CITIZENS ENGAGEMENT

MAKING ALL VOICES COUNT

FOSTERING NEW IDEAS FOR SOCIAL INCLUSION AND ACCOUNTABLE, RESPONSIVE GOVERNANCE

A think piece for the *Making All Voices Count* programme
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INTRODUCTION

This think piece draws from a desk review of experience in using innovation to increase social inclusion, and an exchange of ideas in an e-dialogue between practitioners and scholars in late January 2014. The review took in scholarly work and grey literature (including, in some cases, ideas expressed in blogs) exploring different forms of innovation and the conditions which are most conducive to the type of innovation most relevant to the mission of Making All Voices Count.

The work on which this think piece is based is not a systematic or exhaustive review. It reflects a selective, purposive and partial gathering and reading of available recent literature and practice, and a situated analysis of it from our position within the Making All Voices Count programme.

The Making All Voices Count programme aims to foster and support new ideas to improve governance and achieve greater social justice. Key to this is the support of innovation through a focus on brokering knowledge and new relationships, building evidence for practice, and learning.

This think piece, which draws on research and experiential evidence, borrows its framing and title from the concept of 'maker culture' which *"emphasises informal, networked, peer-led, and shared learning motivated by fun and self-fulfilment. Maker culture encourages novel applications of technologies, and the exploration of intersections between traditionally separate domains and ways of working" (Open University 2013:33).*

First I explore what type of innovation Making All Voices Count should be supporting, before exploring who and how innovators innovate, and the roles different champions play in innovation systems. I then examine the importance of openness, learning and iteration, before drawing out implications for the field of transparency and accountability, the Making All Voices Count programme, and Making All Voices Count's Research, Evidence and Learning component.

In examining how programmes such as Making All Voices Count might utilise innovation as a strategy for addressing complex governance problems, it is important to consider what kind of innovation should be fostered. David Lane, from the European Centre for Living Technology in Venice, argues that we must go beyond thinking of innovation in terms of economic growth as the primary driver for positive change. Instead he proposes a concept of *social innovation* which aims for social value rather than economic value, and considers the consequences of an innovation for all participants, and how the innovation might

influence further change down the line.

Steven Johnson's analysis of 200-plus of the most significant innovations and scientific breakthroughs of the last 600 years categorises innovations by the conditions by which they came about: market/individual, market/network, non-market/individual, and non-market/network. 'Individual' refers to innovations that involved a small, coordinated team or a single inventor, while 'network' refers to collective, distributed processes, with large number of groups working on the same problem. 'Market' refers to inventors who planned to capitalise directly from the sale or licensing of their invention, as opposed to 'non-market', referring to those who wished their ideas to flow freely into the public domain or knowledge commons.

The most relevant of these quadrants to Making All Voices Count's work is in Johnson's 'fourth quadrant'. This corresponds to open-source, maker, or academic environments, where ideas can be built upon and re-imagined in large, collaborative networks.

In the past 200 years, it appears that there has been an explosion of 'fourth quadrant' activity. Johnson argues that despite commonly held assumptions about the need for strong reward systems and market-type incentives, the fourth quadrant has been able to thrive based on other advantages.
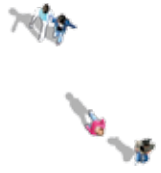
PEOPLE, COLLABORATION, LEVELS OF INCLUSIVE INNOVATION AND CHAMPIONS

Johnson observed that rates and quality of innovation significantly improve with increases in the interactions of people. These interactions allow people's ideas and parts of ideas to collide and shape each other, collaborating and bringing fresh perspectives and knowledge to bear on problems. This would suggest that increased collaboration between diverse groups of people should lead to increased possibilities of new combinations of ideas and experiences to emerge.

But experience tells us that collaboration between diverse groups can be difficult. Different groups bring with them their own *life-worlds* which are shaped by ideology, discipline, culture and in many cases this can make it difficult to traverse these differences to collaborate constructively. Navigating these different life-worlds can require skilled facilitation or 'bridgers' who are able to make these links and build trust and understanding.

It is useful to consider what strategies have been employed previously to understand where potential opportunities and challenges in different approaches to innovation lie. In Heeks' ICT4D 2.0 Manifesto (2009), he examines different strategies used to promote innovation within the Information and Communication Technologies for Development (ICT4D) sector, identifying drawbacks of 'laboratory', 'collaborative' and grassroots' innovation.

Laboratory style innovation, where innovation is done by outside actors for a target population, risks being disconnected from local realities. For example, a recent learning study of a M4W (Mobiles for Water) project in Uganda illustrates how failure to recognise some of the local

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conditions militated against successful usage of the initiative by its intended primary user group (McGee & Carlitz 2013).

Collaborative style innovation, where innovators are actively collaborating with intended user communities, can reduce the risk of a reality gap and empower those participating in the process, but it may prove challenging to achieve the participation of marginalised groups within communities.

Grassroots innovation is innovation occurring within and by the individuals and communities who are living the realities of the problems an innovation seeks to address.

Smith et al (2013) argue that those seeking social inclusion through grassroots innovation run into a number of common challenges:

• The very nature of marginalised communities requires very context-specific innovations, which creates a

clear tension with the desire in many programmes to implement at scale.
• The innovation itself requires that power relations be addressed through changing the context specific social norms, which always arouses resistance.
• An excessive focus on the micro or project level which leads to failure to address structural issues.

Klerkx and Aarts (2013) consider the importance of champions within innovation systems. Focusing at a systemic level rather than simply at the level of tools or technologies, they propose that in networked and collaborative innovation systems it is important to consider the roles that can be played by champions in collaborating organisations. They suggest identifying 'power champions' to overcome power blockages, or 'technical champions' to provide specific skills or expertise, and also 'network champions' to maintain vision and common goal amongst collaborating organisations.

2 OPENNESS, LEARNING, USE OF EVIDENCE, AND ITERATION

Johnson (2010) highlights the importance of openness in order to allow knowledge and good ideas to flow and allow new combinations and linkages to be made across different disciplines.

It's useful to think of openness in terms of products and process. By making 'processes' open, people are more likely to make new connections, collaborate, and develop new ideas. By making 'products' such as source code, data, research and knowledge outputs open, people are able to use them, build on them and adapt them.

Learning and iteration are critical elements of innovation and adapting existing approaches and constructing new ones: from learning what has been done before; learning from other sectors; but also, learning as we go along. Learning can come from both success and failure. Although

failure is a negative word with negative connotations, it can be reframed as an essential part of an iterative innovation process. For that to happen, innovators should be held accountable for learning and acting on that learning. As part of innovation process there is a responsibility to consult and engage with the lessons of the past, and to contribute to the body of knowledge for future innovation.

But how to reconcile acceptance of failure as part of a process, with accountability to sponsors, aid donors and, in the case of official aid donors, the donor country's own citizens? There are clearly tensions between being bold, taking risks, and recognising the importance of learning from failure, on the one hand, and official donors evermore pressed to defend development aid budgets, on the other. Perhaps this is best resolved by aspiring

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not to fail while embracing adaptive approaches to enable projects to take corrective action within the innovation process.

A critical dimension of embracing failure in projects that address complex problems is actually understanding what combination of factors or reasons have resulted in failure.

3 IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FIELD OF TRANSPARENCY AND ACCOUNTABILITY

If the success in this area is likely to involve significant new collaborations, what are the implications for funding in this field? Mechanisms that encourage and support collaboration, rather than create competition between funders, practitioners, social activists, governments, researchers and technologists require:

• Increasing understanding and empathy between actors of different life-worlds to find new ways to work together.

• Innovators to reflect on the type of innovation they are engaged in and consider more carefully the realities of the intended users of their innovations.
• Ensuring learning is captured and shared and reflected on systematically and self-critically to build an evidence base.

4 IMPLICATIONS FOR MAKING ALL VOICES COUNT OR SIMILAR PROGRAMMES

Programmes such as Making All Voices Count should take a strategic approach to supporting innovation across the range of elements in their theory of change within a given context. They need to:

• Support social innovation through a combination of grassroots, collaborative, and laboratory approaches.
• Look at innovations at a systemic level, so as to identify and support different innovation champions to overcome

barriers of power and technical challenges.

Such programmes need to use **open licensing** of source code, knowledge products and research evidence, and enforce conditions on open licensing. This should be complemented by active curation and promotion of open source code and evidence so that it is findable, and in forms accessible and usable to a range of potential users.

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A real focus is needed on e**vidence into action**. Academic publishing alone is insufficient. For instance, embedded action research can enable ongoing reflection and learning within funded initiatives.

The **potential for collaboration** needs to be maximised, which will require skilful facilitation understanding the 'life-worlds' of different actors.

Tensions need to be navigated between local, bottom-up innovations and the pressure to take innovations to scale. This is likely to mean appropriation of existing innovations in new local contexts.

5 IMPLICATIONS FOR THE RESEARCH, EVIDENCE AND LEARNING COMPONENT

The Research, Evidence and Learning component of Making All Voices Count should ensure theory building and exploring and testing different pathways to change are **grounded** in ways in which will improve governance and make all voices count.

Research outputs should be **open licensed** to maximise the potential that evidence created is available for use by practitioners and researchers.

Appropriate research uptake is crucial. Research processes can be designed in ways which are interactive and iterative, building in key moments for engagement and learning with relevant stakeholders.

The processes involved in **grassroots innovation** need to be explored and understood, so as to be able to draw out knowledge which might be applied in other contexts.

Critical reflections needs to be actively encouraged and supported among practitioners working to address citizen voice and governance projects. This can be done through mentoring action research and facilitating learning spaces and processes for reflection and learning.

Relationships need to be brokered and supported between practitioners and researchers focussed on addressing similar challenges. Rapid advances in ICT offer new opportunities for researchers, but also pose challenges in terms of ensuring research keeps up with and informs relevant practice.

6 TOWARDS A MAKER CULTURE

The complex problems of citizen voice and accountable governance Making All Voices Count seeks to address will require innovative and creative approaches and a strategy that puts learning and collaborations centre stage. Fostering a maker culture across and beyond the programme feels like a step in the right direction for supporting new initiatives which make all voices count.

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RECOMMENDED READING

We have summarised useful literature which was identified in the process of our 'Review of Experience'. These summaries pull out key points from the literature which are relevant to the Making All Voices Count mission and do not attempt to be a complete summary of the full article or book.

LESSONS IN HOW TO BUILD A SUCCESSFUL CONTEST

Patel, M. (2013) 'Why Contests Improve Philanthropy: Six lessons on designing public prizes for impact', Miami: Knight Foundation http://knightfoundation. org/media/ uploads/media_pdfs/KF-Contests-Report- lores.pdf

Schwartz, A. (2013) 'Lessons in How to Build a Successful Contest', Miami: Knight Foundation http://www.fastco-exist.com/1682699/lessons-in-how-to-build-a-successful-contest-from-theknight- foundation

Mayur Patel from the Knight Foundation offers six basic lessons on how to build a successful contest. The Knight Foundation has funded nearly a dozen grant-making contests since 2007, giving over $75 million to 400 winners, ranging from schools to businesses, nonprofits, and individuals. Competitions amount to 20 per cent of the Foundation's grantmaking. The areas covered by the grants are journalism and media innovation, community engagement and initiatives that foster the arts. In order to help other organisations and foundations in setting up their own public prizes, the Knight Foundation has published a guide highlighting key lessons. Central to these lessons is the notion that public prizes area powerful tool for impact. Patel argues that competitions are not simply about picking a winner. Rather, they can enable an organization to widen their networks and deepen the work they already do.

Accordingly, Patel puts forward six key lessons:

• Contests bring new blood and new ideas, by opening up to new kinds of applicants.
• Contests create value beyond the winners, when the process of applying in itself proves beneficial
• Contests help you spot emerging trends, when looking at the applicant pool and ideas.
• Contests help you change your routine, by creating a 'safe-zone' for risk-taking and experimentation.
• Contests go hand-in-glove with existing program strategies.
• Contests should thoughtfully engage the community notably in the judging mechanisms.

Each lesson is illustrated with examples from recent competitions. The author then puts forward some 'useful tips' on how to integrated these lessons practically.

Below are some of the most pertinent recommendations to Making All Voices Count's global innovation competitions:

• Keep barriers to entry as low as possible.
• Make sure that the contest cycle is in line with the cycle of innovation.
• Include other funders in your reviewer pool. You can share contest knowledge with them. They may fund ideas you do not.
• Use external review panels. Those might include members of the community you are trying to reach, as well as former winners.
• Make it one of your judging panel's jobs to identify patterns in the applicant pool.
• Treat your applicants as problem identifiers not just solution providers
• Review your contests frequently.

UNDERSTANDING INCLUSIVE INNOVATION

Heeks, R., Amalia, M. Kintu, R., Shah, N. (2013) 'Inclusive Innovation: Definition, Conceptualisation and Future Research Priorities', paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Academy of Innovation and Entrepreneurship, Oxford, 29-30 August http://bit.ly/IncInnov

Heeks, R. (2013) 'Understanding Inclusive Innovation', ICTs for Development blog http://ict4dblog. wordpress.com/2013/08/27/ understanding-inclusive-innovation/ Accessed 28.02.14

Heeks, R., (2009) *The ICT4D 2.0 Manifesto: Where Next for ICTs and International Development?*, Manchester Centre for Development Informatics Working Paper 42, Manchester: University of Manchester http://www.sed.manchester.ac.uk/ idpm/research/publications/wp/di/ documents/di_wp42.pdf

In this paper, the authors review existing literature on research priorities relating to inclusive innovation and supplement it with the views of 37 practitioners and stakeholders in India, Indonesia and Uganda. From there, they report findings about research priorities in inclusive innovation.

Inclusive innovation refers to the means by which new goods and services are developed for and/or by those traditionally excluded from mainstream development. Those can sometimes be women, the youth, or the elderly, but more generally those on the lowest incomes. The authors suggest that we should think of inclusive innovation as a ladder, with each step of the ladder representing more inclusivity in innovation. They identify six 'steps' on the ladder, ranging from 'Intention' to 'Post-Structure'.

The authors report increasing policy, practice and academic interest in inclusive innovation. They point to some research gaps and set out to identify the priorities for future research on inclusive innovation.

Their findings are classified in three categories (stakeholder, systemic and process-oriented) and are listed below. Stakeholder research priorities:
• Guidance on how policy on paper and in practice can better support inclusive innovation.
• Research to build knowledge about grassroots innovation.
• Research to categorise the different types of intermediaries and explain the pros and cons of these different types; to understand what roles they could play in inclusive innovation; and to highlight critical success and critical failure factors in those roles.

Systemic research priorities:
• New outputs based on existing knowledge of the basics of inclusive innovation for those for whom it is a new activity
• Research around the non- technical elements of inclusive innovation, such as the institutional innovations that precede the core innovation, or innovations around diffusion, adoption and use
• Research to help stakeholders understand any special features of ICT which had particular impacts on innovation (such as the way in which it enables certain types of user innovation but constrains others)
• Policymakers in particular wanted more evidence about inclusive innovation as well as justifications for future policy or investments in inclusive innovation.

Process research priorities:
• Research to guide stakeholders on what infrastructure needs to be put in place to facilitate inclusive innovation.
• Guidance on good practice, notably to counter design-reality gaps that occur when the assumptions of the designers are mismatched to the expectations of the users.

• Investigation of the scaled innovations to draw lessons for future inclusive innovations.
• Evaluation methods to assess the impact of an innovation.

The 'ladder' framework helps to make clear actors' own understanding of inclusive innovation, and understand others'. The findings pertaining to research needs encourage those working in inclusive innovation to focus their research around a few key priorities.

Implications for Making All Voices Count:
• Innovators can think of their work and innovations in terms of where they fit on the ladder.
• Making All Voices Count staff can think about the kind of inclusivity they want to encourage in terms of where its innovations fit on the ladder.
• Clear priorities around which to focus and/or fund future research.

WHERE GOOD IDEAS COME FROM

Johnson, S. (2010) Where good ideas come from: The Natural History of Innovation, New York: Riverhead Books. Online. Available from:http://zgm.se/file/Books/Where_goog_ideas_come_from.pdf

Johnson, S. (2010). Innovation: It Isn't a Matter of Left or Right. The New York Times Online. Available from: http://www.nytimes.com/2010/10/31/business/31every.html?pagewanted=all&_r=1&Accessed 28.02.14
For an illustrated summary of Steven Johnson's book, see: http://www.youtube.comwatch?v=NugRZGDbPFU

Steven Johnson asks the question 'Where do good ideas come from?' and identifies what it is that makes environments conducive to innovation. He takes a long view and asks 'What are the spaces that have historically led to unusual rates of creativity and innovation?'

Using a wide range of examples, Johnson identifies seven recurring patterns that are crucial to creating an innovative environment. Some of the key findings include the notion that important ideas take a long time to evolve, contrary to what we may think of as an 'Eureka!' moment. Johnson argues that for an idea to develop, it often needs to collide and recombine with other ideas. From there, he explains that having a greater concentration of people increases the likelihood of such collisions.

Another key finding is the importance of openness and connectivity. Johnson argues that innovations flourish in environments that encourage collaboration, and in which partial ideas can flow freely and connect with other ideas. As such, openness is important both in terms of process and product. By making 'processes' open, people are more likely to make new connections, collaborate, and develop new ideas. By making 'products' open, people are able to use them, build on them, adapt them. In the final chapter, Johnson summarizes the history of innovation in the last

600 years. He looks at 200 of the most important and scientific breakthroughs, and classifies them according to the way they evolved. He concludes that collective and non-market environments are more conducive to innovation. Such decentralised environments do not have big rewards to motivate their participants, but their openness creates other, powerful opportunities for good ideas to flourish.

Key findings:
• Good ideas are built from a collection of existing parts.
• Good ideas thrive in environments that encourage learning and collaboration.
• Innovation happens when an idea has had time to evolve.
• When learning is encouraged, errors can lead to innovation.

Johnson's answers to the question 'Where do good ideas come from?' are crucial for the work of MAVC staff and innovators. Some of the most important recommendations are listed below:

For Making All Voices Count staff:
• A good collaboration/competition balance needs to be achieved.
• 'Trial and error' should not be discouraged.
• Flexibility and improvising need to be supported.
• The timeframe needs to take into consideration the fact that good ideas can be slow to become innovations.

For innovators:
• Collaboration is key.
• Experimentation is important, even if it means making mistakes.

INNOVATION COMMUNITIES AND THEIR CHAMPIONS

Teams of people contributing to innovation projects draw from collective knowledge and experience, but also face a set of challenges distinct from those of innovators working as individuals. These teams often come from different organisations and their roles sometimes change or are redefined as the project progresses. This paper proposes ways of thinking about and responding to those challenges.

In their paper, Laurens Klerkx and Noelle Aarts explore the concept of innovation communities. They borrow K. Fitcher's definition of innovation communities as a network of likeminded individuals from different organisations who work together to promote a specific innovation. This concept clearly relates with how Making All Voices Count works as a project by encouraging collaboration among many organisations for innovation.

In particular, Klerkx and Aarts discuss the people within innovation communities who act as promoters, or 'champions,' and how they work together. Champions often work in specific areas that have barriers to innovation. Areas of championship include 'technology' or 'expert' champions, 'power' champions, 'process' champions and 'network' champions. Individuals might also act as champions of several areas at the same time.

Klerkx and Aarts use three case studies to explore how champions interact and how that interaction influences innovation and the innovation community.

From these three case studies, Klerkx and Aarts find:

- *Diverse champions* can provide both breadth and focus to projects. For instance, a technical champion might bring expertise to broaden business goals, and a network champion might focus everyone in a shared direction.
- *A network champion,* or a broker, can help innovation communities by causing awareness, easing conflict and making connections. They can provide 'dynamic stability' by linking actors in the project and providing a stable basis. External network champions' non-biased position can be particularly helpful, but it must be maintained for them to remain legitimate. Therefore, they cannot identify too closely with the project.
- *Innovation communities* and champions from different organisations require coordination to make sure that they are working toward the same goal and understand each individual's roles. This coordination is especially important since teams of champions change and become redefined in the course of the project.

These findings have implications for Making All Voices Count especially in view of the recent e-dialogues on 'Making' and their attention on collaboration. Making All Voices Count works with actors from multiple organisations collaborating toward innovative solutions, but such a dynamic innovation community may face challenges in coordination.

This research provides suggestions for the Making All Voices Count innovation community:

- By bringing together a diverse set of actors from a range of organisations, Making All Voices Count strengthens its potential. Champions of different areas have roles to play in providing expertise, smoothing the process, and creating connections inside and outside the network.
- However, these champions require clearly defined goals and roles for that collaboration to be effective.
- A network champion has the important role of making connections, clarifying goals and roles, and communicating between champions for better understanding. Making All Voices Count should play, or support others to play this role.

TOWARDS AN AGENDA FOR SOCIAL INNOVATION

Does innovation always lead to good change? As a concept on its own, innovation lacks direction toward positive change. Intentional and reflective social innovation, however, provides that direction.

In this paper, David Lane considers a theoretical perspective of innovation. In particular, he discusses social innovation and its potential as a basis for action and positive social change. This perspective enriches the theoretical foundation for social innovation in the Making All Voices Count programe and contributes to understanding how best to take innovative action.

Lane develops the concept of social innovation beyond its common use as an individual act aimed at making a profit and promoting economic growth. The idea that innovation simply fuels economic growth provides the foundation for what he terms the West's 'Innovation Society,' but it lacks positive direction for social change. This limited view of innovation contributes to Innovation Society's current erosion, so Lane challenges it by noting the need for social innovation.

Social innovators aim to have positive social effects through use of their innovations. Participants in the Making All Voices Count project can be called social innovators under this definition,

so Lane's discussion has practical implications for the project. He challenges social innovators to think of innovation as dynamic since it causes changes beyond its initial use, and these changes cause more change. Social innovators should understand and reflect immediate intended effects and the potentially multiple further effects of their innovation.

Lane suggests four principles on which social innovation should act:

- Social values, not economic value, should be the principle drivers of innovation projects. This principle requires social innovators to understand and reflect on the multiple potential changes innovation causes and if these changes reveal or affect their social values.
- Everyone counts. As innovation projects develop, they must consider all project participants' values and their consequences of participation.
- Social innovators are policymakers since they enact change. They should interact between themselves to collect, share and reflect on their work. This interaction provides the basis for impacting on public and private policy and on individuals.
- Social innovation aims to mobilise engaged citizens to construct a socially sustainable future.
- These principles interact to coordinate social innovators on individual, group and societal levels and build a directed agenda for change. As a group of social

innovators, Making All Voices Count can use these principles to strengthen the impact of its collaborative efforts.

In particular, Making All Voices Count participants can:

- Reflect on their own values and how they shape their innovations.
- Seek to understand impacts of their work on all members of society, both government and citizens.
- Think beyond immediate changes they seek with their work to understand how those changes could cause further change and what it might be.
- Maintain interaction and communication among themselves to find direction for the change they seek and strengthen the impact of their work.

GRASSROOTS INNOVATION MOVEMENTS:

CHALLENGES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Grassroots innovation often seeks social inclusion while pursuing locally appropriate technology. Although sidelined from innovation policies, its focus on social justice can bring broader perspectives to innovation debates. To get to policy-relevant insights, however, requires new ways of thinking about grassroots innovation knowledge.

Adrian Smith, Mariano Fressoli and Hernán Thomas explore challenges and new knowledge framings for grassroots innovation processes. In their article, they examine case studies of past and present grassroots innovation movements in Latin America. In doing so, they seek to open space for grassroots innovation to inform innovation policy.

For actors seeking social inclusion through innovation, this article indicates both warnings and potential. It warns actors of in-built challenges to using grassroots innovation for social inclusion. It also explores the potential for a broader range of strategies for confronting those challenges.

Both past and present movements face challenges in enacting social inclusion goals. Enduring challenges include:

- Addressing locally specific concerns while seeking wide-scale influence. Marginalised populations are diverse and require innovations specific to their circumstances. This specificity poses a challenge for broader application.
- Finding solutions informed by local context while seeking to transform that context. Local power relations sometimes mean that achieving social justice requires innovations to challenge local norms.
- Offering micro or individual project level solutions to macro problems, thereby failing to tackle structural issues. For instance, market-based approaches use social inclusion technologies as products for poor consumers. Focus on marketability, however, weakens empowerment goals.

That grassroots innovation manages these challenges suggests that this sub-field offers valuable insights for innovation policy. Insights are clearest through considering the knowledge frameworks grassroots innovation uses to confront its challenges:

- Grassroots ingenuity focuses on lived experience and practical, bottom-up solutions. It tends to be ethnographic knowledge. Innovative solutions remain context-specific. However, wide-scale influence can be achieved through analysing the process of finding solutions. It can also be achieved by understanding which parts of innovations are embedded in locality.
- Empowering inclusion frames innovation as citizen-led practical responses. When practical responses fail, the failure points to the need for material and social changes. In doing so, these failures inform demands for wider reform.
- The framework of structural critique embraces the fact that innovations do not address structural needs. They do, however, indicate where the structure fails. This indication informs claims for structural change.

In the past, social-technology innovations shaped the criticism and the following changes to development processes. They indicated the need for taking context-specific action and includion local knowledge. Similarly, these knowledge framings for grassroots innovation can inform debates about innovation policy.

This article has several lessons for actors seeking social inclusion through innovation.

- It alerts those actors to specific in-built challenges for grassroots innovation seeking social inclusion.
- It demonstrates that learning to live with those challenges can provide valuable knowledge.
- It acknowledges that innovations aimed at social inclusion will be locally specific. However, their processes can inform other innovation processes. This point is especially relevant to networks of innovators for social inclusion.

THE FUTURE OF ICTS FOR DEVELOPMENT

Information and communication technologies (ICTs) have great potential to create positive impacts for marginalised communities. In the past, however, many ICT projects have failed to take into consideration local context and infrastructure, leading to a lack of sustainability, scalability and evaluation that contributes to wider sectoral learning. In light of these failures, future use of ICTs for development (ICT4D) requires new perspectives and approaches.

Richard Heeks explores a new phase of ICT4D in order to chart a potential future direction. By outlining how ICT4D is changing, this paper indicates how innovators can shape ICT's impact on marginalised people.

Different models of innovation are of particular interest to innovators seeking positive change for marginalised people. Heeks outlines three different models: 'laboratory', 'collaborative' and 'grassroots' innovation.

Laboratory, or pro-poor, innovation is done for the poor by outside actors. Early use of ICTs in development, like telecentre projects, tended to use this model. Laboratory innovation engages resources from wealthier countries. However, gaps between design and reality can cause projects to fail. This model of innovation does merit attention, though. Recent uses, for instance pre-paid mobiles, have seen success.

Collaborative, or para-poor, innovation is done for the poor and with the poor. Participatory innovation is central to the future of ICT4D. In particular, this model provides user-friendly designs and empowers participants. However, the possible pitfalls of participatory methods apply. Community power dynamics and interactions can prevent involvement of marginalised groups. Additionally, bridging gaps between designers and users can be challenging.

Grassroots, or per-poor, innovation is done by and within poor communities. This model has become more common with increasingly widespread web access and mobile use. It includes new processes, business models and products. Marginalised people come up with solutions for problems they face, so the innovations are flexible and appropriate. However, understanding of this model remains anecdotal. These innovations need to be systematically explored to understand best practice.

Heeks also describes several changes in ICT4D that are relevant to its future. These include:

- New hardware suited to poor people's realities, e.g. inadequate access to electricity;
- New community-created content and ICT applications and new ways of interacting. In particular, Heeks emphasises ICTs' potential as means and tools that generate income and provide jobs;
- New mechanisms of funding and implementation, and in particular involving private actors and private-public partnerships;
- New approaches involving participation, strengthening local capacity and leadership, flexibility, and learning in order to improve;
- New techniques, such as a model to close design-reality gaps iteratively.
- New worldviews, including one that integrates expertise in computer science, information science and development studies and another that emphasises the poor as producers.

These models of innovation and changes in ICT4D provide guidance to those aiming to positively impact the marginalised. That is, they:

- Provide understanding of advantages and disadvantages of different models of innovation. This understanding helps indicate how and when to utilise laboratory, collaborative or grassroots innovation models.
- Indicate entry points for action through harnessing opportunities presented by changes in ICT4D.
- Indicate the importance of emphasising what marginalised groups want. This emphasis is important for encouraging for productive uses of ICTs.

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About Making All Voices Count

Making All Voices Count is a programme working towards a world in which open, effective and participatory governance is the norm and not the exception. This Grand Challenge focuses global attention on creative and cutting-edge solutions to transform the relationship between citizens and their governments. We encourage locally driven and context specific change, as we believe a global vision can only be achieved if it is pursued from the bottom up, rather than the top down.

The field of technology for Open Government is relatively young and the consortium partners, Hivos, Institute of Development Studies (IDS) and Ushahidi, are a part of this rapidly developing domain. These institutions have extensive and complementary skills and experience in the field of citizen engagement, government accountability, private sector entrepreneurs, (technical) innovation and research.

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About Research, Evidence and Learning Component

This Review of Experience is developed by the Research, Evidence and Learning component of *Making All Voices Count*. The Research, Evidence and Learning component's purpose is to contribute to improving performance and practice and build an evidence base in the field of citizen voice, government responsiveness, transparency and accountability (T&A) and Technology-for-T&A. The Review of Experience aims to reach out to and enlist stakeholders for *Making All Voices Count* among practitioner and academic circles. It provides an up-to-date review of experience on cutting-edge questions that are considered relevant by these actors, to be taken up and used by them.

Implemented by:

Hivos people unlimited   IDS Institute of Development Studies   Ushahidi