

MacArthur
Foundation

CASE STUDY

Follow the Money in Kaduna State

A Case Study of Accountability in
Neglected Communities

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Summary

A Nigerian youth-led organization called Connected Development (CODE) is catalyzing one of the largest social movements in Africa, “Follow The Money” (FTM), which transforms corruption into opportunities for neglected communities by empowering them to demand accountability in the delivery of government goods and services earmarked for their communities. This case study illustrates how the MacArthur Foundation’s investment of USD 350,000 has contributed to FTM’s investigative monitoring and, ultimately, the delivery of **USD 1.5 million (570 million Naira)** in education infrastructure across Kaduna State alone. This has led to an increase in the number of children enrolled in school over a period of three years. By dissecting FTM’s processes and successes, this case study highlights learnings for actors in civil society and government, as well as funders working to improve accountability in public service delivery in neglected communities. This case study also introduces “localization at scale” as a new approach that holds promise for scaling up accountability initiatives.

This case study was researched and written by Reboot in partnership with CODE. It is part of a series of case studies that evaluate and disseminate the impact and lessons learned from the MacArthur Foundation’s *On Nigeria* program.



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Introduction

The Challenge: Public Service Delivery in Neglected Communities

One of the most daunting challenges in Nigeria is the accountable delivery of public goods and services in neglected communities. Communities that are more accessible, visible, and networked often get goods and services that neglected communities should also get, but don't. Projects in neglected communities, shielded from the oversight that comes with the visibility that more urban locations enjoy, offer more opportunities for corruption without being caught. Often, money that is earmarked for these communities is routed elsewhere, and community members themselves are none the wiser. Systemic corruption within weak government institutions has proven to be a key barrier to changing this situation.

As of 2018, 80 million Nigerians are living in poverty. Those living in rural areas are about three times more likely to be poor than those living in urban areas.¹ Meanwhile, USD 582 billion is reported to have been lost to corruption in Nigeria since 1960.² Neglected communities have little to no access to their public office holders nor to information more generally. This, coupled with a limited awareness of their rights, puts these rural communities at risk of becoming victims of corruption and left with unfinished infrastructure projects such as school buildings and healthcare centers, while politicians and contractors collude to divert funds toward their interests.

After their success in Bagega, the activists created an official nonprofit and named it Connected Development. Recognizing that the scale of neglect in rural communities across Africa was beyond what any one organization could address alone, they focused on building a movement. Today, "Follow the Money" is the largest social accountability movement in Africa, with over 6,000 members leading FTM campaigns in seven African countries.

Connected Development's Response: "Follow the Money"

Connected Development (CODE)'s "Follow The Money" (FTM) movement traces its history to the remote community of Bagega, Zamfara State, in northwestern Nigeria:

 **Over 6,000 members**

 **Over 7 African Countries**

Community Spotlight: The First Follow the Money Campaign

Community: Bagega, Zamfara State
Population: 3,000
Distance from City Center: 137 km

Issue:

Residents of Bagega were ravaged by illegal mining and lead poisoning that had killed over 400 children as of 2011.

The FTM Campaign:

A group of Nigerian activists successfully tracked spending on USD 5 million in commitments from the Nigerian government and international donors to ensure all of the money intended for the community actually reached it. FTM activists used civic tech tools to track the funds and keep the issue of neglect in the spotlight for over two years until the government had delivered fully on its promises and the corruption that led to neglect was stymied.

Impact:

Lead poisoning was removed from over 450 compounds and four hectares of land. Roughly 981 children were screened and treated for lead poisoning.



¹ National Bureau of Statistics, "2019 Poverty and Inequality in Nigeria," May 2020.

² The Economist, "African Kleptocrats are Finding it Tougher to Stash Cash in the West," Oct 10, 2019.



Follow the Money in Kaduna State

CODE's work is anchored in the realization that the delivery of basic public goods and services that communities rely on (such as primary schools and healthcare facilities) are the responsibility of state governments—and the amount spent every year is considerable. For example, in 2019, more than USD 70 million was budgeted for education by the Kaduna State government.

Since 2017, FTM has focused on four local governments in Kaduna, monitoring the delivery of USD 1.5 million in education infrastructure.

Monitored the accountable delivery of \$1.5million

The Environmental Context: Kaduna State, Nigeria

CODE selected Kaduna State to implement FTM because of the state's current reform-minded leadership and its ability to influence other states. Kaduna is the historical seat of government of the former Northern region, the fourth largest state in Nigeria by landmass, and the third largest by population.³

³ https://www.google.com/publicdata/explore?ds=d5bncppjof8f9_&met_y=sp_pop_totl&idim=country:NGA:-EGY&hl=en&dl=en



	Kaduna	National Average
Land Mass	46,053 km ²	25,074 km ²
Population	8,252,366	5,294,594
Poverty Rate	43%	40%
Political Party	All Progressives Congress (APC)	APC is running the Federal Government and most states

Kaduna's historical prominence, however, has not translated into improved living standards for its residents. Over 3.5 million people, 43.5 percent of the population, live below the poverty line.⁴ As of 2011, 24 percent of its children (over 450,000) were not enrolled in school.⁵

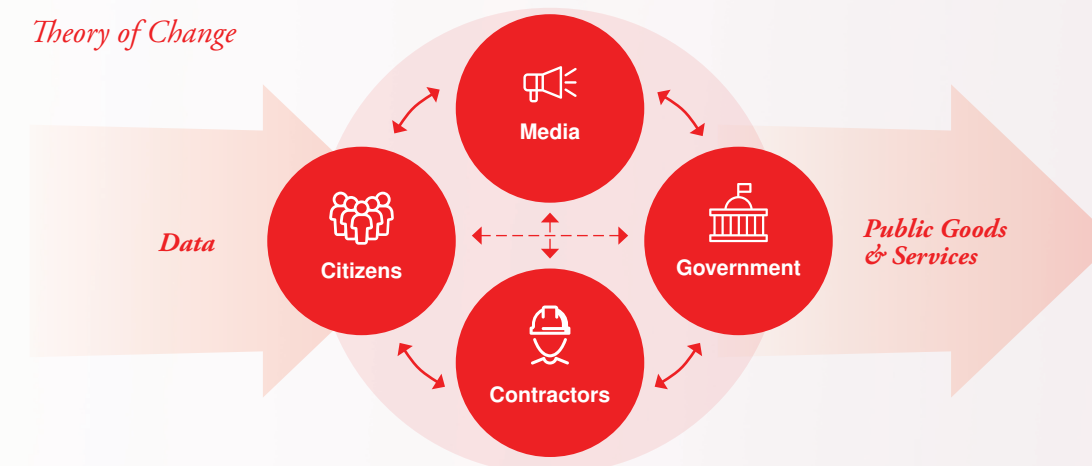
Since 2015, however, the state government has been promoting transparency, accountability, and improved delivery of goods and services, and in 2018, Kaduna joined the Open Government Partnership (OGP). Education and health became key political priorities, including signature public infrastructure programs to build and restore schools and clinics across the state. In addition, Kaduna's current administration has set itself apart in its willingness to allow local governments more autonomy than they have been granted in the past.

The Accountability Model

FTM's accountability model can be broken down into three main components: a powerful theory of change, a four-step accountability campaign, and a sustainable campaign support structure.

Theory of Change

FTM's theory of change is simple yet powerful: If the government commits resources to public goods in neglected communities, and those communities are aware of the details and have access to public online and offline resources to voice their concerns to government and contractors, then the government will deliver better public goods and services.



⁴ National Bureau of Statistics, "2019 Poverty and Inequality in Nigeria", May 2020
⁵ <https://www.globalpartnership.org/sites/default/files/2013-08-Nigeria-Kaduna-ESP.pdf>

Accountability Campaign

This theory of change is realized through an accountability campaign with four key steps:

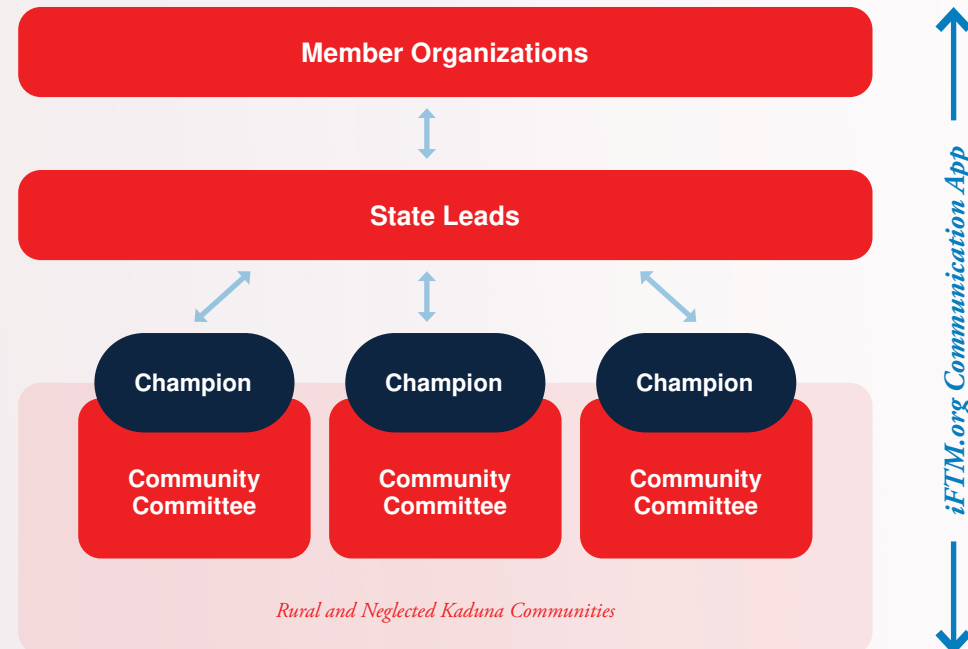
- 1. Data mining.** The FTM model begins with analysis of government data on spending for neglected communities. The FTM team simplifies budgets, tenders, contracts, and expenditures into language and formats that community members and accountability partners can understand. Through the data-mining process, FTM also begins to build a collaborative relationship with government counterparts.
- 2. Community engagement.** Next, the The FTM team engages the community. This begins with an initial visit with community leaders and concerned stakeholders to compare government data to progress and quality on the ground, identify local capacity, and define areas where FTM can best support the community in demanding accountability. Typical areas of community engagement and support include hands-on training in project monitoring and government engagement.
- 3. Government engagement.** The FTM team increases the flow of project information between communities and government by cultivating collaboration. FTM organizes town halls between the community, contractors, and the government so all parties can discuss the issues and agree on how they will be addressed. FTM also organizes training for government officials to build their capacity in project monitoring and community engagement.
- 4. Advocacy through media.** FTM sustains media coverage to promote citizens' voices and increase public pressure on government agencies and departments to respond to community demands. FTM connects the community with popular newspapers and radio and TV stations, and leads social media campaigns with hashtags, infographics, and personal accounts. Communities begin to see the results of increased pressure on their political representatives and government officers, which creates an ongoing interest in accountability and discourages neglect in the future.

- **State Leads**, committed activists who play leadership roles to build accountability at the state level. These individuals are the primary contacts for subnational government agencies and media, and they recruit and support a network of Community Champions.
- **Community Champions** have close ties to a specific community—often their home. As such, they know firsthand how government neglect and corruption have impacted their communities and yearn to make a difference in the lives of their people. They organize the Community Committees and are the primary interface with the State Lead.
- **Community Committees** consist of community residents who, through FTM's work, realize their power to demand the delivery of goods and services in their communities. FTM builds their capacity to engage with other community members, government, media, and contractors.

- **Member Organizations** support FTM by channeling resources for accountability campaigns in a given locality. Like CODE, most member organizations are NGOs.
- **The iFollowTheMoney Social Accountability App** enables communication across the entire FTM network, from community members up to member organizations around the world. CODE is committed to supporting new ways of leveraging civic technology to grow the movement.

Campaign Structure

Sustainable Campaign Support Structure



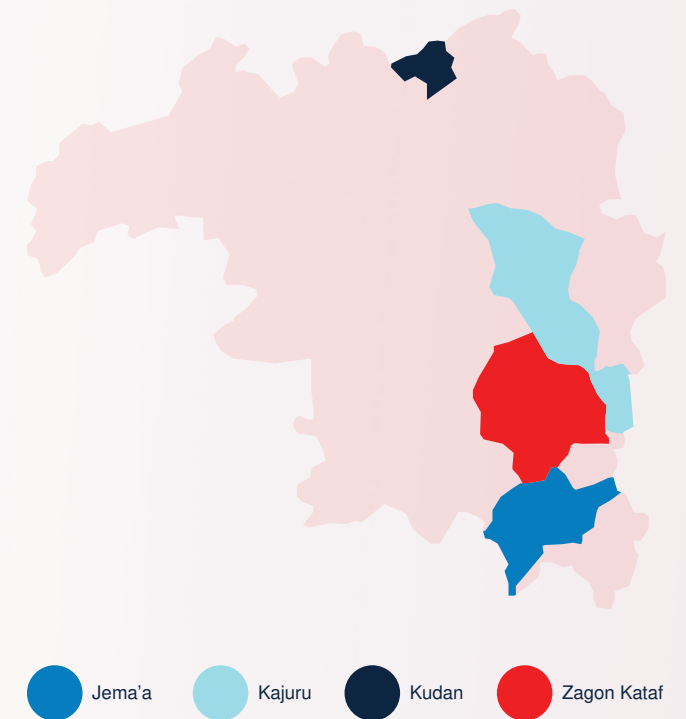
Accountability campaigns are carried out by a team of volunteer community members that works at the local and state levels and is supported by NGOs and FTM's international accountability network through an innovative communication app. These volunteers include:

Implementation in Kaduna State

The implementation of FTM's accountability model in Kaduna began with the delivery of public school infrastructure in the Jema'a, Kajuru, Kudan, and Zangon Kataf local government areas (LGAs). FTM chose to pilot in these communities because they collectively reflect the cultural diversity of Kaduna. Together, these pilot LGAs account for about 15.5 percent of Kaduna's land mass and 13.3 percent of its population.

The first phase of FTM in Kaduna focused exclusively on monitoring the delivery of primary education infrastructure. Because this was a priority political commitment for the state government, a sector that other civil society organizations and media houses were interested in and a tangible issue that citizens could relate to, it provided a good entrypoint for building collaborative relationships with all stakeholders. This made it easier for FTM to build a reputation and establish a strong campaign structure of State Leads, Community Champions, and Community Committees.

As of January 2020, FTM's interventions in Kaduna have tracked the construction and rehabilitation of **23 primary schools** in the four pilot LGAs, amounting to **USD \$1.58 million** in public funds for over **200,000 children**.



	Jema'a	Kajuru	Kudan	Zangon Kataf
Monitored	USD 643,000	USD 487,000	USD 250,000	USD 202,000
Projects	5	7	6	5
Communities	4	7	4	5
Beneficiaries	39,125	32,756	64,812	63,695

Community Spotlight: An Over 50% Increase in School Enrollment

Community: Unguwan Fadan Kamantan, Zangon Kataf LGA, Kaduna State
Population: 38,000
Distance from City Center: 153.5km

Issue:

Dilapidated community school structures affected the quality of education and overall enrollment. Parents were forced to send their children to private schools outside the community, which jeopardized their children's safety and placed a financial burden on the families. Previous requests from community leaders to public officials for the completion of ongoing school refurbishments went without response.

FTM Campaign:

During the data-gathering process, CODE found out that USD 35 million had been approved and jointly provided by Kaduna State Universal Basic Education Board and Universal Basic Education Board (UBEC), so FTM trained the community on project management and how to effectively engage stakeholders.

Impact:

The community school has been refurbished and is now conducive to learning. Potable water is available and there has been a 70 percent increase in school enrollment.



The second phase of FTM in Kaduna has expanded to monitoring health projects in Madachi and Ninte communities in Kaura LGA. While the actual amount of funds being tracked was not available at the time

of publication, they are significant—at least for the residents in those communities.

Community Spotlight: Community Members Advocate for Improved Health Care

Community: Ninte, Jema'a LG, Kaduna State
Population: 6,000
Distance from City Center: 157km

Issue:

This community had an underfunded primary healthcare facility that lacked beds, medicines, electricity, and water supplies.

FTM Campaign:

FTM supported this community by providing information on how to advocate for better delivery of primary healthcare services and organizing a campaign.

Impact:

Community members in Ninte now take the lead on holding their government accountable. They reject substandard project implementation and continue to carry out advocacy work.



The third phase of FTM in Kaduna has involved its spread to more communities, which occurs in at least two ways. Some communities that have been implementing FTM campaigns transfer knowledge to neighboring communities; in other cases, Community Champions step forward and begin leading FTM campaigns in their communities. One way that CODE helps facilitate the uptake of FTM is by organizing quarterly Kaduna FTM Chapter meetings where new Community Champions and State Leads can discuss challenges and solutions.

FTM has also been an active participant in the broader Kaduna accountability ecosystem, with FTM members taking part in two accountability coalitions co-chaired the Kaduna State Basic Education Accountability Mechanism (KADBEAM) and Kaduna State Maternal and Child Health Accountability Mechanism (KADMAM). Further, FTM members have been an integral part of the co-creation and implementation of OGP commitments, and FTM's international social media networks have proven particularly helpful in getting the attention of the Kaduna State government.



Development Impact

While FTM has yet to conduct a comprehensive evaluation of the results, preliminary findings suggest that key impacts include:

An increase in access to decent basic education for children. Improved school infrastructure—including more classrooms, toilets, security fences, desks, and chalkboards—has led to more community members sending their children to school. Over 200,000 children in communities where FTM has worked now have a decent school in their community, which has contributed to nearly 10,000 additional enrollments. This increased enrollment is especially critical in northern Nigeria, where negative perceptions of education coupled with population growth has contributed to an estimated 8 million children out of school.⁶

An increase in the number of neglected communities receiving higher quality public goods. Involving communities themselves in holding their governments accountable to delivering basic infrastructure has increased the communities'

⁶ <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/335352-eight-million-out-of-school-children-in-10-nigerian-states-and-abuja-unicef.html#:~:text=The%20United%20Nations%20Children's%20Fund,Gombe%2C%20Adama-wa%20and%20Taraba%20states.>

capacity to mobilize and engage with their local power structures and communication channels. This has led to an ongoing and sustainable pathway for community access to government. Additionally, FTM is contributing to shifts in social norms in favor of accountability regarding corruption and citizens' rights, both at the community level and within government agencies.

Government spending decisions are increasingly being informed by communities' voices. After various FTM Community Committees saw their engagement lead to their government delivering better school infrastructures, a number of them applied the FTM structure to other government projects, such as healthcare centers. This signals that the FTM model can be applied to a variety of governmental processes outside of education.

Stronger accountability at the state level. As more communities and government officials trained by FTM succeed in working together to deliver higher-quality goods in neglected regions, the government officials they work with are able to replicate the same approach with other communities around the state. FTM's participation in sector-specific accountability coalitions with buy-in from government, civil society, and development partners is helping to gradually institutionalize a culture of accountability in Kaduna State. However, with two years before the next administration comes to power, it remains to be seen whether this change will continue into the next state government administration.



“ 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

Learnings from Kaduna State

FTM has gleaned a number of lessons from its work in Kaduna which it has then incorporated into its overall strategy. These are valuable lessons for donors and civil-society actors interested in increasing government accountability in Nigeria and other countries with similar socio-economic contexts. These lessons include:

Focus on community needs that the government has prioritized before moving on to issues prioritized by communities. Because education infrastructure was a unifying issue for governments and communities, it helped build FTM's reputation among government officials, the media, civil society, and communities as a partner in goods and service delivery. As communities began to see the results of their efforts in education, Community Champions were empowered to take on issues prioritized by communities.

Follow the lead of local champions and help them become effective agents of change in the eyes of the community. FTM's Community Champions are often already respected by their communities and inherently relate to them. FTM's work builds on the foundation of respect and trains these champions to empower and mobilize their community and engage with government, media, and other stakeholders. This helps them gain even more recognition and respect from their community, which fuels their mobilization efforts.

Focus first on near-term wins to build relationships before working on longer-term policies. By monitoring education infrastructure, FTM mobilized citizen-government engagement around visible, near-term results. This process demonstrated the value of accountability and improved the government's standing within the community. Near-term wins create relationships and influence longer-term policies around education and the implementation of sustainable development goals.

Build an organic, self-sustaining network to foster diffusion. The FTM network, Kaduna FTM Chapter meetings, and iFTM.org platform provide Community Champions and volunteers with a sense of belonging and the opportunity to contribute to an international movement that is bigger than themselves. By tapping into this network, community volunteers are able to bring community-level issues and priorities to national attention, which greatly increases the likelihood of eliciting a government response.

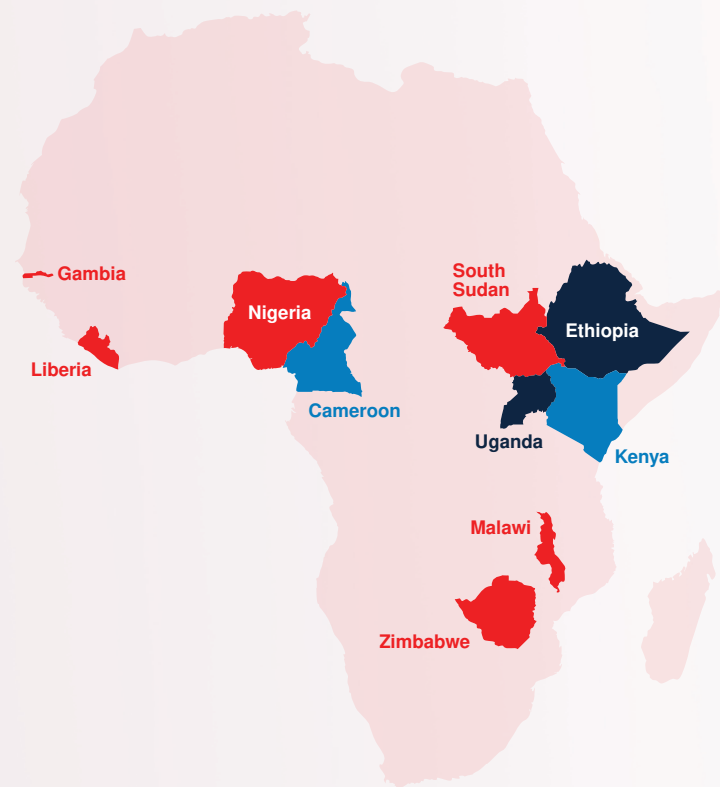
Establish a holistic system for monitoring and evaluation (M&E) and communication. In Kaduna, FTM focused on community members directly monitoring project delivery. However, FTM quickly realized that there are a variety of secondary outcomes and downstream impacts they were missing by focusing only on project delivery. For example, in Kaduna, FTM would have benefitted from tracking metrics like children's learning outcomes that stem from the rehabilitation and expansion of school facilities, the shifting behaviors and norms of citizens as a result of improved government service delivery, an increase in political participation such as voting, or instances of government officials rebuking a culture of corruption. Tracking these outcomes can help to establish the variety of benefits that the movement generates for the communities where it works.

Forward Outlook

Scaling up: Localization at Scale

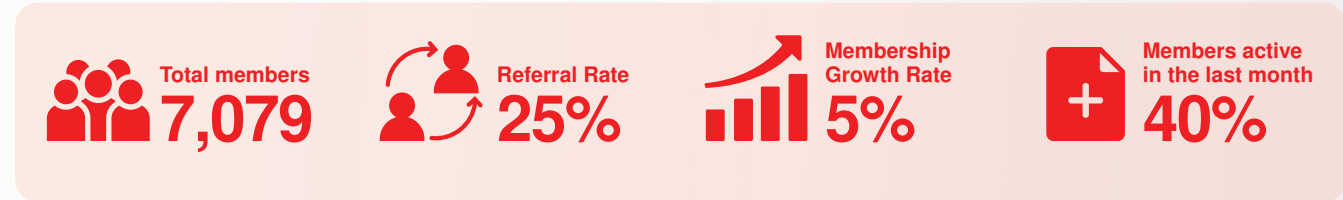
The FTM movement is pioneering “localization at scale,” an innovative approach to scaling up accountability beyond individual communities. Whereas “scaling up” is typically done by replicating a product or initiative in additional locations, FTM scales its work by empowering Community Champions around the world to drive local FTM initiatives. This “localization at scale,” which relies on communities empowering themselves, rather than FTM going into individual communities, has created a model with a potential to scale at a more rapid rate than traditional scaling approaches.

Utilizing localization at scale has helped the movement gain considerable traction. FTM now has implementations in 259 communities across seven countries, Nigeria included. It has also been responsible for tracking USD 6.4 billion globally and reaching an estimated 4 million people. As CODE has gained international recognition over the years, they have grown FTM by partnering with a number of NGOs as member organizations. This approach to growth is organic, and retains FTM’s locally led, demand-driven ethos as it scales.



To get a sense of FTM’s growth in communities, the digital platform now has 7,079 registered members, with membership growing at a rate of 5 percent per day. About 25 percent of the members joined based on a direct referral from a current member, and about 40 percent of all members have posted on the platform in the last month.

iFollowTheMoney.org Platform Analytics (as of August 24, 2020)



Neglected communities are the main beneficiaries of FTM’s growth. For example, in the Gambia, where citizens suffer violence as a result of tribal divides, the issue of government accountability is further compounded by the fact that decision-making processes are marred by deadlocks between the executive and legislative branches.

Community Spotlight: Improving Access to Healthcare for Neglected Communities in the Gambia

Community: Kundam Village, The Gambia
Population: 500+
Distance from City Center: 386 km

Issue:

This community’s health center had been neglected for years. As a result, the building was dilapidated and lacked proper medical equipment and supplies.

FTM Campaign:

An indigenous civil society organization, Gambia Participates, implementing the FTM approach discovered that health centers in communities like Kundam were in poor condition because funds had been misappropriated. The organization took action and began advocating for improvements with the community’s legislators, pressuring them to finally meet with residents in a town hall meeting and listen to their grievances.

Impact:

A fully equipped and functional health facility has since been built in Kundam, and its residents now have better access to healthcare. Furthermore, community residents are now irreversibly aware of their rights as well as the responsibilities of their legislative representative.



A Call to Action

Making public resources work for historically neglected communities is especially daunting in countries with systemic corruption and resource-constrained government institutions. FTM is an inspiration and a reminder that, if communities work together, they can change the narrative for themselves and for future generations.

In addition to highlighting FTM's accountability work that can be applied in other contexts, this case study is an invitation to join the FTM movement and contribute to its success. Everyone can help, from anywhere in the world. FTM needs local and international journalists to investigate its initiatives and publish articles to increase the pressure on governments and spread awareness of FTM. This outreach will help surface Community Champions and organizations working with communities who can partner with FTM to localize the movement's work.

For development funders, FTM provides an intriguing opportunity to invest in an innovative, scalable, and locally-led approach to accountability. Funding is needed to implement FTM in new locations as well as support communities already involved in the movement. For example, development funding can help to:

- Strengthen M&E efforts to capture contributions to development outcomes such as children's learning and a reduction in citizens and government officials engaging in "vote buying" during elections.
- Facilitate the success of the FTM movement by making it more accessible and easier to adopt and adapt by diverse communities across Africa. For instance, this could be accomplished in part by developing a user-friendly FTM handbook for Community Champions translated into different languages and dialects.

