CASE STUDY

Localization At Scale

CODE Nigeria's
Follow The Money Movement

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Acronyms

BOQ	Bill of Quantities
CBO	Community Based Organization
CODE	Connected Development
CPI	Corruption Perceptions Index
FOI	Freedom Of Information
FTM	Follow The Money
KadPPA	Kaduna Public Procurement Agency
LGA	Local Government Area
NBS	Nigerian Bureau of Statistics
SUBEB	State Universal Basic Education Board
SIDAREC	Slums Information Development and Resource Centre
UBE	Universal Basic Education
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
WHO	World Health Organization

Introduction

One of the most daunting challenges in neglected communities around the world is the accountable delivery of public goods and services. This situation is even more dire in rural areas because communities that are more visible and networked often receive goods and services that less accessible communities don't. However, the funds earmarked for these communities still need to go somewhere. Instead of reaching their intended recipients, funds allocated to rural communities are routed elsewhere, often toward the personal interests of government officials or other non-essential expenditures that do not respond to the primary needs of communities.

One movement that is has recorded success while tackling this challenge is #FollowTheMoney (FTM), which is the subject of this case study.

The FTM movement which is spearheaded and implemented by Connected Development (CODE), was started in 2012 by young, grassroots activists in Nigeria who were moved to hold the government accountable. Originally they were focused on commitments the government made to provide palliatives that could help alleviate the sufferings of the people of Bagega, in Zamfara State, a community ravaged by illegal mining and the deaths of children from lead poisoning as a result. By using civic tech tools to document and monitor the utilization of both funds donated by the international community and the Nigerian government, this group of young activists was able to ensure that USD 5.3 billion in aid allocated to the remediation of Bagega was appropriately spent.

Building on this early success, FTM is now quickly spreading across the continent, and has since grown to become the largest civic engagement grassroots movement in Africa with a membership of over 6,000 young people. FTM has continued to focus on achieving impact while also adopting learnings from initial advocacy efforts in parts of Kaduna and using that to scale the movement

The FTM movement hinges on "localizing at scale"—a process where the design, production and delivery of goods and services happen within and for a specific local context. While this term is more commonly understood by the private sector, the FTM movement has successfully demonstrated how development partners can strategically deliver grassroots-targeted programs by applying the same localization methods to achieve impact at scale. The hope is that the learnings from this case study will help to better communicate the results of the FTM movement's grassroots impact on communities to generate international support for the movement as an effective way to build community agency and increase accountability in government.

MacArthur Foundation   **CODE** connecteddevelopment.org   **REBOOT**

Context

Accountability in Nigeria

Over 80million
Nigerians live in poverty

52%
of those living in rural areas are below the poverty line
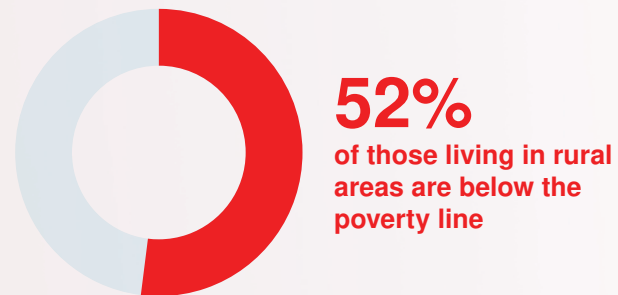
Nigeria, with a population estimated at over 205 million people, has more than its fair share of inequality and neglected communities. According to the Nigerian Bureau of Statistics (NBS) Nigerian Living Standards Survey,[1] over 80 million Nigerians live in poverty. Notably, 52% of those living in rural areas are below the poverty line compared to 18% of urban dwellers.

Areas with high poverty rates tend to also have the greatest need for goods and services. However, these areas are also often the least likely to have access to them. People in these areas often have to trek long distances to access health care, including maternity health services. Where present, education facilities are typically in a dilapidated state and in need of both repair and expansion to respond to an expanding school age population. Also, there is often little to no access to clean drinking water or sanitation facilities.

$582billion
is reported to have been stolen from the country since 1960

High poverty rates and lack of access to public goods and services can be attributed to years of corruption, misappropriation of finances, and the looting of the national treasury. For example, USD 582 billion is reported to have been stolen from the country since 1960.[2] Further, members of these neglected communities typically have little to no access to public office holders and are only exposed to their political representatives during the brief window of election campaigns. As a result, this pattern of neglect that poverty-stricken communities have faced has continued unabated from one administration to the next, leaving in its wake a disenfranchised population that is unaware of both their rights as well as the responsibilities of their political representatives and government.

Achieving accountability in neglected areas is a complex process that requires significant stakeholder engagement that can only occur where local interactions between citizens and their representatives happen both extensively and deliberately. Given the fact that contexts, priorities, traditions, and environmental factors differ widely across communities, it will not be possible to simply replicate or scale up a process or program that works in one location and expect it to have the same impact in another. This is why, to date, nearly all efforts to achieve accountable service delivery at a scale large enough to change this troubling narrative have failed.

Therefore, instead of pursuing scalable solutions, true accountability will require "localization at scale," a term more familiar to the private sector that has characterized FTM's approach. In this case study, localization at scale refers to empowering locally-led, bespoke efforts in a large number of locations at the same time.

1 https://nigerianstat.gov.ng/elibrary?queries[search]=poverty%20and%20in

2 https://www.economist.com/middle-east-and-africa/2019/10/10/african-kleptocrats-are-finding-it-tougher-to-stash-cash-in-the-west

FTM at a Glance

#FollowTheMoney (FTM) is a network of grassroots citizens dedicated to tracking government and international aid spending. This African initiative started by young activists only eight years ago is now demonstrating to the world what localization at scale looks like. With over 6,000 members and counting, FTM is now the largest social accountability movement in Africa with growing interest from other youth groups in parts of Asia, South America, and Europe.

FTM's Impact in Nigeria as well as globally

In Nigeria

374 Number of communities FTM has been working in and tracking funds

$13.5 million Total amount of money tracked nationally in Nigeria

2.5 million people Number of people who have benefited

In Kenya

$62 billion FTM lead in Kenya is tracking over USD62 billion cumulative national budget since 2017 including covid-19 funds

In Cameroon

$13.8 million FTM lead in Cameroon tracking over USD13.8 million in covid-19 funds

In Gambia

$24.2 million FTM lead in the Gambia is tracking over USD24.2 million covid-19 funds
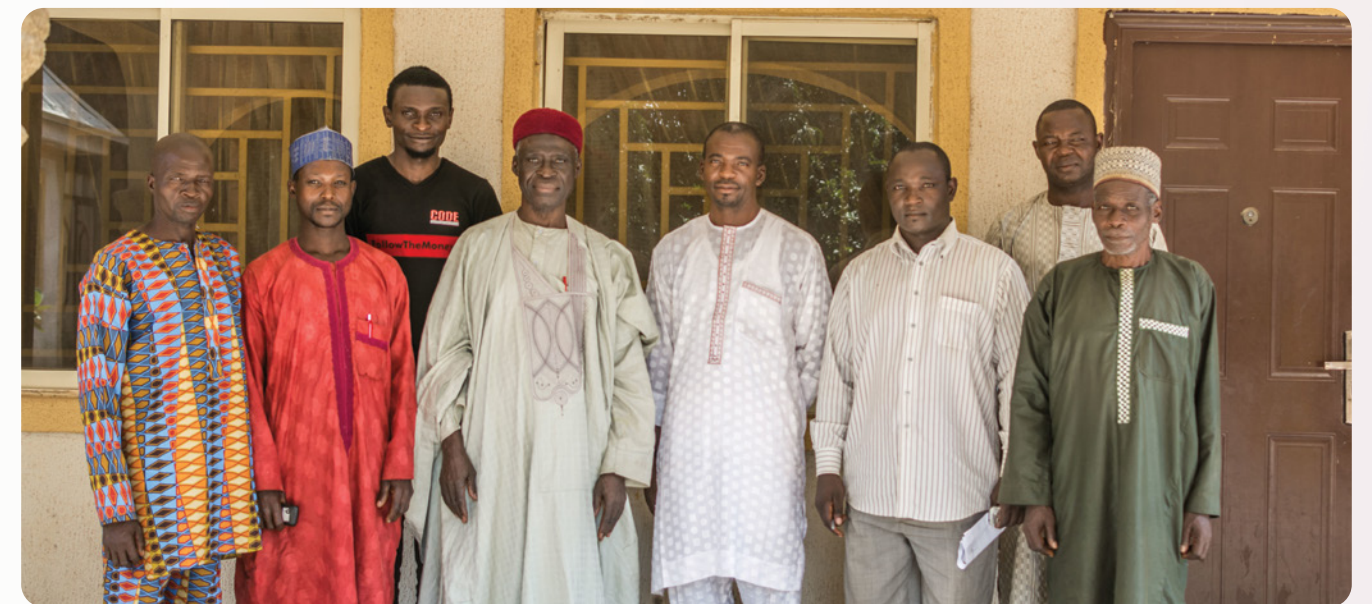
In Liberia

$775,000 FTM lead in Liberia is tracking close to USD775,000 on covid-19 funds

In Zimbabwe

$746,000 FTM lead in Zimbabwe is tracking over USD746,000 of covid-19 funds

FTM began in 2012 when Hamzat B. Lawal and Oludotun Babayemi came together to ensure that the Bagega community in Zamfara State did not suffer the fate of other communities previously ravaged by exploitative mining activities. Between 2011 and 2012, over 400 children were reported dead due to lead poisoning as a result of illegal gold mining activities in the state. The situation was made worse by the fact that these illegal mining activities were happening in neglected, remote communities with limited access to public services. As a result, multiple international agencies like the World Health Organization (WHO) and United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), responded by supporting the government with financial and material resources to help address the situation.

When Lawal and Babayemi learned that the Nigerian government had earmarked USD 5 million in relief aid for Bagega and other communities, the young founders of what would become FTM used what little resources they had to track, monitor, and advocate for the appropriate use of funds allocated for the redevelopment of Bagega and surrounding communities in Zamfara State. They used civic tech tools to investigate and track spending while simultaneously using social media to galvanize citizens' voices and apply pressure on the government, demanding transparency and accountability in the spending of funds earmarked for the communities.

Oludotun Babayemi
Co-Founder

A business operations expert who has successfully supported the strengthening of numerous development focused organizations in Africa. As Co-Founder of the Follow the Money Movement, and now board member, he continues to help steer the ship of passionate activists and campaigners working to promote accountability in governance.

As these early successes catapulted CODE and the FTM movement to the international spotlight, Lawal and Babayemi began to receive support from donors. In 2017, FTM received a sizable investment from John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation's **On Nigeria** grant to grow and deepen its work, primarily in Kaduna State.

In 2013, Lawal and Babayemi formed Connected Development (CODE) as a registered legal body in Nigeria to further their achievements in a more formal fashion. The young founders gathered learnings from their initial advocacy efforts and used them to strengthen the FTM process that led to the success of the Bagega Community campaign in Zamfara state and adapted the FTM approach to other communities in Nigeria.

In 2014, the FTM movement tracked government spending on a USD 24 million (9.2 billion Naira) initiative to provide women across Nigeria with fuel efficient cooking stoves. For this campaign, FTM harnessed citizens' voices to push for transparency and accountability in the disbursement of funds and distribution of the stoves. In that process, the team unearthed shortfalls, financial misappropriations, and contract breaches by the Ministry for Environment which was eventually taken to court by the contractor.[3] Since then, the movement has continued to gain traction as CODE continues to harness citizens' voices to advocate for government transparency and accountability in public spending across the continent.

Snap profile of CODE Founders

Hamzat B. Lawal
Co-Founder

A passionate activist and successful leader of grassroots campaigns spanning over 40 African Countries. As the Chief Executive Officer at Connected Development (CODE) and Founder of Follow The Money movement, he leads a team of technology and innovation driven campaigners to amplify the voices of marginalized communities to demand accountability from government.

23 **Primary Schools**
Tracked 23 primary school projects

22 **Communities**
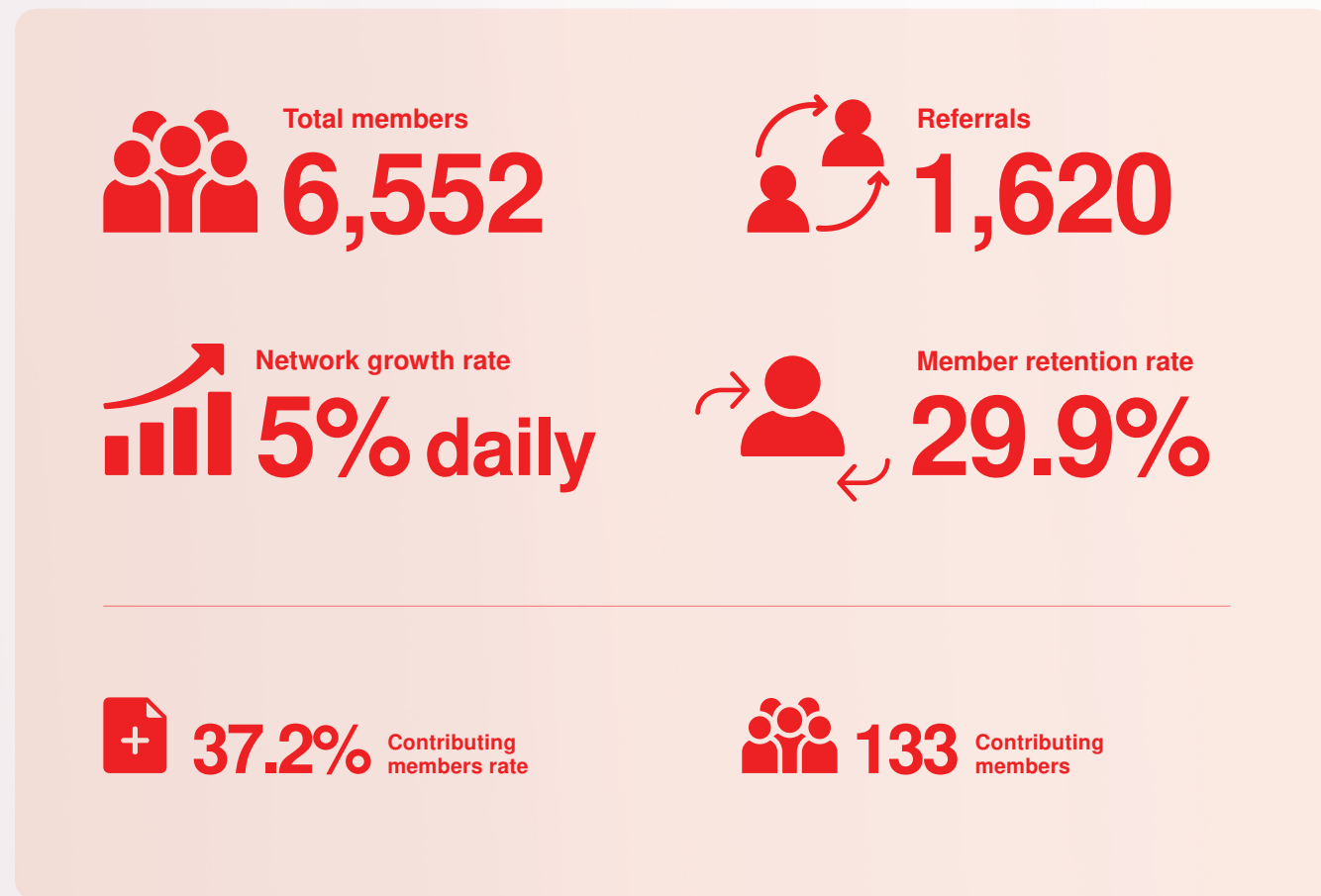across 22 communities in Jema'a, Kudan, Kajuru and Zango Kataf Local Government Areas

Tracked a total of
$1.5million

3 http://followthemoneyng.org/2014/11/05/how-we-tracked-9-2-billion-ngn-meant-to-provide-womencookstoves/

In Kaduna, FTM has focused on tracking the State Universal Basic Education Board's (SUBEB) funding for education infrastructure in four local government areas: of Kajuru, Kudan, Jema'a, and Zangon Kataf. The learnings gleaned from Kaduna State were then replicated in other states in Nigeria and, from there, the FTM movement worked to build longer-term, sustainable accountability by launching it's **iFTM.org** platform to support localization at scale.

iFollowtheMoney.org is a network of over 6,000 volunteers who are social accountability activists, data wranglers, researchers, investigative reporters, and even public office holders. These participants are people who, through their conversations and interactions on promoting good governance, transparency, and accountability in government, have become the boots on the ground that keeps dispersed FTM teams connected to happenings on the grassroots level. By staying engaged not only with each other but also with government officials, they are able to amplify community voices through the platform.

iFollowtheMoney.org *platform analytics*

Total members
6,552

Referrals
1,620

Network growth rate
5% daily

Member retention rate
29.9%

37.2% **Contributing members rate**

133 **Contributing members**

How FTM Works

To push for and ensure effective service delivery to neglected communities, the FTM team identifies issues by researching and investigating existing government spending data and policies, and confirming the existence of projects through physical visits to the communities. FTM then engages with communities to teach them about their rights while also using media engagements (radio and online) to harness citizens' voices to push the government to take action towards accountability. This process includes town hall meetings with government and public officials who are responsible for ensuring that delivered projects meet their standards and that the community's priorities are responded to effectively.

The FTM Grassroots Accountability Model

Data

Media
Citizens
Government
Contractors

Public Goods & Services
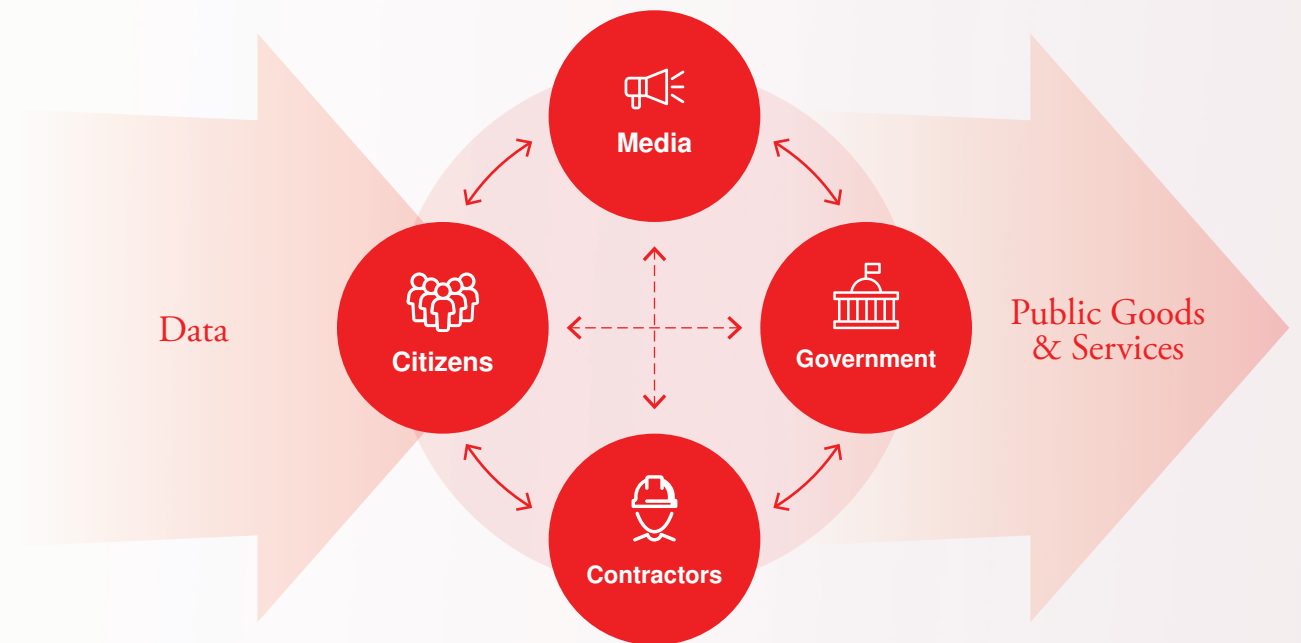
Data Mining

As illustrated in the diagram above, CODE begins the FTM process with a data analysis of budgetary allocations to identify spending for projects at community level. FTM searches through budgets and project details to disaggregate data and develop easy-to-understand infographics with details on bills of quantity, names of contractors, the duration of the project, and the government parastatal overseeing it. This process kick starts the campaign. Next, the FTM team visits the community to physically identify the projects confirmed to have been contracted out and ascertain the level and standard of completion to verify the spending.

The data mining process often includes sending requests to government agencies to ask for details on budgets and spending. This is either done formally through Freedom Of Information (FOI) requests or informally through relationships built within the government agencies. Government data is often difficult to obtain, so the FTM team finds creative ways to build relationships with government agencies to achieve smoother communication. In building relationships, sometimes by providing free training to government officials, government agencies are less skeptical of the CODE and FTM teams, and so more readily respond to official requests for budget spending data.

Community Engagement

Following data mining and analysis, the FTM team conducts an initial outreach to the community they're working with and engages key stakeholders—traditional leaders, concerned parents, members of Community Based Organizations (CBOs), and the like. This outreach is used to identify what knowledge gaps exist, and find ways to best support the community members in demanding accountability.

Typically these meetings are followed by a series of trainings for community stakeholders on: how to read and assess a bill of quantities (BOQ) for project monitoring to ensure standards are kept; how to write letters to, and engage with, public office holders effectively; and what the rights, roles, and responsibilities are of the people, the government, other public office holders, and political representatives. Communities are typically receptive to the FTM team and see the benefits of the support that the movement can provide.

Government Engagement

A key piece of how FTM works is the way in which it engages with government and public officials. The FTM model works to build mutual respect and understanding between the communities and government agencies by finding non-antagonistic ways to show that the movement supports their work and is not there to focus on failures. The FTM team engages with government agencies responsible for a given project and facilitates a conversation between the community, contractors, and the government. This is done through town hall meetings where all parties are present and able to discuss the issues related to the project while identifying the best ways to address them in the work ahead.

" *we have recorded a considerable amount of success in project implementation, especially in terms of transparency. Gone are the days where projects are being awarded and not being delivered even when monies have been paid.*

- Permanent Member, Project Management, SUBEB

Following these stakeholder engagements, FTM uses the relationships it has built through the town hall process to informally track project progress and help ensure follow through on commitments. FTM often leverages the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) to request for data on specific government projects after having identified a gap in implementation. FTM also helps build the capacity of government officials and government agencies to mine data for better record-keeping processes, and is therefore able to foster relationships based on mutual respect. Through this strategic government engagement, FTM is able effectively to close the information gap between government representatives and the community members.

Advocacy Through Media

To get community buy-in, FTM's strategy includes harnessing citizens' voices to put additional pressure on government agencies and departments to respond to community demands, especially when the government isn't immediately forthcoming. The FTM movement leads social media campaigns with hashtags and uses infographics designed during the data mining stage to effectively communicate findings to audiences. FTM also hosts Interactive radio shows to inform citizens of their rights, raise awareness of community-specific needs, and highlight the purpose of the campaign.

These efforts enable communities to gain visibility, bringing their needs into the spotlight and, thus, making it difficult for the government to ignore them, creating community buy-in in the process. This increases the chances of communities getting the critical services they need. As communities begin to see the results of increased attention from their political representatives and government officers who previously ignored them, the visibility that FTM creates is sustained organically.

The FTM Community

This grassroots model is key to creating FTM's "localization at scale" approach. By continuously spearheading locally-led implementations of the FTM model across Nigeria and parts of Africa, over time these local implementations have turned into a full-fledged movement through the effective use of civic technology.

CODE

| State Leads | Community Committees | International Member Organizations |

Community Champions

Champions at State and Community Level

From the beginning, FTM's model has relied on **State Leads**. These activists rise to the challenge of holding their governments accountable by joining the broader FTM movement as leaders within their geographic regions, national or subnational. State Leads take the lead on organizing and deploying local campaigns, typically in neglected communities to help them receive the public services they need. State Leads themselves then go on to foster a network

of **Community Champions**. State Leads teach Community Champions about FTM and show them that they can be a part of a larger accountability community of their peers, giving them the hope they need to succeed.

FTM identifies these Community Champions through social engagements like the **Open Data Party**, conversations on Twitter, and other training-focused events. These efforts bring together like minded youth looking to improve their skills and add value to their communities. In some cases, Community Championsproactively reach out to FTM to join the movement.

FTM provides little to no financial incentive to Community Champions, other than the promise of making a difference. This allows FTM to build a network of dedicated Community Champions who are genuinely interested in community development. Community Champions are typically driven by:

- **A desire to make a difference.** They have lived most of their lives in the state and often have very close ties to the community. As such, they have witnessed and experienced first hand the results of corruption and misappropriation of resources at the grassroots level. They have a yearning to make a difference in the lives of the people living in these neglected communities.

- **A sense of pride and belonging.** They take pride in the fact that they are part of a movement that is bigger than they are alone. With that support, they are inspired and able to surface grassroot level issues and solve them. This sense of accomplishment continues to them to continue engaging with accountability projects in their community.

made up of concerned residents within a specific community such as community-based organizations (CBO's), community-based education monitoring teams, women's groups, and youth groups for example. FTM trains Community Committees to continue the FTM process in their location. Further, FTM State Leads periodically convene Community Champions, Community Committees, governments, and other stakeholders at the state or national levels to share learnings and combine forces on concurrent and future FTM campaigns.

With the support of Community Champions, Community Committees lead the FTM process within their locale. Eventually they are able to take ownership of the government accountability process in their area beyond the initial FTM project. Community Committee members often go on to train Community Committee members of neighboring communities.

For example, following a successful campaign for the rehabilitation of local school buildings, Taban Sani Community Committee members in Kaduna State are currently sharing their knowledge with Community Committees in neighboring Taba and Mahuta communities to support them in demanding government accountability.

Location: Tabin Sani, Kudan LGA, Kaduna, Nigeria
Population: 16,000
Distance from City Center: 105.2km

Context and Challenge

Tabin Sani is a thriving agricultural community located a few kilometres away from ancient Zaria city. Community leaders, concerned about the dilapidated state of school structures, fruitlessly tried to reach SUBEB with requests for school improvements to be prioritized.

Follow the Money's Involvement

FTM launched an advocacy campaign to strengthen community participation and ownership of school projects that included following up on projects for accountability and transparency through improved access to project information. Key members of the community were trained on how to effectively monitor projects using information such as Schedule of Specifications/BOQs and how to effectively engage with the public officials to obtain the information through advocacy visits and letter writing. Attendees were also taught how to transfer the knowledge they gain to other community members as well as other communities.

Impact

Apart from an increase in school enrollment, there was a new appreciation for education by some parents within the community. Some parents who previously did not care much for western education chose to send their children to school after the building upgrade so they didn't miss out on attending classes at the new facility.

Community members are finally beginning to receive positive responses to their queries. Leaders in the Taban Sani community are also engaging with residents of neighboring communities like Taba and Maahuta and helping them to demand project information so that they, too, can monitor the projects in their communities.

Visibility at the International Level

As FTM gains traction and recognition, CODE remains the backbone of the movement for a more transparent, accountable, and responsive government. The CODE team has taken advantage of opportunities to share the successes of the FTM model at international level. This way FTM is able to gain greater visibility and, more importantly, the interest from communities across Africa, South America, and Europe.

This international FTM network has grown to include groups in six countries in Africa: Kenya, Cameroon, Gambia, Liberia, Zimbabwe, Malawi. To date, grassroots-oriented advocacy groups in Uganda, South Sudan, Pakistan, Ethiopia and Haiti have all expressed interest in joining the network as well. In addition, the **iFTM Digital Community** continues to serve as an online space that brings FTM members together to support collaboration and communication among FTM members.

Results of FTM to Date

Overall Results

Communities are the primary beneficiaries.

The FTM model has had a significant impact on the communities they organize. By engaging directly with key stakeholders in each community and providing them with the training and tools required to investigate a project and evaluate its progress and measure standards, the communities are able to effectively engage with the government in ways that ensure their needs are met by the people who serve them. Take the Kufana community for example. Located in Kajuru Local Government Area (LGA) where, as a result of dilapidated school buildings, the few remaining classrooms in the community were severely congested. As a result, many parents had pulled their children out of school and sent them to private schools outside of the community instead. Something needed to be done, but community requests submitted through the State's Universal Basic Education Board (SUBEB) went unresponded. Once the community engaged with FTM, within six months the school was rebuilt with additional classrooms and proper sanitation facilities, too. This led to increased school enrollment within the community and a decrease of the financial burden on parents who opted for more expensive private schools.

As the Kufana community illustrates, previously underserved communities that become empowered by the knowledge of their rights and their government's responsibilities benefit from the FTM movement. They are speaking up for their communities and taking action to demand greater accountability from their governments to secure the resources they need.

From a new school building that translates to increased school enrollment to a new borehole that finally provides a community with better access to potable water, the impact of the FTM work is directly felt by community members themselves. Compounded by the ripple effects of Community Committees applying the knowledge gained from their successes to help other communities do the same, it is clear that underserved communities are the beneficiaries of the FTM.

Public goods and services are finally reaching neglected communities.

Another major result of the FTM movement is that goods and services are finally getting to the places where they are needed most—the low-income rural communities at greater risk of living below the poverty line. Most of the communities that FTM supports have suffered years of neglect from their political representatives and the government. With FTM's support, these communities are finally beginning to receive the much needed attention they deserve, not only from the government but from their political leaders as well. By helping communities become more vocal and visible, FTM helps them to remain on the minds of the public officials that serve them regardless of changing political leadership at executive levels.

Take the Gantiyabumso community in Ganye LGA of Adamawa State for example. Here, FTM supported the community to engage with its House of Representatives member who was implementing a project to build a school in the community. FTM helped the community write a letter, asking that he ensure the completion of the project intended to add additional classrooms to accommodate the growing population of school age children. When the community learned of financial misappropriations with the execution of the project, they again engaged their political representative who, in response to the pressure, helped ensure that the project was completed using a moderate budget at higher standards.

Government spending is being effectively tracked.

As a direct result of MacArthur Foundation's On Nigeria grant funding to CODE, over the last three years FTM has tracked N 569 million Naira in Universal Basic Education (UBE) funds earmarked for the construction and rehabilitation of facilities in 23 schools across Kaduna State. CODE has also been the recipient of funding from other accountable governance donors like OSIWA, Luminate, USAID, Action Aid, and the One Campaign. The support from these donor organizations has helped the FTM movement achieve the impact it has reached to date. In total, USD 13.5 million has been tracked in Nigeria and a total of USD 17.5 million is being tracked by international implementations of FTM.

The FTM model and the tracking that results has ensured accountability in the highest levels of government. By investigating budgets, unearthing potential disparities between budgetary allocations and spending, and further documenting findings by visiting communities to authenticate government data, FTM is able to effectively and efficiently track government spending.

Improving Education in Kaduna

With dilapidated school structures with too few classrooms being the norm rather than the exception, many communities in Kaduna are faced with a worsening state of education. In communities where FTM works such as Jema'a, Kajuru, Kudan, and Zangon Kataf LGA, the situation has become much less dire. As a result of FTM activities, 23 schools have been either rebuilt from scratch, rehabilitated, or expanded in Kaduna alone.

For many communities, these improvements mean a renewed interest in education in addition to increased enrollment. For example, in the Tabin Sani community in Kundan LGA, where

some parents did not previously send their children to school as they saw no need for a western education. However once classrooms were rebuilt, they decided to send their kids to school because they didn't want their children to miss out on the beautiful new facilities. After improvements to the Unguwan Fadan Kamantan community school, enrollment increased from 100 to 170 once parents no longer worried about their children learning in precarious conditions.

Impacts like these are visible across the communities where FTM has worked. The aggregated result is an improvement in education across Kaduna State, presenting a clear indication of what can be achieved if the FTM model is replicated.

Achieving Accountability across Nigeria

Previously, contractors were sent to sites to implement projects that had been tendered and contracted without consulting the community in the process. As communities learn to better hold their government and political leaders accountable by demanding accountability and receiving it, communities are gaining increased access to public officials, getting their attention, and finally receiving responses to their requests for information on projects in their community.

While the contracting process itself may still be wrought with issues and desperately in need of a more transparent contracting procurement process, projects are meeting necessary standards at the community level. Public officials are beginning to engage with the community prior to project implementation and are proactively sharing BOQs, which communities can then use to monitor project standards.

As the FTM network of State Leads, Community Champions, and volunteers continues working tirelessly to advocate for neglected communities, they continue to have tangible results. In 2019 alone, FTM had 69 campaigns running concurrently across six states and 69 rural communities, tracking a total of USD 3.5 million in public funds. This effort has led to behavior changes in government officials, a hallmark of increasing accountability.

At the start of the FTM campaign, the national government relationship with civil society was one of suspicion and mistrust. However, because of FTM's work, that's beginning to change. Today, the CODE FTM team is often invited to provide input on policy documents designed to serve various communities. For example, CODE was invited to discuss and make recommendations on the government's Sustainable Development Goals' implementation plan in Nigeria.

In 2019 alone...

69 campaigns
running concurrently across 6 states and 69 rural communities

$3.5 million
tracking a total of USD 3.5 million in public funds

Spreading Across Africa

Through international engagements at various workshops, seminars, and conferences, CODE has garnered the interest of various youth groups working to improve government accountability in their area by replicating FTM's achievements in Nigeria. To date, there are seven African countries and several international communities working to adapt the FTM model in their local contexts.

Other African countries like Kenya have already begun to see successes from implementing the FTM model. In Kenya, for example, the Slums Information Development and Resource Centre (SIDAREC)

is implementing the FTM model to focus on tracking budget spending, particularly related to urban slum development. The FTM team in Kenya unearthed a misappropriation of funds earmarked for the operational and equipment costs of a maternity health care facility located within an urban slum in Nairobi. Following advocacy and strategic engagement with the community and government agencies, the funds are now being used as intended, improving access to maternal healthcare for women within the community.

Location: Kibera, Nairobi Kenya
Population: Unknown
Distance from City Center: 6 kilometers

Context and Challenge

In Kenya, public participation forums are usually organized by various county governments, designed to gather citizen inputs and responses on budget policies. These forums are often tokenistic in nature. As budget documents are highly technical, community members were not fully equipped to engage efficiently. This often meant that communities remained underserved and developmentally disadvantaged.

Follow the Money's Involvement

When analysing the 2018 budget, it was discovered that a maternity healthy facility located within an urban slum in Nairobi was documented to have been receiving funds

from the government for over six years. However, further investigations showed that it was actually solely relying on foreign aid. Initially the government responded by saying that the health facility was not even recognised by the government even though, for the past six years, an annual allocation of Ksh 7 million was budgeted for the facility. Using the Follow the Money model, pressure was applied to the government by educating the community on the budgetary allocation through town hall meetings, advocating through interactive talk shows on radio, and social media campaigns.

Impact

The government finally admitted that there were budgetary allocations for the maternity hospital and made a payment of Ksh 1 million to the facility. Women in this community now have access to better maternal care. The community continues to push for accountability and for the disbursement of the backlog of funds initially allocated.

In Gambia where the concept of government transparency is relatively new, the FTM team was able to build a relationship with a legislator in Kundam. The group set up a town hall with members of the community and their representative legislator where residents voiced their concerns about the state of health facilities in the community and shared moving stories about the implications they experienced as a result. The legislator was deeply moved and went on to champion the push for the transparent and effective disbursement of resources and equipment to the community's health facility.

Location: Kundam, Gambia
Population: 500+
Distance from City Center: 386 kilometers

Context and Challenge

Gambia is a country still reeling from over 20 years of violence as a result of deep tribal divides that it is just now working to heal.. Policy making processes that should translate to development for impoverished and neglected communities is marred by the fact that the country executive and legislature at loggerheads. One such community is Kundam. A quaint peanut farming community that has been underserved and neglected for years, its health center was in a dilapidated condition and without proper medical equipment or supplies.

Follow the Money's Involvement

Gambia Participates, an indigenous civil society organization implementing the Follow the Money model in Gambia, looked into health facility issues across the Gambia. They discovered that the conditions of health centers in rural communities like Kundam were in poor condition because resources had been misappropriated. Gambia Participates took action and began advocating for improvements with the community's legislator. During a town hall meeting in Kundam, residents expressed their grief and sadness over loved ones lost as a result of the non-existent health facility. The legislator, faced with the impact on the community, was forced to confront the fact that budgetary allocations meant for the health facility had been misappropriated.

Impact

A fully equipped and functional health facility has since been built in the Kundam community, meaning that residents have better access to health care. Furthermore, community residents are now aware of their rights as well as the responsibilities of their legislative representative. The community now has direct access to their legislative representative and are better able to productively engage with him to ensure that the development priorities of the community are catered to in national budget policies.

As these examples show, the kind of organizing that FTM provides helps communities break through barriers to receive the goods and services allotted to them. They also highlight how the international activist groups can implement the FTM localization at scale model in their contexts.


Learnings from FTM

Based on the success of the FTM movement, this case study offers learnings for donors and civil society actors interested in government accountability. Those working in Nigeria and other countries with similar socio-economic contexts can consider adopting the following lessons from FTM:

- **A strategic focus on accountability issues in neglected communities can lead to change.** The FTM movement does not take on issues broadly, but rather focuses on those that are tangible to communities and reflect their immediate needs. Therefore, any level of positive change is immediately seen and felt by the community members as a result of their efforts. This "real time" process is made possible because of FTM's efforts to mine the necessary data. Because there is no shortage of issues, maintaining a strategic focus helps the FTM team to select issues that allow the model to succeed.

- **Tapping into grassroots capabilities is key to empowering citizens.** From the start, the focus of FTM has been on empowering citizens locally, and that will never change. Because each community is unique, FTM's work takes an endogenous approach that relies on respected, local Community Champions who step up and learn how to empower and mobilize their community through FTM training. These individuals are uniquely suited to the role thanks to their ability to engage with their communities in a way that is direct and relatable in order to make a difference.

- **Demonstrate near-term accountability wins to increase citizen-government engagement.** FTM focuses on mobilizing citizen-government engagement around issues that can deliver visible, near-term results. This process creates a short path to accountability that produces results faster than processes that rely on changes like policy development. Further, the FTM model is typically a win-win for both the community and the government which gains improved standing with the community once its citizens finally receive the goods and services they need.

- **Build an organic, self-sustaining network to foster localization at scale.** The FTM network and **iFTM.org** platform—which offers organic, automated communication—provide Community Champions and volunteers with a sense of belonging and an opportunity to contribute to an international movement that is bigger than they are individually. Additionally, the network is self-sustaining as it's made up of volunteers who participate out of an innate desire to make a difference.

Looking Ahead
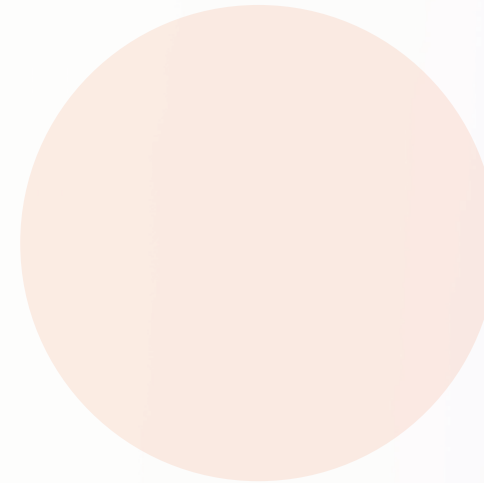
A Call to Action

A development model that consists of activities that are not only carried out in local communities, but strengthen them at the same time by tapping into and supporting local capacity is an interesting and unique model to explore and an important one to understand. This is what this case study has set out to do.

The FTM model offers a replicable example of how development actors—donors, CSOs, and governments alike—can finally provide not only goods and services to neglected communities, but spark initiatives that promote the advancement of rights and a more equitable distribution of wealth that effectively addresses longstanding issues that impact the livelihoods of local residents. This previously seemed like a daunting task until the FTM model illustrated how this is not only attainable, but achievable at scale.

Localizing development at scale, however, cannot be left to CODE alone. Volunteers, CSOs, and donors willing to understand these learnings and adapt them to existing or future investments will play a crucial role in growing the FTM movement and increasing its successes. By working together and accepting this collective responsibility, supporters will be enabling collective change at the grassroots level and in ways that truly strengthen the drivers of bottom-up impact within diverse populations.

To become a part of this movement and be a part of the change that is now being felt by communities across Africa, you can:

1. Register on the **iFollowTheMoney** platform to receive a toolkit and training on the FTM empowerment process.

2. Connect with the CODE FTM leadership team by email at **ceo@followthemoney.org**.

Opportunities for Collaboration

There are several opportunities for further engagement with the FTM team to increase and enhance the movement's ability to reach its goal of empowering citizens. Preliminary opportunities for collaboration include:

Furthering FTM's impact through enhanced monitoring and evaluation. As communities reap the benefits of the FTM movement, the CODE team, State Leads, and Community Champions who make it all possible would benefit from enhanced monitoring and evaluation processes. This would translate into a more efficient tracking of the outcomes, such as the children's learning outcomes that stem from the rehabilitation and expansion of school facilities and the public health benefits that result from establishing and equipping public health centers.

This support has a strong potential for increasing the ability of FTM teams to track the shifting behaviors and norms of citizens as the result of the movement's efforts (such as an increase in political participation like voting attendance), or that of government officials exhibited by the rebuking of a culture of corruption.

Strengthening the reach of the FTM movement through upgraded communications. Strategic communication is key to the growth of the FTM movement and its acceptance on the international stage. As such, it is important to invest in developing a more interactive and user friendly guide (such as a handbook available in different languages) in order to make it easier to spread the movement and its achievements while mitigating the risk of mis-application of the model.

Increasing communications around the FTM model by surfacing inspiring stories and disseminating them to various audiences in an easily digestible way would help grow the network, ultimately leading to an increase of the impact of the FTM movement's localization at scale model.