

Annex 1

Theory of Change

1. Background

The Policy Forum (PF) is a network of 74 civil society organizations brought together in their interest in poverty reduction, equity and democratization. The network seeks to enhance and augment the voice of ordinary citizens in national policy processes in Tanzania. The main focus is to make policies work for people, especially the poor, and for policy processes to be opened up and be made more transparent, democratic, participatory and accountable. Governance and Accountability is the underpinning pillar on which all Policy Forum activities are based.

One of the key findings outlined after the review of work undertaken during PF's 2014-2016 strategic period was that the organization lacked a detailed Theory of Change (ToC) albeit there was an implicit Theory of Change contained in the PF's 2014 – 2016 Strategic Plan document presented as a 5-step diagram. The review report recommended a separate detailed Theory of Change document based on a baseline and context analysis with a clear articulation of the assumptions (and risks) through which its activities and outputs are expected to produce the anticipated outcomes at each successive step in the results hierarchy.

To this end, Policy Forum prepared this document to make explicit its ToC and what follows is a description of how PF sees the steps needed to attain its desired long-term outcome. Based on a recent Political Economy Analysis (PEA) for Policy Forum, it begins by setting the scene with a detailed current operating context for civil society, discusses the theory of change, the key stakeholders it will engage with, the interventions and strategies to be used in the pathway to change and draws the assumptions that articulate PF's expectations of what will happen and includes a schematic representation of the Theory of Change and the indicators to be monitored as it employs the ToC.

2. Current Operating Context for Civil Society

The first year of the 5th Phase Administration has seen a re-centralisation of power to the Executive, a focus on achieving development using Tanzania's resources, a drive to increase efficiency in public finances, rule by decree and the introduction of anti-corruption actions outside the existing, if inadequate, accountability institutions. This approach to statecraft and development gives rise to interrogations on its sustainability and inclusivity of other stakeholders in tackling development challenges. Moreover, the changes have taken place against a background of reducing civic space, the reorganisation of relations between the state and the private sector and the decline of donor influence in policy making. The new policies towards economic development, governance and accountability also seem to lack coherence and realism. The fight against corruption, for instance, focuses on sacking officials and ignores the underlying incentives for the wealthy 'rent-seekers' to connect with duty-bearers. To correct the latter, a 'systems thinking' approach that looks at the role of entrenched politico-economic interests is required. Another example that illustrates incoherence is the way the 2016-2017 Finance Bill slashed the budget of the Controller and Auditor General, a key oversight and accountability institution by half.

For Tanzanian civil society, there are several uncertainties regarding the ultimate shape of the landscape ahead. Civic space has been considerably constrained. The President's public statement of mistrust for foreign funded CSOs being used by 'imperialists' to destabilize the country to enable latter to control Tanzania's natural resource wealth, the banning of

newspapers and the use of repressive legislation relating to cybercrime against social media users who criticise the President combine to give the impression that this administration will tolerate the sector only if it works to assist the implementation of government policy. Government policy is firmly orientated to a reduction in donor dependence and foreign influence at central government level is waning. The focus appears to be shifting towards stimulating development on Tanzanian terms with less emphasis on conforming to international norms. The dilemma for civil society, certainly at national level, is that funding is dictated by international terms.

However, many aspects of the current direction of the government are in line with what Policy Forum has been advocating for some time. There appears to be room for manoeuvre should civil society coalitions seek out reformist allies of the new President at all levels of the administration nationally and locally and seek to influence policy implementation from within the tent. Although this may bring accusations of co-option and of ignoring reduced freedoms, it may be the more pragmatic at present than any confrontational approach.

The new administration comes to power during an extended period of strong economic growth. However, this growth is failing to benefit large sections of the population as it is concentrated in sectors of the economy in which relatively few Tanzanians work; mining, tourism and manufacturing. Growth in the agricultural sector remains stagnant, resulting in large scale rural-urban migration. Rapid population growth is contributing to rising numbers of unemployed and underemployed youth in both rural and urban areas. The unmet expectations of this cohort are likely to be the cause of future political tension should they remain unaddressed.

The chosen path of this administration is to mobilise domestic resources and increase the efficiency of government to improve public services and drive a policy of state-led industrialisation. In order to maximise state resources, there has been a focus on widening the tax base and reducing tax evasion. While improvements in these areas will certainly improve the public financial position, longer term revenue streams will be defined by agreements made with international companies on the extraction of natural gas. Tanzania has committed to making such contracts public, providing civil society with the opportunity and responsibility to build its capacity to conduct necessary analyses to assess contract fairness and to input into a national discourse on how the benefits of the country's largest resource can be equitably distributed.

A primary aim of civil society going forward should be to ensure that increased revenues from domestic resources are used to reduce growing levels of inequality in both incomes and assess to service provision. Public dissatisfaction with service provision has been rising steadily over recent years, despite the existence of a plethora of policies and programmes intended to bring improvements. Although there have been some improvements in outcomes in the health sector, specifically in a reduction in infant and child mortality, most indicators show that Tanzania is failing to provide adequate essential services to a majority of its population and to the poorer citizens in particular. The situation is particularly bad in the education sector which is seriously understaffed with qualified professionals. Service provision in the water sector has improved nationwide in recent years. However, this statistic disguises a failure to keep pace with the infrastructure requirements in urban areas caused by the rapid pace of rural urban migration. In the health sector, there is a dire shortage of trained personnel and rural areas are chronically underserved.

Although not a major part of the national discourse yet, climate change is having increasing effects on vulnerable sections of the population, particularly in rural areas. Predictions for the

future are grim and include dramatic reductions in agricultural productivity in large section of the centre and west of the country. National plans for climate change adaptation are in place but there has been little political will to implement these. Globally, many countries are devoting much larger sections of their international development expenditures to climate change reduction and adaptation measures. As the influence of major donors' wanes in the area of policy making and following the demise of General Budget Support, it can be expected that a greater proportion of the reduced grants coming to Tanzania will be allocated to initiatives aimed at mitigating the effects of climate change. Some of these projects have already begun and provide an opportunity for local level civil society to engage.

Peering ahead to the future, the current environment may constrain the options for civil society in the near future to a more collaborative role with government, possibly focused on implementation and monitoring of service provision. Although this is far from ideal, there are gains to be made as improved services can be a key driver of a more egalitarian form of economic growth. They also consistently top the wish list of survey respondents when asked to prioritise their needs. These are the areas in which the new President needs to show results quickly in order to strengthen his political hand within the party and to extend its hold on the country.

The way forward for civil society may be to make alliances with reforming allies within the administration. In doing so it will be necessary to develop a political awareness of where power now lies within Ministries and Departments concerned with service provision, extractive industries and climate change. The ultimate aim may be to develop formal interfaces between coalitions of civil society working in specific sectors with corresponding sections of national government. Similar efforts should be made at regional and district level to identify individuals supporting reform rather than pre-existing entrenched interests.

However, in order to enhance the prospects of gaining a seat at the table, civil society coalitions will need to perform a useful function. This could mean becoming the provider of reliable and well-presented research or information on the status of, say, service provision. In the absence of this type of quality input it will be easy for government to dismiss civil society as groups wishing to have meetings for the sake of meetings. Production of such inputs will necessitate stronger national/local CSO linkages, strong research methodologies and more consistent coordination and oversight at district level.

To this end, the new administration presents a different landscape to which progressive politicians, civil servants and civil society are motivated to adapt. In the medium term, pragmatic civil society interaction with government may be more collaborative and low key rather than public. Concerns about reductions in freedoms and divergence from international norms may be outweighed for the present by the opportunity to participate in the task of creating systemic change in government administration.

In light of this and the lessons learned, PF presents a conceptual logic is premised on the following:

- That while the demand-side of public money accountability is necessary for responsive governance, it on its own is not sufficient for effective improvement of service delivery and a hybrid approach that involves working with the supply-side to solve collective action problems and top-down mechanisms also play a key role;
- Service delivery challenges are caused by resource flow bottlenecks and policy incoherence in the system and SAM interventions and other social accountability

approaches can help identify these and provide the space for prescriptions to emerge but they are not the sustainable solutions in themselves.

- That a vibrant civil society and active citizens are key to building the enabling environment and that capacity building towards policy analysis, advocacy through policy debates and campaigns, participation and effective monitoring of government policy decisions are critical tools for facilitating and enabling desired change;
- That a committed PF network of members, Working Groups and Board of Directors and a capable secretariat - play a vital role in building a vibrant PF and like-minded civil society organisations and using the enabling environment to play the role of convener and broker by encouraging rights holders and duty-bearers to work together to emerge with context-specific solutions.
- That to improve the impact of SAM and other social accountability approaches, the PF network should be documenting in detail feedback from member organisations and their interventions, processing and analyzing the information and learning about what contributes to positive changes in governance and accountability, what does not and why. The evidence should then be shared widely to help deepen sustainable impact.
- That the learning has to enable the PF network to be adaptive in its programming and be sensitive to the complexity of public money accountability challenges facing Tanzania

3. Policy Forum Theory of Change

Desired Change:

Improved Service Delivery through enhanced governance and accountable use of public resources

Long-term organisational impact:

Contribution to enhanced governance and accountable use of public resources by improving civil society capabilities and opportunities to influence and monitor policies.

This desired organizational impact is what underpins PF's vision and mission of improved quality of life for the Tanzanian people by influencing and monitoring the implementation of policies relating to accountable use of public resources.

Intermediate outcomes:

Based on mission of the Policy Forum, previous experience as well as the contextual analysis and desired change, the four years Strategic Plan (2017 -2020) will focus on the following three outcome areas:

- **Outcome 1.** Strengthened PF members' capacity to influence and monitor the implementation of policies relating to public resources
- **Outcome 2.** Improved State responsiveness to Policy Forum's advocacy agenda relating to the accountable use of public resources
- **Outcome 3.** Institutional effectiveness and efficiency of Policy Forum network is sustainably enhanced.

PF theorizes that all the above outcomes are preconditions for the network’s successful advocacy towards influencing coherent policies and norms relating to public resource management and accountable governance and monitoring their implementation. The first outcome intends to give effect to growth of PF members’ capacities to produce evidence regarding the influencing of policy processes and monitoring of the implementation and impact of policies relating to public money accountability. The second outcome is designed to enhance government responsiveness to PF’s public money agenda. This will include the government adoption of provisions and processes that PF deems will give effect to accountability norms, for instance improved public access to budget, extractive industry contracts and revenues and broader tax information. The third outcome seeks to strengthen PF’s institutional ability to efficiently and effectively deliver the two preceding outcomes. This includes the Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning system of PF being strengthened, the Secretariat effectively and efficiently managing its resources, Policy Forum governance being strengthened and the financial availability and sustainability being enhanced. Embedded in the ToC is the following results chain linking the Intermediate outcomes with the organizational impact (see the Schematic Representation on page 9):

Enhance the ability of PF members to influence and monitor implementation of policies
so that
They can collect evidence and formulate appropriate messaging targeting the Executive and parliament relating to the accountable use of public resources
so that
The Executive and parliament increase their interest and knowledge on policies for the accountable use of public resources
so that
policies and/or their implementation change
which will
contribute to enhanced governance and accountable use of public resources
so that
Service Delivery improves

Interventions

Several interventions to achieve the above outcomes can be outlined here as follows:

Strengthened PF members’ capacity to influence and monitor the implementation of policies relating to public resources:

- Interventions to equip PF members with knowledge and skills to analyse policies.
- Interventions to improve Policy Forum members’ learning for effective monitoring of public budget and policy processes.
- Interventions to provide Policy Forum members with access to tools and platforms to engage the public on budget and policy issues.

Improved State responsiveness to Policy Forum’s advocacy agenda relating to the accountable use of public resources:

- Interventions to improve public access to budget, extractives revenue and tax information.
- Interventions to ensure Policy Forum’s domestic resource mobilisation agenda is integrated by government.

- Government are more accountable in the use of public resources including gender budgeting and policies.

Institutional effectiveness and efficiency of Policy Forum network is sustainably enhanced:

- Interventions to strengthen the Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning system of the Policy Forum network
- Interventions that ensure the ability of the Secretariat to effectively and efficiently manages its resources is enhanced
- Policy Forum governance strengthened
- Financial availability and sustainability enhanced

Assumptions and risks:

PF's ToC is based on the assumptions that:

1. **Assumptions about desired change:** Service delivery will be improved when citizens and CSOs are capable of demanding and collaborating with a capable and more responsive state to effectively execute its budgetary oversight functions.
2. **Assumption on the context:** As described above in the section on operating context, PF makes assumptions about the re-centralisation of power to the Executive as it tackles tax evasion, official waste and corruption, shrinks civic space, by-passes political and economic inclusivity and focuses on taking punitive measures based on events and individuals. This leads to incoherence in policymaking and lack of realism which will not enable the sustainable improvement of governance and accountability for enhanced service delivery. Civil society has a collaborative role to play with government by sharing findings on its monitoring work to influence policies towards more coherence and to align the accountability enhancement efforts of the Executive towards a more systemic approach.
3. **Assumptions about organisational impact:** That a capable civil society with the evidence produced through their monitoring work and with the opportunities to engage with the state can contribute to enhanced governance and accountable use of public resources. It is also assumed that despite the shrinking civic space, PF can work to open more spaces for engagement. **Risk:** The 5th Administration government might further close the spaces for PF and reduce stakeholder participation.
4. **Assumptions on strengthening PF members' capacity:** That capacity enhancement efforts by the PF secretariat will be effective and thus, that the evidence members produce will be adequate to convince the influencing of policies. Also, that members are motivated to enhance their capacity in policy analysis and to participate in policy spaces. **Risks:** PF capacity enhancement interventions becoming irrelevant to members with changing context.
5. **Assumptions on State responsiveness to Policy Forum's advocacy agenda:** That government and parliamentary stakeholders will trust Policy Forum's in terms of the motive behind its intentions for collaboration and will be supportive by encouraging PF production of evidence. Also, that there is political will on behalf of legislators and policy makers to use the information provided by PF. **Risk:** Political decrees may mean continued government ad hoc actions rather than state taking long term and sustainable policymaking outlook.
6. **Assumptions on enhancing the institutional effectiveness and efficiency of the Policy Forum network:** Adequate resources are provided to the secretariat and that a favorable environment to enhance institutional effectiveness and efficiency exists (a clear understanding of the relationship between the role of the members and the role of

the secretariat exists). **Risk:** Lack of commitment from donors to support the new Strategic Plan and staff turnover and loss of institutional capacity and memory.

Policy changing Key Players

The advent of the 5th Phase Administration has created widespread uncertainty for public servants and for civil society. The ad hoc nature of Executive actions, particularly in the area of the removal of public officials, seem to side line existing accountability institutions, whatever faults these may have. However, the administration's actions indicate some directional markers that conform to an agenda that sections of civil society have been espousing for some years including the President's intention to reduce corruption in revenue collection and wastage in government expenditure in order to provide funding for improved service provision. This offers a way forward for Policy Forum.

Hence, to effectively advocate for better policy processes and policy implementation relating to public resource management in the current environment, Policy Forum proposes deeper engagement with the following policy changing players.

Seek reforming allies

Opportunity exists for a network like Policy Forum at both the national and local level to identify and build relationships with politicians and officials within the administration who are fully behind the reform agenda in the area of public money accountability. These include Permanent Secretaries, Heads of Agencies, District Commissioners, District Executive Directors and at Administrative Secretary level. Policy Forum has already noted in 2016 that with the Ministry, Departments and Agencies that it works with, officials are under pressure to show results and approach the secretariat to explore the possibility of synergies with the network to achieve their targets.

Build relationships with allies in high level authority

Nonetheless, to get administrative buy-in to a civil society role in efforts to improve public money accountability it will be necessary to create an understanding at the highest level. Policy Forum is well-placed through its links with government officials to progressively build the trust of allies and identify areas where it can assist reform efforts. These interactions could include advocacy for the formalization of civil society/government interfaces at ministerial and agency levels for the purposes of providing information, advice and constructive criticism in a non-confrontational setting. Although it may seem that building closer links with government will bring the possibility of accusations of co-option, such a course of action may be the most practical at the present time given that the current environment may constrain the options for Policy Forum to implementation and monitoring of policies.

Continue working with parliamentarians

Individual Parliamentarians and Parliamentary committee members can help push for reform achieve the desired change. This is because they are at the forefront as far as leading the role in influencing the change.

Other Stakeholders

PF will also work with the media to support the implementation of this strategic period. We envisage that the media will play a great role in spreading our advocacy messages to raise awareness around the benefits of having this office and how it will foster accountability.

Enhance advocacy capacity

Potentially, the most important attribute that Policy Forum network can bring to administration officials at the national level is the reliable and steady flow of evidence of the impact of policy implementation from the district level. However, a lot remains to be done in terms of the capacity of PF upcountry members in the areas of policy analysis, documentation and information packaging as well as strengthening linkages between Dar organisations through joint learning and reflection. Also, although a few national level advocacy organisations have engaged in district level budget and service monitoring, the aggregated information has rarely made an impact at national level.

Indicators of targeted stakeholders' responses to PF interventions

To determine if the ToC is effective, below are a few indicators to be used to monitor the reception of key players to the interventions outlined above. PF has deliberately selected a few indicators that are most likely to inform whether the ToC is working.

Indicators	PF Members	Media	Legislature	Executive
Feedback through interviews from PF members on whether they find PF network useful and how they use it to influence and monitor policies relating to public resources. (capacities & practice)	✓			
Documented evidence of key national policy changes integrating PF advocacy agendas including cross cutting themes (behavior change)		✓	✓	✓
Feedback through interviews from MPs and Government officials on whether they find PF work useful and how they use it (behavior change)			✓	✓
Recognition of PF's work through invitations to briefings, hearings or meetings and legislature records (behavior change & relationships)			✓	✓
Progress on network's institutional effectiveness and efficiency.	✓			

SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF THE THEORY OF CHANGE

