As Making All Voices Count enters its final sprint of producing publications and disseminating findings, we’re sharing links to some featured research from our portfolio. These research reports and practice papers are just a sample from the 120 that will have been published by the end of Making All Voices Count in November 2017.

Since 2013, the programme has been working across 12 focus countries to build experience, evidence and knowledge on the roles that technologies can play in accountability processes – through funding scaling, innovation and research projects, brokering new relationships, and creating spaces and opportunities for learning.

For all of our newest reports, blogs and learning, follow us on Twitter at @AllVoicesCount – or search all our publications at www.makingallvoicescount.org/publications

### ICTs: Voice or chatter?

**Voice or chatter? Making ICTs work for transformative citizen engagement**

Anita Gurumurthy, Deepthi Bharthur and Nandini Chami

Technology can trigger moments of change, but when and how can it transform democratic governance and citizen voice? Researchers investigated the role of institutional norms, the influence of governance structures on visions for ICT-mediated engagement, the role of design in shaping engagement and the influence of citizen practices on “digital democracy.” The resulting policy recommendations focus on ways to promote technologies for deeper engagement and transformative citizenship.

www.makingallvoicescount.org/value17

India, Philippines, South Africa, Brazil, Colombia, Uruguay, Netherlands, Spain

**Key recommendations:**

- Calibrating for equality – Transformative shifts in citizenship call for cultural pluralisation, racial and distributive democracy.
- Coding for democracy – The design of techno-public space has deeply political consequences and must be made with due consideration to democratic and social inclusion.
- Norming for accountability– Giving citizen engagement a central place in digital governance calls for deep and abiding systems integration of democratic values.

### Do more empowered citizens make more accountable states?

**Power and legitimacy in legal empowerment initiatives in Kenya and South Africa**

Francesca Feruglio

How do organisations use legal mechanisms to build citizen agency and catalyse actions, and how does the state respond when empowered groups engage with government? Four case studies of legal empowerment NGOs illustrates the range of strategies they use to bring marginalised voices in decision-making and ensure improvements in access to services.

www.makingallvoicescount.org/legal17

Kenya, South Africa

**Themes:**

- The link between empowerment and accountability, and using legal frameworks for obtaining both
- Combining formal, informal, adversarial and collaborative approaches for seeking accountability
- Identity and legitimacy of intermediary organisations

### Accountability in mHealth projects

**ICT-facilitated accountability and engagement in health systems**

Tabitha Hyrnick and Linda Waldman

Innovations in mHealth can potentially contribute to accountable health systems. Research into seven mHealth projects found that ICTs can successfully provide quick and easy ways of collecting and analysing information on health services. But linkages and relationships with communities, local officials and national decision-makers are needed for them to be effective as tools for accountability and citizen engagement.

www.makingallvoicescount.org/mhealth17

Indonesia, Nigeria, South Africa, Tanzania

**Conclusions:**

- In mHealth accountability projects, there are limits to what technology can deliver in terms of augmenting citizen voice and enhancing accountability
- Engaging existing community-level groups or forums improves success in uptake of ICTs for more accountable health systems.
- Unless those in positions of power to change things are allies in the process, efforts are unlikely to meet with success.
- Offline spaces can strongly complement online innovations to leverage individual citizens’ feedback, and translate this into action to improve services.

### What data do we want?

**Understanding demands for open data among civil society organisations in South Africa**

Andrew Kaliati, Paskaliah Kachieng’a and Indra de Lanerolle

The authors examine the demand for open data in South Africa, and under what conditions this might influence accountability. They also look at barriers to using government data in accountability processes. The findings suggest that a significant gap exists between open data supply and demand. In particular, local data needs to be available locally, and needs to include much more data about government services and decision-making processes.

www.makingallvoicescount.org/demand17

South Africa

**Themes:**

- Availability and access to data
- Trust in available data
- Beyond data: the demand for dialogue
- Appropriate modes of communicating data
- The roles of data in accountability processes
- Interpreting data
Building safe spaces for young women to participate

Building safe spaces to support young women’s participation in local governance in Indonesia
Francesca Feruglio, Niken Lestari, Emma Bell and Karen Brock

For young women in Indonesia, participation in local government is often tokenistic because of barriers to access in decision-making spaces and ways of making their voices heard. As part of a wider process of movement-building, FAMM in Indonesia has developed online and offline options for women activists to ‘accompany’ its members during hard times, to maintain the spirits of both individual members and groups, and to facilitate collective action.

www.makingallvoicescount.org/spaces17

Indonesia

Themes:
- Young women’s participation in local government forums
- Power analysis and power mapping
- Intersectionality – how social identities overlap with related power systems
- Feminist popular education
- Movement-building and collaboration

Shifting young people’s perceptions of corruption

Innovations to engage youth in Liberia
Natalie Herbst, Heather Gilberds and Blair Glencorse

Examining how Accountability Lab’s activities in Liberia are influencing public awareness of issues such as corruption, transparency, and open government, and how they are shifting citizen perceptions and catalysing movements for grassroots reform. The research looks specifically at youth-led movements for accountability and social change, and how they can help leaders realise their ambitions for more open government.

www.makingallvoicescount.org/liberia17

Liberia

Themes:
- Transparency and accountability in post-conflict settings
- The use of arts and culture to open up spaces for accountability engagement
- Youth-centred initiatives
- Bridging the demand and supply sides of accountability in centralised political systems

Scaling accountability

Scaling accountability through vertically integrated civil society policy monitoring and advocacy
Jonathan Fox

The field of transparency, accountability, and participation needs a conceptual reboot to address the limited gains made so far on the path to accountability. This paper makes the case for one among several possible approaches, by distinguishing between “scaling up” and “taking scale into account”, and explains the concept of vertical integration, which involves multi-level coordination by civil society organisations grounded in broad constituencies.

www.makingallvoicescount.org/scaling17

Global

Questions and hypotheses:
- What difference does vertical integration make?
- Can hybrid state–society coalitions drive sandwich strategies that strengthen pro-accountability actors?
- Can large international donors bolster multi-level CSO monitoring and advocacy initiatives?
- What are the entry points to begin to bolster multi-level monitoring and advocacy initiatives in fragile/conflict settings?
- How can international donor assistance in pro-accountable governance reform be more effective?

Making All Voices Count in Manila: Technology and transformative governance

Transforming governance: what role for technology?
Duncan Edwards, Karen Brock and Rosemary McGee

In 2016, Making All Voices Count held a workshop in Manila for practitioners and researchers to discuss the role of technology in transforming governance. This report shares what participants learned from interviews, field visits and analyses. It includes project examples and discussion highlights and offers practitioners a framework for examining their practice based on three key ideas: transformative governance, vertical integration and accountability ecosystems.

www.makingallvoicescount.org/manila17

Global

Themes:
- The importance of context
- Tech for transformation
- Thick and thin engagement
- The dynamics of partnership
- Transparency

Digital activism from the margins

Privacy, anonymity, visibility: dilemmas in tech use by marginalised communities
Maya Indira Ganesh, Jeff Deutch, Jennifer Schulte

The Tactical Technology Collective presents findings from two studies on technology use by marginalised communities – lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans and queer (LGBTQ) people in Nairobi, and economically marginalised housing and urban development activists in Johannesburg. The study looks at the limitations, risks and barriers these communities face using digital tools to demand their rights and hold government accountable.

www.makingallvoicescount.org/privacy17

Kenya, South Africa

Key findings:
- T4T&A activities must account for the distinct needs of marginalised users for privacy and security
- Collaborations across collective movements must recognise their different histories of engagement with politics and technology
- Without full enjoyment of human rights, marginalised people’s participation in T4T&A activities is bound to be limited

Pinpointing the contributions of openness to accountability

Opening governance – change, continuity and conceptual ambiguity
Duncan Edwards and Rosemary McGee

What contributions have research, advocacy and activism around open government and open data had on more open, transparent, accountable and responsive governance? This article critically discusses what limits effectiveness and impact in this field, identifying conceptual ambiguity, hype and euphemism as key problems. The authors offer a series of definitions and conclusions to help restore meaning and ideological content to work in this field.

www.makingallvoicescount.org/opening

Global

Themes:
- Contested concepts of open data, open government, transparency and accountability
- Enabling factors for open governance processes and relationships
- The gap between generators and users of evidence in transparency and accountability initiatives