capacity-building and navigating power relations – has to take place before citizens can participate in a stream of tech-enabled change.

It is clear that no single stream of change tells the whole story of tech-enabled approaches to responsive, accountable governance, that the differences between the streams are often blurred, and that the sequence of change is important to outcomes. Different strategic approaches to change are needed at different stages as initiatives unfold and develop.

Equally, conceptualising tech-enabled change as

a series of streams running through a landscape of governance draws our attention to the importance of the features of the landscape. It is the dynamic relationship between the streams and the landscape that is key to building our understanding of how change happens.

"In every single project, change was about the relationships that people were able to forge. The tech wasn't central, it was a vehicle. It came in the middle, in the beginning, at the end; it was picked up and put down. It's supposed to be about tech, but actually that's a very small part of it. Our position is that we are trying to make things better – and relationships are what we do."

— Ellen Pieterse, Making All Voices Count research outreach team member, during the closing plenary session of the learning event

Credits

Event designers
Duncan Edwards, Rosie McGee, Jethro Pettit

Event organisers
Hannah Hudson, Gontse Legong, Erin Lewis, Cynthia Sono

Lead facilitator
Jethro Pettit

Site visit organisers
Deborah Byrne, Indra de Lanerolle, Gontse Legong

Site visit hosts
Freedom Park and GrassRoot; Yowzit, Ekurhuleni Metro Municipality and the Treatment Action Campaign; Witwatersrand University, #FeesMustFall and Tshimologong digital innovation hub; the Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation.

Group facilitators, documenters and note-takers
Joy Aceron, Alison Ashlin, Sanne van den Berg, Karen Brock, Daniela Costa, Duncan Edwards, Francesca Feruglio, Anastasia-Areti Gavrili, Hannah Hudson, Indra de Lanerolle, Gontse Legong, Esther Lungahi, Rosie McGee, Hazel Mugo, Ciana-Marie Pegus, Ellen Pieterse, Revy Sjahrial, Fletcher Tembo.

Photography
Bruce Boyd (bruceboyd360@gmail.com)

Editing
Sarah Tempest (sarah@sarah-tempest.com)

Design, layout and proofreading
Green Ink (www.greenink.co.uk)

Making All Voices Count project participants

Anab Chrysogonus (Savannah Accelerated Development Authority), **Including the socially excluded in Ghana's social protection programmes**

Anne Plaatjies-Hanase (Southern Cape Land Committee), **Supporting land rights for South Africa's farmers**

Benazir Omotto (Umande Trust), **Amplifying women's voices in the ongoing county development processes in Kenya**

Beverly Besmanos (Bantay Kita), **Empowering the indigenous community towards enhanced stewardship of its resources**

Brian Wampler (University of Boise), **The diffusion and adaptation of participatory budgeting in Making All Voices Count countries**

Davidson Efetobore (The Global Citizens' Initiative), **Making Liberia's child protection laws accessible for all**

Deepti Bharthur (IT For Change), **Voice or chatter? – Using structuration framework towards a theory of ICT-mediated citizen engagement**

Eliza Meriabe (Fahamu Africa), **Making participatory budgeting a reality in Kenya**

Fredrik Sjoberg (World Bank), **Acquiring citizen skills through voice: Recruiting and mobilising citizen auditors in Kenya**

Gershon Adela (Infosol), **The oil journey: Following the oil money in Ghana**

Guidione Machava (UX information Technologies), **Participatory monitoring Maputo**

Jacklyn Arinaitwe (Overseas Development Institute), **The Uganda Budget Transparency Initiative**

Jameelah Parker (Code for South Africa), **Codebridge Tech Hub**

Jerry Kole (Qholaqhwe Advice Centre), **Free State Housing Campaign**

Kate McAlpine (Community for Children's Rights Ltd.), **A tool for informed child protection planning in Arusha city, Tanzania**

Kavisha Pillay (Corruption Watch), **The Public Protector Campaign**

Lazaro Bamo (CAICC), **Face 2 Face: Widening local dialogue in Mozambique**

Lord Asante Fordjour (Advocacy and Media Support Foundation), **Action voices: Bridging Ghana's governance divide**

Lorraine Ochiel (International Commission of Jurists), **Supporting public participation in Kenya's justice system**

Lynette Maart (Black Sash Trust), **Improving local health services with community-based monitoring**

Malou Mangahas (Philippines Center for Investigative Journalism), **Data journalism and civic engagement for informed and inclusive elections**

Maryam Mgonja (Hatua), **Buni Hub**

Maxence Melo (Jamii Media Company Ltd), **Tushirikiane project: Following up on election promises to improve service delivery**

Niken Lestari (PEKKA-FAMM Indonesia), **Mahina Masohi: Collective action for accountability in Indonesia**

Owen Wimbo (Restless Development), **Kijana Wajibika – a youth movement for accountable governance**

Paul McNally (University of Witwatersrand Foundation), **The citizen justice network: Giving a voice to justice activists across South Africa**

Rizal Usman (Achehnese Civil Society Task Force), **Innovating advocacy for truth and justice**

Rorie Fajardo (Institute of War and Peace Reporting), **Citizen action network for accountability**

Siti Nurjanah (Women and Youth and Development Institute of Indonesia), **Suara Kita – Our voice**

Sule Dinte (Sustainable Aid through Voluntary Establishment), **Arresting corruption through evidence-based methods**

Tambu Muzenda (South African HIV Clinicians Society), **Stop Stock Outs**

Timothy Kiprono (International Budget Partnership), **Building a better budget through citizen–government partnerships**

Wouter Dijkstra (Stichting TRAC FM International), **Common matters**