



EVALUATION REPORT

Katika Usalama Tunategemeana: A Community-Owned Approach to Promoting Moderate Voices in Tanga

And

Pamoja! Strengthening Community Resilience

Submitted to Search for Common Ground
21 February 2019

Acknowledgements

The evaluation team responsible for conducting the evaluation included Anthony Sarota, Alessandro Totoro and Bernardo Monzani. All three contributed to the writing of the report.

The evaluation team would like to extend their gratitude to Search for Common Ground's staff, including Castor Kalemera and Fatma Kimaro in Tanzania, and Carlotta Fassiotti and Gabrielle Solanet at the regional level, for their support during data collection in-country and for their input during the preparation of the report. We would also like to thank the enumerators—Munira Mkanzabi, Mkola Mrua, Joseph Clement, Mibaraka Yahaya from Dar-es-Salaam; Lydia John, Amina Hassan, Edward lalika, and Everest Shemdoe from Tanga; and Theresia Kishe, Francisca Lengeju, Nasru Juma, and Richard Manyota from Arusha — who contributed professionally over the course of the exercise and helped make data collection possible.

For additional information about the projects or the evaluation, inquiries should be addressed to Carlotta Fassiotti (cfassiotti@sfcg.org) or Castor Kalemera (ckalemera@sfcg.org).

Table of Contents

Abbreviations	4
Executive Summary	5
1. Introduction	9
2. Background	10
2.1. Context Analysis	10
2.2. Description of Interventions	13
3. Methodology	13
3.1. Evaluation Activities	14
3.2. Challenges	15
4. Findings	16
4.1. Relevance	16
4.2. Effectiveness	18
4.3. Impact	27
4.4. Sustainability	32
5. Lessons Learned	33
6. Conclusions and Recommendations	34

Abbreviations

AMYC	Ansar Muslim Youth Center
B4H	Battle for Humanity
CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi
CGA	Common Ground Approach
CHADEMA	Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo
CSO	Civil Society Organization
CTU	Counter-Terrorism Unit
CUF	Civic United Front
DRL	US State Department's Democracy, Human Rights and Labour Bureau
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
KII	Key Informant Interview
NAF	New Age Foundation
TAYODEA	Tanga Youth Development Association
TBC	Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation
UKAWA	Umoja wa Katiba ya Wananchi
ZEC	Zanzibar Electoral Commission

Executive Summary

The present evaluation covers two projects. The first, “*Pamoja! Strengthening Community Resilience to Violent Extremism*” (henceforth referred to as *Pamoja*), was a 21-month project implemented in Arusha, Dar es Salaam, Tanga and Zanzibar, whose overall goal was to strengthen community resilience to key drivers of violent extremism in at-risk areas by promoting the participation and inclusion of young men and women, and fostering interfaith collaboration and social cohesion. The second project, “*Katika Usalama Tunategemeana: A Community-Owned Approach to Promoting Moderate Voices and Preventing Violent Extremism in Tanga*” (henceforth referred to as *Katika*), lasted 24 months and was implemented only in Tanga. Its overall goal was to empower communities to prevent violent extremism by increasing the space for community engagement.

I. Background

Tanzania, historically regarded as relatively political stable compared to other countries in East Africa, has recently experienced an increase in violent extremist activities. This increase has been linked to various political, social and economic grievances. Despite the country’s multiparty democratic system, many Tanzanians, particularly in Zanzibar, feel that the political system is skewed in favor of the ruling party. This has led to dissatisfaction among many people and groups, which have been turning to more radical positions. Religious marginalization has also continued to threaten national security, and tensions among religious groups remain a leading contributor to extremism in a country where Christians and Muslims each account for 30% to 35% of the population. At the same time, economic marginalization is also starting to be a substantial issue: although the economy has been one of the fastest growing in Africa, the impact of economic gains has not yet been felt at the individual level. Overall, although violent extremism in Tanzania has been on the rise, responses have so far focused on strengthening community resilience. This has also been the focus of the *Pamoja* and *Katika* projects.

In terms of **methodology**, the evaluation used a mixed-methods action-research approach. Both qualitative and quantitative data were collected and analyzed during the evaluation with the aim of responding to specific lines of inquiry. Evaluation activities—including a document review, interviews with 31 key informants, focus group discussions with 69 young men and women, and a survey with 338 respondents—generated solid evidence for answering all lines of inquiry, with the main challenge being data collection in Zanzibar, which was limited on account of the security situation.

II. Findings

i) Relevance

Although Tanzanians have been fearful of the rise of extremist violence in recent years, the government’s approach has been to securitize the issue and control how actors, including civil society organizations (CSOs) work on it. As such, the two projects were relevant to the targeted communities. In particular, dialogues and training workshops for community members, together with the sub-grants awarded to conduct activities addressing specific challenges, were appreciated by participants and stakeholders. Search’s approaches were well received at the community level and praised by informants interviewed.

Furthermore, as many respondents mentioned how conflict and tension among different groups has been on the rise, they have specifically highlighted the relevance of the Common Ground Approach (CGA). For instance, all religious leaders engaged by Search suggested that the activities were relevant to them especially on the importance of living together as a community and respecting one another’s’ beliefs.

The two projects were not, however, equally relevant. In Tanga, where both projects were

implemented, Search was able to work more openly on violent extremism and trainings were offered to at-risk youth and community members, such as *boda boda* drivers. In the other locations, where only the *Pamoja* project was implemented, a choice was made not to discuss violent extremism openly, and trainings focused mainly on the CGA. However, this made activities less specific to the needs of the target groups—in relation to violent extremism—and it led the project to engage with fewer at-risk groups, most notably in Arusha and Dar es Salaam, where most participants were university students. This has affected the relevance of *Pamoja*.

ii) Effectiveness

Under the *Pamoja* project, the following positive findings were identified:

- A majority of respondents suggested that the trainings on CGA and the project's dialogue components were effective. For example, respondents were comfortable using the CGA slogan of 'win-win approach' in resolving conflict.
- Through the community-level dialogues, opportunities of youth to engage with their leaders have increased: while only 52% of baseline respondents answered yes to the question of whether youth have an opportunity to engage with their leaders, at endline the number was 74% for project participants, compared to 56% for non-participants.
- The trainings that Search organized for religious leaders, which focused on the CGA and aimed to merge the religious concepts of common and equal humanity among religious leaders, were effective in promoting interfaith relationships.
- Training journalists on reporting on violent extremism activities was not only effective, but also necessary since this is a new topic in the country.
- The social media platforms were somewhat effective in promoting dialogue between participants from different groups, in particular in Arusha.

The evaluation recorded also a number of challenges specific to *Pamoja*:

- In Dar-es-Salaam, Arusha, and Zanzibar the project was perceived to have engaged young people who were not the most at-risk of being radicalized and engaged in violent activities or recruited to extremist groups. Different stakeholders in almost all intervention areas (except Tanga) confirmed this, and suggested that activities, to be more effective, should engage with communities at grassroots to identify the most at-risk young men and women.
- In terms of the media activities, data suggests that the radio talk show *Amani Kitaani* was not effective in influencing the media discourse. That can be attributed in part to the small number of episodes produced and broadcast, but also to the fact that the program was not attractive for many youth. Several participants and stakeholders also noted that the chosen broadcaster, the Tanzanian Broadcasting Corporation (TBC FM), might have been less popular among youth than other options..

Under the *Katika* project, the following positive findings were identified in terms of effectiveness:

- In Tanga, Search took the decision to have single-stakeholder meetings, with community members and security actors separately, before holding multi-stakeholder ones. The dialogues were able to create a space for communities to discuss issues related to security. Positively, in Tanga Search also engaged with government authorities, conducting separate dialogues with them.
- Participants stated that the multi-stakeholder dialogues (with government officials and community members) were important to address the security challenges facing Tanga. Dialogues also gave at-risk groups, like *boda boda* drivers, a platform that made them feel as a part of their community and allowed them to air their concerns.
- The positive effects on the general context surrounding violent extremism and population of Tanga can also be seen in the quantitative data. Asked whether they

felt comfortable to discuss violent extremism during community dialogues, only 53% of baseline respondents had said yes. At endline, however, that number had jumped to 91% of respondents, suggesting that by openly engaging and addressing violent extremism issues during the activities, the project opened up space and created more confidence for community members and government officials to discuss issues in a context where it was initially more taboo.

Overall, the main challenges under both projects related to the media activities (as discussed above) and with the sub-grants. These had limited sustainability and communities did not feel that they owned the initiatives on account of how they were implemented.

iii) Impact

Positively, the *Pamoja* and *Katika* projects were designed on essentially the same theory of change, defined as follows:

“If (i) key stakeholders, including vulnerable youth and religious leaders, have the skills to recognize the risks of violent conflict and constructively engage within communities, and (ii) space to dialogue and engage on issues of violent extremism is opened, and (iii) credible and constructive narratives are amplified, especially among youth, then marginalization of vulnerable populations will be reduced, inclusive participation and self-agency will be increased and alternatives to violent action and division will be promoted, reducing the risk of radicalization, recruitment and violent action and preventing the threat of violent extremism.”

In line with this theory, there were three main strategies: the first related to capacity building (mainly of young people and religious leaders), the second focused on creating platforms for dialogue between different stakeholders (including religious leaders), the third and final strategy focused on a media campaign, to change the narrative around violent extremism. The evidence collected during the evaluation confirms that the effectiveness of each strategy varied. For example, the project successfully strengthened the capacity of participants, and all stakeholders saw the dialogues as useful; however, the media strategy was weak.

Evidence of impact was found in Tanga, where both projects were implemented, but in other locations this evidence was only superficial. In the case of *Pamoja* there appears to have been a missing link between strategies and goal, undermining the validity of the theory of change.

In Tanga, interview and focus groups participants suggested that Search’s projects were able to provide a platform to bring people together; that the dialogues were able to bring adversary parties; and that this in turn helped to increase social cohesion. Importantly, this change was not only praised by project participants, but also the community members who never engaged in activities. Here it appears that what made a difference was the implementation of two projects and Search’s partnership with a strong local partner, which was already established at the grassroots level and trusted by communities in that location.

What the evaluation could not find is evidence of contribution. Even in Tanga, for example, it is not clear to what extent positive changes are linked to what Search did as opposed to what other CSOs were doing. This points to a problem with scale and targeting: that the people reached by the two projects were not enough and, for locations under *Pamoja*, not always the intended ones.

iv) Sustainability

The two projects were sustainable in terms of the changes they produced at the individual level: most direct participants to the project gained new skills pertaining to the Common Ground Approach, and they were applying these skills in their everyday lives. And in Tanga the evaluation also found that the project’s effects resulted in institutional changes, as about ten CSOs there formed a partnership with the aim to continue efforts to address peacebuilding issues in their community.

Overall, however, the evidence points to the achievements of the projects not being sustainable over time: even in the case of Tanga, it remains to be seen how outcomes will remain in place, especially at the systemic level, which was not a focus of Search's efforts in any location. In line with this, it is not clear whether the radio program *Amani Kitaani* achieved sustainability in terms of reach or resonance; and whether the impact of the small grants program can continue, as the capacities of grant recipients were not strengthened.

Overall, the evaluation has identified the following **lessons learned**:

- Avoiding talking openly about violent extremism in certain project locations resulted in less impact in countering or transforming violent extremism in the communities intended.
- Successful community dialogues require engaging with each group separately to understand their concerns and build their capacity before bringing groups together.
- Working with grassroots CSOs is a necessary component of any peacebuilding intervention to achieve positive impact. This would have allowed for a better identification and access to the most vulnerable youth at-risk of joining violent extremist groups.
- The sub-granting approach – whereby Search not only paid for the implementation of sub-grantees' directly instead of giving them a small grant, but was also directly involved in implementation of initiatives themselves – was not well received by recipients, and it might have impacted the sustainability of project outcomes, as it made the communities feel that they were not the owners of the initiatives.
- If there is tension around the use of the term violent extremism, this should be addressed in the context of a gradual process involving those opposed to it. Avoiding a confrontation made implementation difficult and affected outcomes.
- Technology and media have a role in countering or transforming violent extremism if and when the right approach and type of technology is adopted.
- A gender gap in opportunities for youth to engage with political leaders was noted by the evaluation in most of the target communities, and should be explored further.

III) Conclusions and Recommendations

Overall, the *Pamoja* and *Katika* projects were relevant to the communities in which they were implemented, but, with the exception of Tanga, less so in the specific context of violent extremism. Search's efforts were complicated by the Tanzanian context, where engagement on violent extremism was not seen favorably by authorities when the two projects started. But the decisions that Search took to frame the projects as community peacebuilding instead negatively affected its ability to achieve intended outcomes, in particular under the *Pamoja* project. With this in mind, we offer the following recommendations:

1. **Review and revise the design of the project.** Search should ensure that local dynamics are accurately analyzed and captured in the project design at all levels.
2. **Reach the right target groups.** Search should ensure that at-risk youth are correctly identified and engaged, in order to effectively improve impact and sustainability.
3. **Establish clear rules, procedures and policy for sub-grant initiatives.** Search should: a) establish, communicate and enforce clear rules and procedures for small grants, and b) strengthen the capacities of local organizations or groups supported.
4. **Conduct an in-depth assessment of the media landscape.** Search should invest resources to better understand how to diversify its media offer.
5. **Address key drivers of conflict directly, ensuring safety and acceptance in the process.** Search should continue to ensure to use a sequenced dialogue approach, conducting single-stakeholder dialogues first, followed by multi-stakeholders ones.
6. **Get more government buy-in.** Search should focus on extending capacity building activities on countering violent extremism to key government actors.
7. **Develop a gender plan.** Search should develop a plan to ensure that its interventions are gender sensitive.
8. **Adopt a learning agenda.** Search should adopt a more over learning agenda, tied to both project-based and organizational benchmarks, with allocated resources.

1. Introduction

This evaluation report covers the findings from two projects implemented by Search for Common Ground (Search) in Tanzania.

The first project, “*Pamoja! Strengthening Community Resilience to Violent Extremism*” (henceforth referred to as *Pamoja*), was a 21-month project implemented in four counties (Arusha, Dar es Salaam, Tanga and Zanzibar), with support from the US State Department’s Democracy, Human Rights and Labour Bureau (DRL). The second project, “*Katika Usalama Tunategemeana: A Community-Owned Approach to Promoting Moderate Voices and Preventing Violent Extremism in Tanga*” (henceforth referred to as *Katika*) was a 24-month project implemented in a single location (Tanga) with support from the US State Department’s Bureau for Counter-Terrorism (CTU).

Search commissioned this final combined evaluation with the overall objective of assessing the achievements and lessons learned of the projects in accordance with four criteria: relevance, effectiveness, impact and sustainability. With a focus on learning, the evaluation also sought to identify successes and challenges of *Pamoja* and *Katika*, and, as a result of this process, to provide Search with recommendations on how to improve in the future in its efforts to counter violent extremism in Tanzanian communities.

The evaluation activities took place between November and December 2018, and progressed largely as planned. Concerning the time frame, the evaluation team had approximately two-and-a-half months to review documents, conduct data collection in the four counties, and complete the report. The only limitations the evaluation encountered were due to the inability to collect quantitative data in Zanzibar, because of the current situation there (see the description of the challenges in the methodology section for more detail). Additionally, in some target communities it was not possible to discuss violent extremism directly, as this was still regarded as a taboo topic in Tanzania. Finally, the evaluation team was unable to reach Pemba (in Tanga), due to time constraints.

The report is structured in six sections. Subsequent to this introduction, the background, including the social political context of Tanzania, and a brief overview of the projects are discussed (Section 2). The methodology is then presented (Section 3), followed by the findings in line with the four main criteria for the evaluation (Section 4). The report concludes by presenting lessons learned (Section 5) and recommendations for future programming (Section 6).

2. Background

2.1. Context Analysis

2.1.1. Socio-political background

A few years after its independence, Tanzania was established as a single party system. Internal grievances about the single party system, external pressures from globalization and Tanzania's founding father Julius Nyerere's argument for peaceful political reform readied for a discussion on political reform in early 1990s. In 1992, the country underwent political reform, and since the first multiparty election of 1995 the dominant political party, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), has continued winning both the presidential election and a majority of parliamentary seats to remain in power. Support for the main opposition parties, particularly Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA) under the umbrella of the opposition union to support the constitution review commission of Warioba (UKAWA), has been steadily growing in recent years, and in 2015 more than six million Tanzanians voted for the opposition's presidential candidate, who had earlier defected from CCM.

The growing opposition in the mainland side is also reflected in Zanzibar, which experienced a chaotic election in 2015. On the island the election was annulled after the opposition party Civic United Front (CUF) claimed victory for their presidential candidate before the Zanzibar Electoral Commission (ZEC) announced the results. After the cancellation of the election, ZEC called a re-run in March 2016, which was boycotted by CUF. This fiasco led to the end of the *de facto* reconciliation and unity government, which was viewed as a road map for peace and unity among Zanzibaris after years of political enmity.¹

The current government, led by President John Magufuli, is known for its efforts to combat corruption and reduce the gap between the haves and have-nots. This includes investments in the micro-economy, empowering small and medium enterprises, and strengthening the industrial economy. Despite these efforts, however, the government is facing challenges because of its reform and actions, which are restricting civic space for citizens and other actors.² The Media Service Act of 2016, The Cyber Crime Act and Statistics Act of 2017 are among the laws that have resulted in shrinking political, media, and civic space in Tanzania. Previous analysis suggested that the clampdown by the new leader, who was viewed as an outsider within CCM, was a strategy to establish himself.³

Nevertheless, the evaluation observed that if the approach persists for long it will likely be counterproductive for long-term stability and democracy in the country, as it could fan social and political grievances and result in a move towards more radical forms of social, economic and political expression. The closing space has already shaken the long and generally positive relationship the country has with some of its development partners. For example, the European Union recently recalled their top diplomat as a result of the acts of the government.⁴ This highlights the urgency for local and international development partners to engage with the government to address any challenges and assure supportiveness towards the economic reform agenda by the administration but also advise the government on alternative courses.

2.1.2. Drivers of conflict and violent extremism in Tanzania

Tanzania, regarded as relatively stable compared to other countries in East Africa, has continued to experience an increase in activities with elements of violent extremism and

¹ "The 2015 National Elections in Tanzania", Sterling Roop and Keith R. Weghorst, *Electoral Studies* 43 (2016).

² "[Civic Space in Tanzania](#)", Twaweza Ni Sisi, 2015 (accessed on 28 January 2019).

³ "[Baseline Evaluation of Katika Usalama Tunategemeana and Pamoja! Strengthening Community Resilience in Tanzania](#)", Anthony Sarota, Search for Common Ground, April 2017 (accessed on 28 January 2019).

⁴ "[EU envoy leaves Tanzania amid queries](#)", The Citizen, 3 November 2018 (accessed on 28 January 2019).

terrorism.⁵ The emergence of extremists and radicalized people and groups who have been responsible for violent activities has resulted in a number of fatalities of both Tanzanians and foreigners, and the increasing destruction of public and private property is a sign that security and stability is at risk. Despite the fact that the magnitude of these incidents cannot be compared with neighboring countries, like Kenya and Somalia, Tanzania is becoming a spillover state for violent extremist groups including Daesh, Al-Shabaab, and Al-Qaeda.

The table below shows just how much the level of violence has increased. Before 2010, violent conflicts were only common around election years, but since then there have been attacks motivated by other factors. These include, for example, the killing of Muslims in Mwanza⁶, the organized assassination of law enforcement officers and local leaders in Kibiti⁷, and the recent targeting of politicians and kidnapping of civilians. There are also examples of Tanzanians being involved in terrorist activities outside the country, including the high-profile attack in Garissa, Kenya, by Al-Shabaab.⁸ The increase of more hardline Tanzanian religious communities, such as the Ansar Muslim Youth Center (AMYC) in Tanga, which is affiliated with terrorist groups in neighboring countries, and the increase of the number of returnees are signs that security is at risk; these growing violent extremist activities are associated with the political, social economic, and religious marginalization among different groups in society.

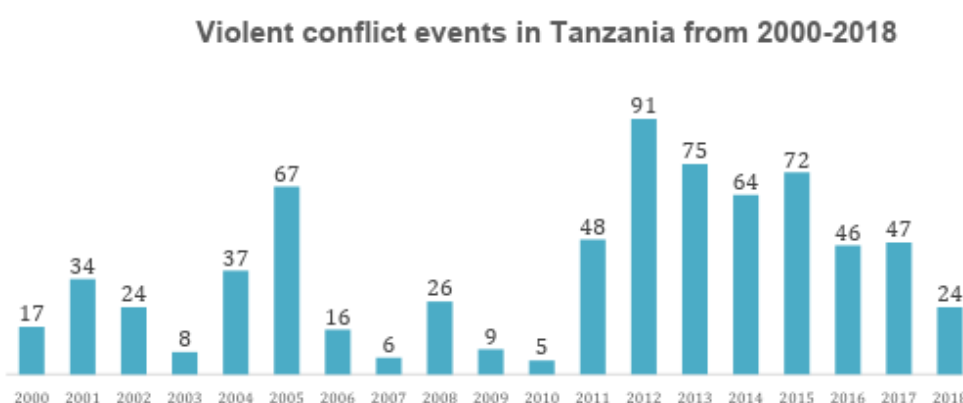


Figure 1: Violent conflict events in Tanzania, 2000-2018⁹

Despite the introduction of a multiparty democracy, many Tanzanians, particularly in Zanzibar, feel that elections have not reflected the will of the people and that the system is skewed in favor of the ruling party.¹⁰ This produces dissatisfaction and the risk for individuals and groups to turn to more radical positions and potentially use violent means to achieve political goals. Recently there have been a number of political misunderstandings between the authorities and the opposition, which have resulted arrests¹¹ and charges in court. Other political and religious leaders in Tanzania's mainland have also harnessed dissatisfaction to promote resistance to the government, using both peaceful and violent means.

Economic marginalization is beginning to be a more substantial issue for Tanzanian security and is also contributing to violence seen around the country. With a population of just over 50 million people, Tanzania is regarded as a low-income country and faces a myriad of challenges in reaching middle-income status by 2025, as its national development plan envisions. Although the economy has been one of the fastest growing in Africa (with around 7% annual GDP growth rate) as the government focuses on industrialization and infrastructure development, maintaining macro-economic stability, and strengthening

⁵ ["Violent Extremism and Instability in the Greater Horn of Africa"](#), Eelco Kessels et al., Global Center on Cooperative Security, April 2016 (accessed on 28 January 2019).

⁶ ["Tanzania: Muslim Community Lives in Fear After Attack"](#), AllAfrica.com, 26 June 2016 (accessed on 28 January 2019).

⁷ ["Annual Report 2017"](#), Legal and Human Rights Centre (LHRC), March 2018 (accessed on 28 January 2019).

⁸ ["Garissa Terrorist Linked to Mwanza"](#), The Citizen, 6 April 2015 (accessed on 28 January 2019).

⁹ ACLED Dataset, 2018.

¹⁰ ["Tanzania Country Page"](#), Freedom House (accessed on 28 January 2019).

¹¹ ["Tanzania Arrest Opposition Leaders Over death Claim: Party"](#), Reuters, 1 November 2018 (accessed on 28 January 2019).

internal revenue collection, the impact of economic gains has yet to be seen at the individual level. Arguably this is the result of the existence of long-term systematic corruption and weak institutions, which have resulted in a growing gap between the haves and have-not's: statistically, 20% of the population accounts for 42% of total consumption while the lowest 20% consume only 7%.¹² This economic inequality constraints individual level economic growth and is a potential catalyst for social tension.

Religious marginalization has also continued to threaten the country's national security. Christians and Muslims each account for about 30% to 35% of the total population. There are tensions between the two religions, some of which have resulted in violent extremist acts.¹³ The long-lasting perceived and real marginalization among religious groups is the largest contributor to extremism associated with religion in Tanzania. Research on religious antagonism has shown, for example, that as many as 80% of Tanzanians agree that religion poses a threat to the country's security, and more importantly, that Muslims suggest that the government favors Christians and considers them second-class citizens.¹⁴

To conclude, violent extremist activities and a growing number of conflicts in Tanzania are a result of various internal trends, including political and religious grievances, and highly unequal economic growth. To these one must also add the international jihadist propaganda, which affects global security. Violent extremist activities are becoming a threat to the country's security, and this is signified by the fact that in the past, these extremists have attacked vulnerable Christians and moderate Muslim leaders.¹⁵ This has started to change and extremists are now also targeting the government, as already discussed above.

2.1.3. Perceptions of violent extremism in Tanzania

Although violent extremism and the potential for future terrorism in Tanzania are concerning, responses have so far remained focused on strengthening community resilience as a way to address vulnerabilities to extremist ideology and violence. Yet, efforts have strained in the face of continuous increase in the aforementioned grievances on the part of communities. Recognizing these issues, the Government of Tanzania, stakeholders and other partners are trying to counter violent extremism in the country by employing a number of different approaches. While the government's perspective on the issue is still not well expressed, its efforts in countering violent extremism stem from the traditional approach, focusing on coercive means and securitization.

Other actors, including CSOs, have instead opted for a peacebuilding approach, which mainly focuses on understanding the root causes of tensions and addressing them by bringing parties together and finding solutions that can better respond to community needs. Overall, this divergence between the government and other actors is preventing impact in countering violent extremism. Our analysis suggests that the existence of differing perspectives on how to address the issues, between the government on one hand and other actors, mainly from civil society, on the other hand, is where a significant gap lies. The gap also is likely caused by the fact that the government has securitized the issue of violent extremism, thus blocking out many actors including development partners who seek to engage with the government to address the drivers of violence. As a consequence, CSOs and other development organizations have been changing the design of their initiatives while engaging with the government, and this has hindered sustainability and resulted in weaker outcomes. Instead of changing project design, there should be a focus of gaining buy-in and building capacity of key government stakeholders to understand and issues in the country.

¹² "[Current and future challenges and opportunities in Tanzania](#)", Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark (accessed on 28 January 2019).

¹³ "[Tanzania 2013 International Religious Freedom Report](#)", US Department of State, 2013 Denmark (accessed on 28 January 2019).

¹⁴ Wijzen, F. Mfumbusa, B. Religion, *Religion, Conflict and Reconciliation: Multifaith Ideals and Realities* (2002), pp.318.

¹⁵ "[Baseline Evaluation of Katika Usalama Tunategemeana and Pamoja! Strengthening Community Resilience in Tanzania](#)", Anthony Sarota, Search for Common Ground, April 2017 (accessed on 28 January 2019).

2.2. Description of Interventions

The combined evaluation covers two projects. *“Pamoja! Strengthening Community Resilience to Violent Extremism”* was a project implemented in four counties (Arusha, Dar es Salaam, Tanga and Zanzibar) with support from the US State Department’s Democracy, Human Rights and Labour Bureau (DRL). The project started in September 2016 and lasted 21 months.

The overall goal of *Pamoja* was to strengthen community resilience to key drivers of violent extremism in at-risk areas. It pursued two objectives:

1. To promote participation and inclusion of populations vulnerable to extremism, especially young men and women; and
2. To foster interfaith collaboration and social cohesion.

“Katika Usalama Tunategemeana: A Community-Owned Approach to Promoting Moderate Voices and Preventing Violent Extremism in Tanga” was a project implemented in a single location (Tanga) with support from the US State Department’s Bureau for Counter-Terrorism. The project started in September 2016 and lasted 24 months.

The overall goal of the *Katika* project was to empower communities to prevent violent extremism in Tanga. This goal is supported by three specific objectives:

1. To increase the space for engagement of diverse community stakeholders in community-level dialogue around issues of violent extremism;
2. To share strategies and skills for community residents to counter recruitment narratives and other pull factors; and
3. To promote community-owned and community-led initiatives to prevent violent extremism.

In implementing project activities, Search relied on individual focal points in Arusha, Dar es Salaam and Zanzibar, under the *Pamoja* project. In Tanga, where both *Pamoja* and *Katika* were implemented, Search partnered with the Tanga Youth Development Association (TAYODEA), which eventually became the New Age Foundation (NAF). Through the sub-grants, Search also engaged other smaller CSOs.

Search also partnered with four radio stations in order to broadcast a radio talk show called *Amani Kitaani* (“Peace in the Street” in Swahili). The four radio stations were Milimani FM in Dar es Salaam, Radio 5 in Arusha, Tanga FM in Tanga, and Radio Bahari Zanzibar. The program was also broadcast by the national public radio station, the Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation (TBC).

3. Methodology

The overall purpose of the evaluation was to determine overall project performance in terms of relevance, effectiveness, efficiency, sustainability, impact and lessons learned. With a focus on learning, the combined evaluation sought also to identify successes and challenges in the two projects and, as a result of this process, to provide Search and its partners in Tanzania with recommendations on how to improve its work in the future.

Overall, the specific objectives guiding the evaluation were: (i) to assess the performance of the two projects on the basis of the chosen criteria; (ii) to identify lessons learned stemming from the two projects, in relation to what is effective in order to increase community resilience against radicalization and violent extremism; and (iii) to develop actionable recommendations for future peacebuilding programming. The evaluation used a mixed-methods action-research approach. Both qualitative and quantitative data was collected and analyzed with the aim of responding to agreed lines of inquiry, which are presented below. For more information on the assignment’s terms of reference, please see Annex 1.

Criterion	Main line of inquiry
Relevance	1. Did the two projects target and engage the relevant population, including those groups most at-risk, to achieve their goals? Were the activities relevant to the needs and interests of the target populations? 2. Were the projects able to successfully bridge the interests of the donor and their specific focus and the interests of the community and target groups? 3. To what extent the projects were able to adapt to changes in the context and to the diversity of different locations to stay relevant? Did the project approach reflect the context of the specific locations?
Effectiveness	4. To what extent have the intended projects' expected results been achieved against the selected indicators? Which are the changes achieved within the two projects? 5. Were the two project's theories of change well articulated and appropriate to the context? Were there other theories that could have contributed in a more significant manner? 6. Were the monitoring tools developed appropriate? To what extent processes and products were useful and used in implementation?
Impact	7. What changes, intended and unintended, positive and negative, have occurred in the target counties? How have these evolved? 8. Did the project contribute to increase the level of safety? Do communities feel safer by the end of the project? 9. Did the project contribute to greater interfaith collaboration, at the leadership and community levels?
Sustainability	10. To what extent are achieved results likely to be sustained? 11. What enables or impedes the sustainability of results?
Lessons Learned	12. What are the key lessons learned from the implementation of the two projects, which can be applied in future programming? 13. To what extent did the project contribute to breaking the taboo around violent conflicts in Tanzania, and lay the ground for effective peacebuilding work in the future?
Recommendations	14. How could Search leverage its intervention and its peacebuilding programming to achieve enduring peace in Tanzania? Are there opportunities to link peacebuilding programming with other initiatives? 15. What are the main recommendations to inform future programming in Tanzania? Which actions can be up scaled?

3.1. Evaluation Activities

All evaluation activities were completed between November and December 2018. They included a document review, key informant interviews (KIIs) and focus group discussions (FGDs), and a survey. All evaluation tools used are included as Annex 2.

Document Review

The evaluation team reviewed and analyzed documents related to the two projects and also to the Tanzanian context. The former were provided by Search, while the latter were gathered through an open-source search mainly targeting reports and grey literature from other CSOs active in the country, think tanks and agencies (national and international) working on security and violent extremism in Tanzania and in East Africa more broadly.

Key Informant Interviews and Focus Group Discussions

The evaluation team conducted interviews with project staff, participants and stakeholders in all target counties. KIIs and FGDs were done using a semi-structured questionnaire with questions directly linked to the agreed lines of inquiry. A total of 32 interviews were held (with 10 women and 22 men), and 9 FGDs (for a total of 69 participants, 22 women and 47 men), as per the table below. The list of KIIs and FGDs held is included as Annex 3.

Informant type	Arusha	Dar Es Salaam	Tanga	Zanzibar
Key informants				
Search and partner staff	-	5	1	-
Young men and women	1	2	1	4
Religious and community leaders	2	1	3	2
Government officials	1	1	1	-
Media representatives	-	2	1	1
Local CSOs (Grantees)	-	1	1	1
Total	4	12	8	8
Focus Group participants				
Young men and women	6	23	33	7
Total	6	23	33	7

Survey

Finally, a survey was conducted to gather quantitative data. This was designed to allow comparisons between measurements at baseline and endline, and differences in responses between project participants and non-participants. A total of 328 respondents completed the survey (159 women, 168 men, 1 not available), as per the table below. An overview of the survey sample population is included as Annex 4.

Informant	Arusha	Dar Es Salaam	Tanga	Zanzibar
Project participants	41	56	56	-
Non-participants	59	56	60	-
Total	100	112	116	-

3.2. Challenges

The evaluation faced several challenges, which affected the implementation of activities. These included:

- The political situation in Zanzibar limited evaluation activities. Only interviews and one focus group could be held. Following consultations with Search, it was in fact decided that no quantitative data would be collected in this location.
- A very short time table for completing the evaluation resulted in the team not being able to complete activities as planned. In particular, this affected participation to FGDs, which was lower than expected.
- The sample of interviews and focus group participants includes significantly more men than women. This is not intended, but appears to reflect the over-representation of men in some key informant groups, i.e. government officials.

Overall, the challenges did not impact significantly on the evaluation findings, with the exception of Zanzibar, where analysis could have benefitted from more data.

In terms of definition, the evaluation refers routinely to “countering violent extremism” to refer to those initiatives, like the *Pamoja* and *Katika* projects, which seek to build resilience in the face of extremist and radical ideologies and address the pull and push factors leading some individual to join extremist groups. At the same time, the evaluation took note of Search’s preferred use of “transforming violent extremism” and the approach underpinning this¹⁶, and used it where relevant to frame specific findings.

¹⁶ See: “[Transforming Violent Extremism: A Peacebuilder’s Guide](#)”, Search for Common Ground, August 2017 (Accessed on 11 February 2019).

4. Findings

4.1. Relevance

4.1.1. Relevance of Search's approach to countering violent extremism

In a survey conducted in 2015 by Twaweza, a Tanzanian NGO, respondents were asked if they were fearful their friends or family members would be recruited to join violent extremist groups: nearly a third of respondents (30%) said that they were worried about this.¹⁷ Similarly, during the baseline for the two projects, which was conducted in Tanga, Dar Es Salaam, and Arusha in 2017, more than half (51%) of the respondents were either very worried or worried about their friends or family members being recruited to join violent extremist groups.¹⁸ The two sets of data suggest that both nationally and in intervention communities people were fearful of the effects of violent extremism.

Given these findings, the design and choice of goals for the two projects were relevant to the targeted communities. The projects implemented activities such as dialogues and training workshops for community participants with the objective of creating a platform where community members (including at-risk and young women and men) would be able to engage collaboratively in countering conflict and violent conflict. The project then transformed these dialogues into action by giving small grants to groups to conduct activities in their communities after identifying their challenges and means of addressing them. These approaches were well received at the community level and praised by respondents during the evaluation, as highlighted in the quote below.

"The approach of Search of bringing all community members together to discuss their concerns or issues, helped the adversaries to understand one another and address their concerns trustfully."¹⁹

In Tanga this need went beyond the people who participated in the projects, since it was also signaled by at-risk youth who had never been a part of any project activities. They suggested that activities such as those implemented under the project were necessary in addressing violent extremism by building resilient societies.

4.1.2. Relevance of the Common Ground Approach at the Community Level

Tanzanian communities are built under the national ideology of African socialism championed by Julius Nyerere, who helped to ensure the creation of a collective nationalism that superseded tribe and religion.²⁰ However, in the past few decades, this communal mentality among people has been shaken by the growing gaps, described in Section 2, resulting from religious, political, and economic tensions. Different groups are now in conflict and some of them have turned to violence because of these tensions. In this context, the activities by Search and their focus on the Common Ground Approach (CGA) were relevant as they created a collaborative platform for adversary parties to be able to address their concerns and differences. This approach bridged dividing lines by enabling shared interests to be revealed, and opening the opportunity for the transformation of conflict.²¹ It was relevant in the Tanzanian context to address inter-group tensions.

¹⁷ Twaweza SwZ round 1, October 2015.

¹⁸ "Baseline Evaluation of *Katika Usalama Tunategemeana and Pamoja! Strengthening Community Resilience in Tanzania*", Anthony Sarota, Search for Common Ground, April 2017 (accessed on 28 January 2019).

¹⁹ Personal communication with author, focus group discussion, December 2018, Arusha.

²⁰ "African Socialism in Nkrumah and Nyerere", Deji Adesoye, *Philosophy Pathways* (Issue 216; 2017) (accessed on 28 January 2019).

²¹ "Common Ground Approach Training Manual", Search for Common Ground.

“The activities were well received and appreciated by each group. For instance, while engaging with religious leaders and introducing the CGA, we thought it would not be of interest to them. However, it was well received and they requested more training of that kind. Also, we received a number of testimonies from each group on how they have been using this approach to resolve conflict in their respective areas.”²²

The key quote above is reflective of the perspective expressed by Search staff and activity participants, who were interviewed during the evaluation. All religious leaders engaged by Search suggested that activities were relevant to them especially on the importance of living together as a community while understanding and respecting each others’ beliefs.

4.1.3. Relevance of the activities to the Tanzanian context

In light of the country context, where violent extremism is often regarded as a sensitive topic, Search had to frame its initiatives as contributing to community peacebuilding—this in order to get government buy-in. Under the *Pamoja* project in particular, activities were changed from the original design to steer away from violent extremism. The evaluation found that while this decision appeared justified, it had negative effects on the projects’ relevance.

Activities under *Katika* have, to a large extent, remained relevant to the context because Search was able to work more openly on violent extremism. In Tanga a number of respondents, youth and law enforcement officials in particular, mentioned being trained and engaged on conflict issues and also on how to counter violent extremism in their communities. The interview with Search’s partner in that location also suggested that trainings were given to at-risk youth and other community members such as *boda boda* drivers, which had been identified in the baseline. Likewise, the activities went further where dialogues between the *boda boda* drivers and law enforcement officials were conducted to build trust and discuss issues, including violent extremism, facing their communities.

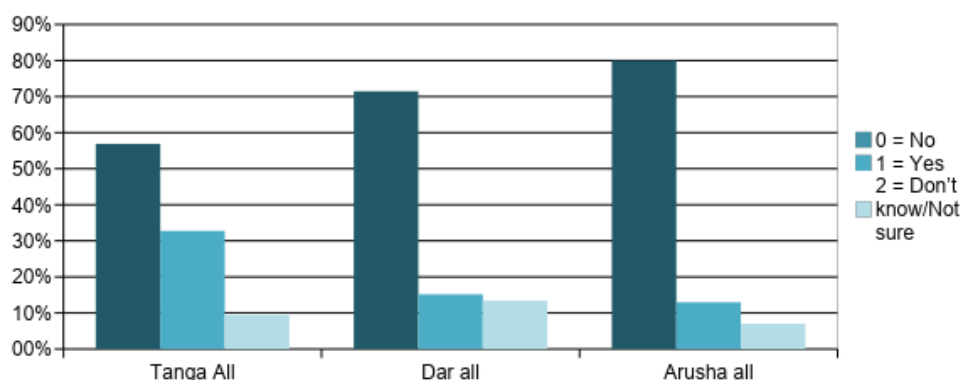
“Each group was given specific training according to their needs. Youth were trained on radicalization and violent extremism issues (what are the signs, and how to counter these issues). We trained police on how to engage with youth, to establish trustworthy relationships. Marginalized women were also engaged with training and opportunities. In general, they were all equipped with Search’s approach on countering violence.”²³

In Arusha, Dar es Salaam and Zanzibar (the locations under *Pamoja*), the divergence from the original design, due to the choice not to discuss violent extremism openly, had a negative impact that can also be seen in the qualitative data. These show a huge difference between Tanga and other intervention areas. As Table 1 below shows, 80% and 71% of all endline respondents in Arusha and Dar es Salaam suggested that community members (including young men and women) do not have enough training opportunities to deal with issues of violent extremism, compared to 57% of respondents in Tanga. This lends strength to the finding that the nature and content of activities under the two projects were different, in terms of relevance, as was their scope (in terms of number of events and participants, which were higher in Tanga than in other locations). In all communities, the evaluation points to how more needs to be done in future programming to make sure a majority of community members are reached and provided with these opportunities.

²² Personal communication with author, interview, November 2018, Dar es Salaam.

²³ Personal communication with author, interview, December 2018, Tanga.

Table 1: Answers to the question, “Do you think community members (including young men and women) in your community have enough training opportunities to deal with issues of violent extremism and radicalization?”



Content-wide, there is a clear distinction between Search’s approach to countering or transforming violent extremism²⁴ and its approach in addressing conflict in general. The former relies on four pillars (prevention, disengagement, enabling effective state responses and amplifying credible and constructive narratives²⁵) while the latter focuses on the CGA. In this regard, the evaluation found that the projects (in particular *Pamoja*) deviated from their initial design and what was identified in the baseline, in that SFCG chose to target those youth that the baseline study did not previously identify as youth at risk.

More specifically, the social and educational background of participants in dialogue sessions or training largely differed from those groups previously identified as being at risk of being manipulated and recruited by violent extremism groups. As a consequence, the link between the activities and the outcome was weakened because Search adopted more of a traditional peacebuilding approach (the CGA), rather than the approach specific to countering or transforming violent extremism. While a traditional peacebuilding approach maintained some relevance, this departure from the original project design had a cost. Turning to the latter made activities less specific to the needs of the target groups in relation to the risk of violent extremism. It also changed the assumed logic of the intervention, as described in the theory of change, where empowerment of vulnerable individuals was a key component. This is a very significant flaw, which has clearly limited the relevance of *Pamoja* in particular, and thus its resonance and impact. In hindsight, and for the future, Search should have focused on finding a better tone or process for addressing violent extremism to get government buy-in while sticking to the original design of the projects, as analysis from the baseline suggested.

4.2. Effectiveness

Under this criterion the evaluation looked at how project objectives were pursued and to what extent intended outcomes were achieved. The analysis is presented by project.

4.2.1. Effectiveness under *Pamoja*

Under this project, two objectives and four outcomes were identified in the original proposal. Activities and strategies employed during the implementation phase proved to be somewhat effective for the project to achieve its intended outcomes. The findings related to effectiveness are presented under each of the two objectives.

²⁴ <https://www.sfcg.org/transforming-violent-extremism-peacebuilders-guide/> (accessed on 07 February 2019)

²⁵ “Written Testimony”, Search for Common Ground Tanzania, November 2016 (accessed on 28 January 2019).

Findings related to Objective 1 (To promote participation and inclusion of populations vulnerable to extremism, especially young men and women)

Despite challenges observed by the evaluation whereby to some extent the activities diverged from the original design, there was evidence that project activities were effective in regards to some of the outcomes. Specifically, a majority of respondents suggested that activities such as trainings on CGA and the project's dialogue components were very effective. Under this objective, the project engaged with youth from higher learning institutions and other easily accessed youth identified as 'influencers vis-à-vis their fellow youth' and effectively provided them with skills and knowledge on Search's approach to conflict resolution. A majority of participants interviewed during the evaluation were able to give examples of how they have been analyzing and addressing conflict in their day-to-day lives by using this approach. Respondents were comfortable using the CGA slogan of 'win-win approach' in resolving conflict, as per the key quote below.

"During the training I learned that conflict is inevitable, but violence is not. So I have been using this slogan to address conflict in my community, and most of the time it works."²⁶

The dialogues were the second step after empowering youth and community leaders, allowing them to discuss issues and challenges facing their communities and to address them. Dialogues were later transformed into action by providing small grants to groups to address those issues that emerged as challenges during the initial dialogues, and proved effective. According to interviewed project participants, the initiatives were able to help resolve the misunderstandings that existed before, and how since then they have been more trustful and collaborative.

"Dialogues are not only good because two parties work together, but also because they help to build our knowledge around issues known by your adversary, and also improve the level of confidence, since we meet a number of influential people who we would not have met if not for this program."²⁷

Reflecting the effectiveness of dialogues in the communities, the quantitative data suggests that the perception related to the opportunities of community members (youth in particular) to engage with their leaders (political, religious etc.) to voice their interests and needs or concerns and jointly explore solutions to address these needs has tremendously improved compared to the baseline.

Table 2: Answers to the question, "Do youth in your community have the opportunity to engage with political leaders or religious leaders and other youth to voice their interests and needs or concerns and to jointly explore solutions to address these needs?"

²⁶ Personal communication with author, interview, November 2018, Tanga.

²⁷ Personal communication with author, interview, December 2018, Arusha.

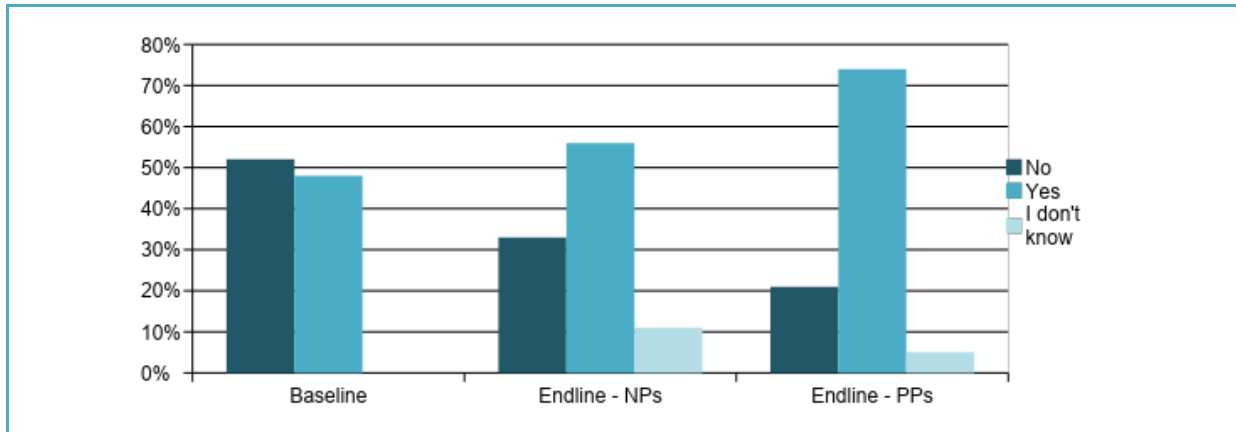


Table 2 above shows that only 52% of respondents during the baseline survey answered positively to the question about youth having an opportunity to engage with their local leaders. At endline, instead, the number increased to 74% for project participants (PPs), compared to 56% of non-project participants (NPs). This is a very positive outcome.

Interestingly, in the context of the same question, 71% of women against 59% of men suggested that there are opportunities for youth to engage. This suggests that training and dialogues could have been more effective for women compared to men. Through the interviews and focus groups, the evaluation found indeed that women have been motivated to use the CGA approach to engage in resolving conflict in their community or have passed this knowledge to their fellow community members regardless of their gender.

“Youth in my neighborhood were known for being violent. Nevertheless, after starting to engage with them and provide them with CGA, they have been well behaved and even when they get into conflict, they end up resolving them peacefully.”²⁸

Beyond these positive findings, however, the evidence suggests that higher-level outcomes were not achieved. Chiefly, elements to connect with the original agenda in addressing violent extremism were yet to be seen. Based on the original design of the project, this first objective should have been achieved by empowering individuals vulnerable to recruitment by violent extremist groups to use non-violent means to address their frustration and needs. The initial design also aimed to engage people at grassroots, both to reach impact and to support sustainability. However, overwhelming evidence collected during the evaluation indicates that the engagement under *Pamoja* was mainly with young people who were not at risk: participants were mostly students from higher learning institutions, and left out a large number of at-risk groups (youth from the street, *boda boda* drivers, etc.).

Confirming the above, different stakeholders in almost all intervention areas, including the youth from higher learning institutions who took part to trainings, suggested that the project could have been more effective in achieving its outcomes if it had engaged with communities at grassroots. This view is reflected in the key quote below, from a female respondent from a mixed focus group in Dar es Salaam.

“The program did not reach a majority of youth because of the design of the activities. It was easy for us to be reached because we are from institutions. The vulnerable youth can only be reached when the activities are brought to the street. For example, to reach the vulnerable youth in Kinondoni, the activities should have been organized in the street instead of a hotel where fewer people would be able to participate.”²⁹

²⁸ Personal communication with author, interview, November 2018, Dar es Salaam.

²⁹ Personal communication with author, focus group discussion, November 2018, Dar es Salaam.

The evaluation found that if Search activities would have been designed based on the analysis in the proposal and baseline, the effectiveness of the project under this objective would have been stronger. Conflict resolution activities could have ensured the issues related to key drivers of violent extremism were addressed, for instance.

Findings related to Objective 2 (To foster interfaith collaboration and social cohesion)

To foster interfaith collaboration and social cohesion in Tanzanian communities could only be effectively achieved by engaging with religious and community leaders. There is a perception that African communities, Tanzania included, tend to listen to their faith and traditional leaders more than anyone else. This perception was confirmed by the findings from the baseline study, where 70% of respondents suggested that they go to their faith leaders to solve interfaith disputes when they arise.³⁰ To engage with these leaders was therefore a necessary and effective way to achieve outcomes under this objective.

The trainings that Search organized for religious leaders focused on CGA and aimed to merge the religious concepts of common and equal humanity and to increase awareness, among religious leaders, on violent extremist issues. This also included the role they could play, including avoiding using teachings which justify hatred toward other non-believers and to avoid conflict and violence. After the training, Search engaged with religious leaders by building a network among them to engage and discuss different issues and how together they could co-exist. These trainings and dialogues were effective in promoting interfaith relationships and cohesion in the communities, as it was echoed by many religious leaders from both denominations.

“Since we had these dialogues, our relationship with churches has improved tremendously. Now we are inviting one another to activities to help the community as a whole. In July, for instance, we raised funds to check breast cancer for women. We invited our Christian counterparts to participate, which they did. Yesterday we received an invitation from the Lutheran Church to participate in a coming marathon, and surely we will participate.”³¹

Pamoja also had a media component related to this objective. To begin with, Search trained a number of journalists in order to create awareness in reporting of violent extremism and other religious conflicts. In Tanzania, any religious tension and violent extremist activities is a sensitive issue. As such, training journalists on reporting such activities was not only effective to achieve the outcomes, but also necessary since violent extremism is a new topic and many journalists are unaware on how to report it. A media representative in Tanga confirmed this, saying that the training was effective and impacted the way he reports news, especially when related to conflict. Feedback such as this shows that the training allowed journalists to become more professional and able to use diversity of perspectives and solution-oriented approaches while considering conflict issues in reporting news. Training was effective since it provided an opportunity for journalists to start to focus and investigate more in-depth on issues relating to conflict instead of reporting them as they hear.

“I did a small research project in Mkinga around the Horohoro border. Youth around the border are known for having continuous misunderstanding with the authorities. Since I knew some youth who have been participating in the program were from there, I wanted to find out the change of their attitudes after receiving training. Reported conflict declined, and there were fewer complaints from both sides. So I concluded that youth behavior changed.”³²

³⁰ [Baseline Evaluation of Katika Usalama Tunategemeana and Pamoja! Strengthening Community Resilience in Tanzania](#), Anthony Sarota, Search for Common Ground, April 2017 (accessed on 28 January 2019).

³¹ Personal communication with author, focus group discussion, December 2018, Arusha.

³² Personal communication with author, interview, December 2018, Tanga.

Search then ran a multi-media campaign that included radio programming and efforts on social media. The radio program was a talk show entitled *Amani Kitaani* (“Peace in the Street” in Swahili) and was mainly aired by the Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation (TBC), the national public radio network. The program included 12 episodes and was designed to include dialogues and discussion where experts talked about issues around topics related to peaceful religious coexistence. During the session, listeners also had a chance to call in and ask questions to the panel or people who were hosting the episode.

The second aspect of the media campaign focused on the creation of a Whatsapp group as a way to facilitate information sharing and to foster collaboration and cohesion among community members. The evaluation found that all project participants used the social media campaign to communicate and share updates on issues related to conflict and peace from their communities. In this sense, the use of Whatsapp appears somewhat effective. For instance, all participants in Arusha (youth, community and religious leaders) have suggested that they have engaged and continue to openly discuss issues around conflict with one another through social media. Many respondents’ statements reflect that of the young female in the example below.

“After engaging with a different member of the community (religious leaders, government officials, and other fellows) in dialogues, now I am comfortable to speak with leaders. I am Christian, but now I can have conversations with Muslim leaders comfortably. We are in the Whatsapp group together and freely chat with one another.”³³

While the evaluation found that the trainings for journalist and the creation of the Whatsapp group, particularly in Arusha, was effective in fostering interfaith collaboration and social cohesion, little evidence has been found in relation to the effectiveness of the *Amani Kitaani* radio program. Arguably this lack of evidence is due to Search’s initial design of the program, including the choice of broadcasting media and presentation format. As the *Amani Kitaani* radio program targeted youth, using a youth-focused radio or TV channel, such as East African radio or EATV, which has more coverage than TBC, would have been more effective. Similarly, a more youth-friendly format could have made it more attractive for this demographic group, as one media representative rightfully pointed out.

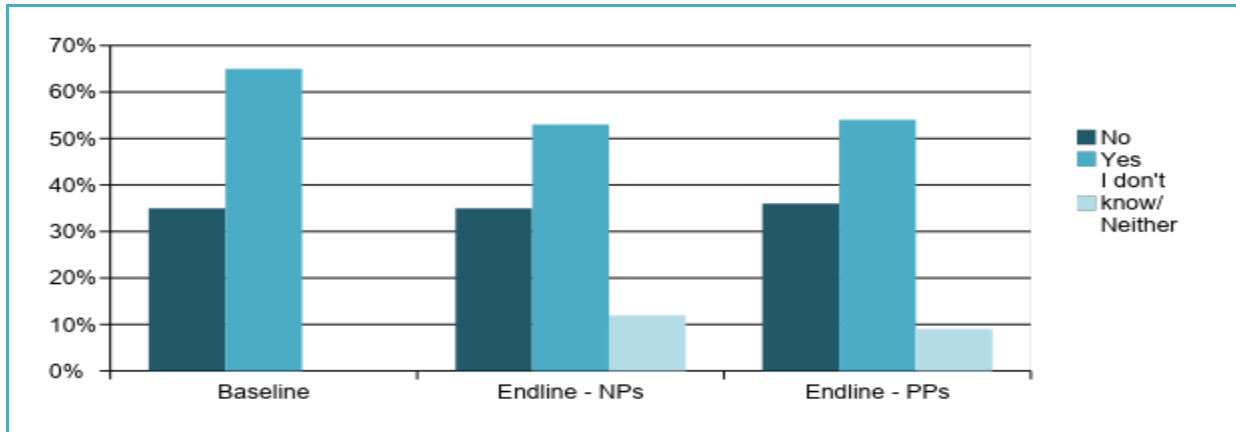
“The weakness is that youth in Zanzibar did not really listen to Amani Kitaani. The reasons behind this are that there was not enough publicity or advertisement for the program, and that youth prefer to listen to music if they tune in. Or they listen to radio programs that have news content but also music in between. A whole radio program where people talk is not appealing to them.”³⁴

Likewise, this lack of effectiveness of the radio program can also be seen in the overall findings from quantitative data regarding the role of media in countering violent extremism, where the survey community showed there was declining trust toward media in Tanzania. For instance, the table below shows that while 65% of baseline respondents suggested media was an effective tool in reporting violent extremism and radicalization, only 53% of project participants (PPs) and 54% of non-project participants (PPs) answered the same at the endline. The decline of confidence points to a worsening of the situation, perhaps linked to the current media situation in Tanzania, where there is a huge bias among media, which is polarizing communities. .

Table 3: Answers to the question, “Do you think media in your community are properly reporting radicalization and violent extremism?”

³³ Personal communication with author, interview, November 2018, Dar es Salaam.

³⁴ Personal communication with author, interview, December 2018, Zanzibar.



Overall, the evaluation has identified a weakness in how Search engaged traditional media, which related to its partnership approach, the format chosen and also the scope of dissemination. Likewise, despite the fact that social media has been well received by the participants as a tool to dialogue, its effectiveness was also limited to superficial information sharing. In the future, Search should better capitalize on its expertise in using both traditional and social media to make sure that relevant activities are tailored to specific outcomes and audiences. For instance, the Battle for Humanity (B4H) app should have been restructured to fit the Tanzanian context to accommodate users other than those of Apple products, which are not common. This would have enabled more effective conveying of messages. During the evaluation, those who used B4H appreciated the app but suggested a few changes, including the technical aspect, and anonymity for the users to avoid any potential negative unintended outcome.

4.2.2. Effectiveness under *Katika Usalama Tunategemeana*

The *Katika* project in Tanga had three objectives and five outcomes. Activities and strategies employed during the implementation phases proved to be effective for the project to achieve its intended outcomes. Same as before, the findings related to effectiveness are presented under each of the three objectives.

Finding related to Objectives 1 and 2 (To increase the space for engagement of through capacity building and engaging in dialogues around issues of violent extremism)

Bordering neighboring coastal Kenya, Tanga is one of the strategic communities in Tanzania in relation to violent extremism. However, findings from the baseline study suggested that the level of engagement around this issue was low for community members, and youth in particular. To achieve these two objectives, Search and its local partner NAF started with a mapping of key influencers and local credible voices from different groups who had in-depth knowledge in conflict dynamics of their community to be used to influence their fellow community members. After this stage, Search directly engaged with these influencers and community members through the dialogues.

This approach actually diverged from the initial design, where the plan was to use dialogues to identify push and pull factors for violent extremist activities in communities across Tanga. Instead, the dialogues were implemented as an effort to understand the nature of conflict in the communities. Search also engaged with government authorities and conducted dialogues on the same issues with them as they did with the community and influencers. These activities set the ground rules and expectations and acted as preparatory dialogues for the joint dialogues. These were critical for the success of later activities: after being able to identify issues arising from both groups separately, and understanding differences and identifying commonality, Search was in fact able to conduct dialogue jointly with government officials and community members. These dialogues have been reported by many participants (including youth, and at-risk groups) as important to address challenges facing

them, and also to learn issues that were crucial to their security. Dialogues were also viewed as effective by at-risk groups such as *boda boda* drivers, as it gave them an important platform that made them feel as a part of their community and allowed them to air their frustrations and concerns.

“The project was addressing these issues of inclusion and cooperation among community members. I remember we boda boda drivers had to meet police and discuss the challenges facing our relationship. In the meeting, police were trying to sit by themselves, but facilitators asked police to come and mix themselves among us. This was enough to make us feel a part of the discussion and able to talk.”³⁵

Ultimately, the decision to have single-stakeholder meetings before holding multi-stakeholder ones paid off in terms of effectiveness. The dialogues created a space for communities to discuss issues related to security, including violent extremism. The comments during an interview with the police commander of Tanga district highlight how positive this was.

“Violent extremism is a threat to youth, since among the cause of this is unemployment, and we all know that a majority of youth are unemployed. These projects, however, were able to provide platforms for youth to engage and learn issues around violent extremism and peacebuilding, hence, able to counter them. This has improved the security level in our district and elsewhere in Tanga.”³⁶

The effectiveness and importance of dialogues also reached beyond project participants. A majority of youth in Tanga are, in fact, now aware of the role of dialogues in building trust, which is a key factor in building a resilient community toward violent extremism issues and the drivers behind it; and when the evaluation had a focus group meeting with youth who had never participated in the project, one participant suggested the following:

“Although I have never been part of dialogues and I hear that in the dialogues youth are always ignored, I think dialogues are important because people are talking to address their differences and come up with a common solution as a community... this has been important in improving the relationship among different groups in our community and will enable us to address security challenges as a team.”³⁷

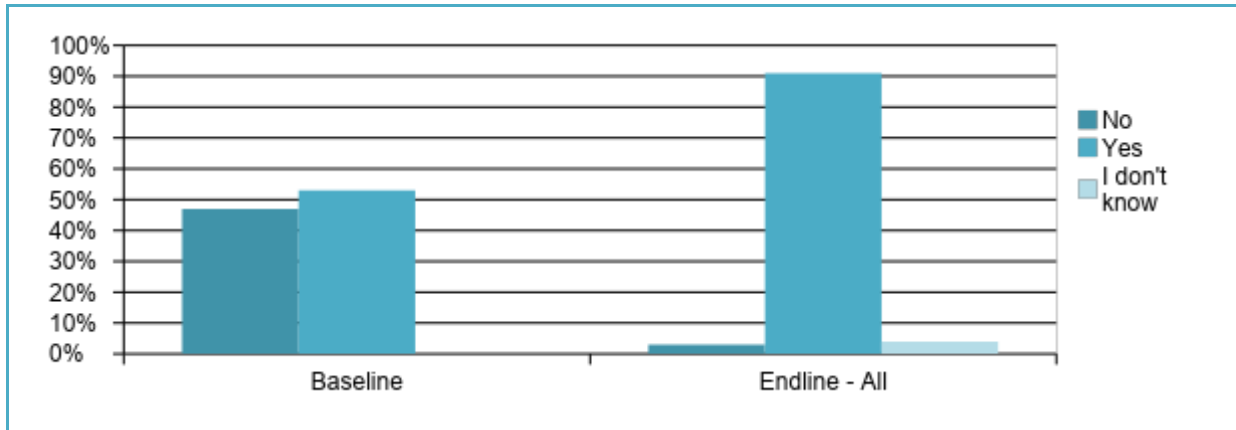
The positive effects on the general population of Tanga can also be seen in the quantitative data. As the table below indicates, only 53% of baseline respondents there had suggested that they felt free to discuss violent extremism issues. At endline, however, that number jumped to 91% of respondents.

Table 4: Answers to the question, “Do you feel comfortable or think you would feel comfortable to discuss violent extremism related issues during community dialogues?” (Tanga respondents only)

³⁵ Personal communication with author, focus group discussion, December 2018, Tanga.

³⁶ Personal communication with author, focus group discussion, December 2018, Tanga.

³⁷ Personal communication with author, focus group discussion, November 2018, Tanga.



Findings related to Objective 3 (To promote community-owned and community-led initiatives to prevent violent extremism)

As a result of the dialogues, Search initiated a community-led approach to address violent extremism. To reach that outcome, Search provided small grants and conducted a youth-led participatory media campaign.

Small grants were designed to be able to support local initiatives proposed by community members and were provided to the winning groups who were selected based on their potential to support effective initiatives to prevent violence and strengthen credible voices against violent extremism in Tanga. Interviewed grantees suggested indeed that grants were effective in strengthening credible voices and cooperation between authorities and communities, which was seen as crucial for peacebuilding. Through the grants, chosen groups were able to host dialogues between law enforcement officials, including from the police and immigration office, and to address the issues of violent extremism in Tanga. For instance, immigration officials were involved in raising awareness in communities, as several recent terrorist attacks in Tanga had been championed by foreigners who crossed into Tanzania illegally. Likewise, those foreigners were believed to be using *boda boda* as their means of transportation while preparing for their acts, and this in turn justified the organization of dialogues between *boda boda* drivers and law enforcement officials, which helped to build trust between them. Speaking with a grantee who hosted the dialogues between police and *boda boda* drivers, he mentioned the following:

“Our initiative involved hosting dialogues between police and boda boda drivers. In these dialogues drivers were able to explain their concerns directly to police and police were able to air theirs too. So during the dialogues we worked together toward common ground. Since then the relationship between boda boda and police has been strengthened.”³⁸

Overall, the positive findings reported above are, however, shadowed by a significant shortcoming: grants were unable to operate in a sustainable manner and the community did not feel that they owned the initiatives. Recipients of the grants felt that rather than being a grantee, they were a local coordinator helping Search to organize events, which the organization’s staff would come and control. They did not feel that they owned the events since they did not receive the grants as cash; instead, Search paid for everything directly. The evaluation also found that Search’s approach was focused on short-term impact, while grants should have been used as long-term initiatives. Grants did not have any elements of sustainability, whereas they could have been given so the recipient could use that part of the grant to host activities, and part of the grant should be used as an investment. After the investment started to get a profit, the recipient could continue to use part of the profit to host events to support the community in countering violent extremism. This business-oriented

³⁸ Personal communication with author, focus group discussion, November 2018, Tanga.

type of grant could not only be effective for sustainability, but would also make the community feel ownership over the initiatives.

“The grants approach was not that effective. Grants should have been given in terms of money and not as it was done by Search. Search did not give us grants, rather they asked us to organize events, which address peacebuilding and they came to host the event. We did not receive any grants, Search paid everything directly. We were just used to organize the events.”³⁹

Lastly, Search and NAF also initiated a youth-led participatory media campaign by engaging with at-risk youth men and women (in and out of schools) with the aim of promoting inclusion and engagement. The activities included youth participating in creating short videos and art projects, which were then shared among youth centers and schools. Through this activity, Search and partners received a total of 39 entries, including 9 short videos, 11 songs and poems, 2 pieces of art, and 17 paintings and drawings portraying themes related to the initiative. Search and NAF then organized a regional panel that involved a number of selected youth from all three districts in Tanga to discuss issues related to peacebuilding from a youth perspective in front of authorities. Championed by youth themselves as the moderators and contributors, the event provided a platform for youth to discuss issues including how technology can play a role to allow young people to engage one another in sharing positive narratives on peacebuilding issues and other important issues that arise in their communities. Youth also had an opportunity to air the concerns and challenges they faced as a part of the community.

4.2.3. Effectiveness and Quality of Monitoring Tools

Because of the nature of the projects, Search had to use specific tools for each. While pre and post test training questionnaires were central in monitoring the behavior change under *Pamoja*, in *Katika* evaluation forms were used for respondents to fill in their perceptions regarding dialogues and give testimonies after the end of each dialogue session.

Search also intended to make use of a range of additional monitoring tools, including regular field visits, controlling the traffic of Search Tanzania’s website to see the subscribers and followers, their interaction and comments, re-Tweets, likes and shares, etc. Search also intended to monitor the projects by looking at the buy-in and the active involvement of the communities in the project area over the course of the projects’ implementation. The evaluation, however, did not find evidence of the extent to which these activities took place.

The monitoring tools that were used informed Search and its partners on the progress of the activities during implementation. For instance, the tools were able to provide Search with information on the buy-in from communities, religious leaders, and authorities on Search’s approach. Likewise, where field visits took place, they allowed Search to develop reports on activities, some of which advanced into quarterly reports that the organization submitted to the donor agency. Beyond this, however, these activities did not contribute to learning, nor, it seems, was monitoring a specific priority during implementation. Monitoring tools focused almost exclusively on activities and outputs, not outcomes, and a mid-term review or evaluation was not conducted. And even at output level, there are critical gaps in the data made available for the evaluation, including in relation to the reach and resonance of media outputs (the radio program, Whatsapp group and B4H phone app). The baseline study, which included an assessment of the situation and the target group needs in all locations, was a good output and could have represented a strong basis for subsequent learning activities, but it is not clear whether and how it was shared among partners and stakeholders, and its recommendations were not always followed.

Overall, the main challenges appear to be in relation to the nature of the tools, which were

³⁹ Personal communication with author, focus group discussion, November 2018, Tanga.

not adapted to the specific nature of the two projects and did not have any linkages with the theory of change. The tools were, in other words, not developed in function of the evidence that would have been useful to have in order to test the causal mechanism behind the theory of change. And the data collected was not managed efficiently, including in terms of the engagement of project partners and sub-grants recipients. Monitoring, evaluation and learning should be an aspect for Search to review carefully.

4.3. Impact

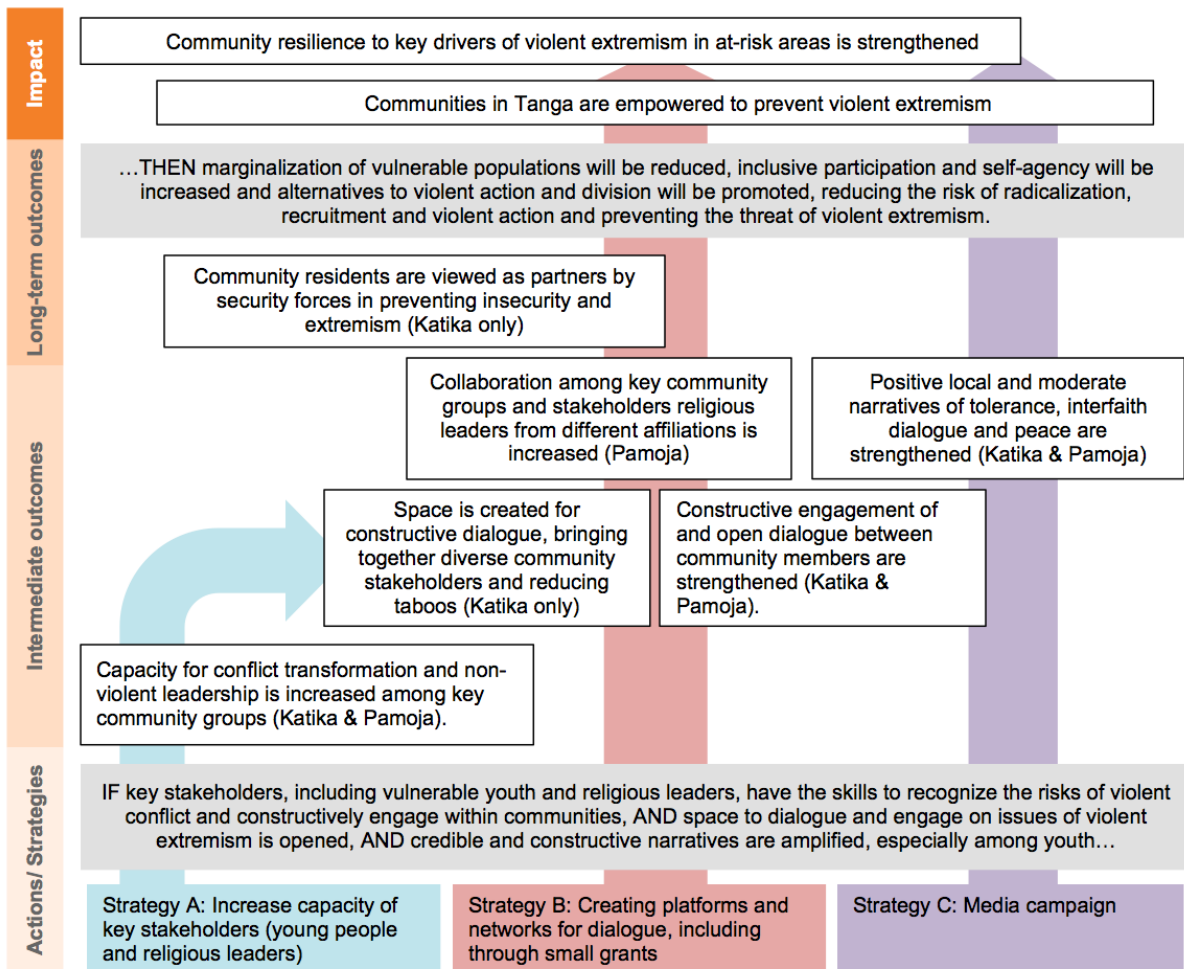
As a reminder, the goal of the *Pamoja* project was to strengthen community resilience to key drivers of violent extremism in at-risk areas; the goal of the *Katika* project was to empower communities to prevent violent extremism in Tanga. The analysis of impact is based first on the projects' theories of change, which is presented and discussed first. Secondly, the impact was measured based on community views safety, on the drivers of violent extremism, and whether members have become resilient to violent extremism after the end of the two projects. Given the similar nature of the two goals, findings are then presented by target location rather than by project.

4.3.1. Review of the Theory of Change

Both the *Pamoja* and *Katika* projects were designed on essentially the same theory of change, which was defined as follows:

If (i) key stakeholders, including vulnerable youth and religious leaders, have the skills to recognize the risks of violent conflict and constructively engage within communities, and (ii) space to dialogue and engage on issues of violent extremism is opened, and (iii) credible and constructive narratives are amplified, especially among youth, then marginalization of vulnerable populations will be reduced, inclusive participation and self-agency will be increased and alternatives to violent action and division will be promoted, reducing the risk of radicalization, recruitment and violent action and preventing the threat of violent extremism.

In order to understand whether the theory is valid—whether, in other words, change happened through the mechanisms described in it—the theory has to be described in more detail. Using the information collected from the evaluation, and a more nuanced framework for defining the individual mechanisms within a theory of change (and the relations between them), a new and expanded theory was developed, which is presented below.



What the diagram above makes clear is that, while the outcomes pursued under the two projects were varied, both shared three main strategies, each tied to a specific objective: the first strategy related to capacity building (mainly of young people and religious leaders); the second focused on creating platforms for dialogue between different stakeholders, and also establishing a network of religious leaders; the third and final strategy focused on a media campaign, to change the narrative around violent conflict.

Overall, the evidence collected during the evaluation confirms the effectiveness of each strategy varied. For example, the project successfully strengthened the capacity of participants; similarly, all stakeholders saw the dialogues (and related social events) as useful and, in the case of Tanga, also effective at building trust between groups like *boda boda* drivers and police officers. This evidence validates certain elements of the theory of change, which Search and its partners should thus make sure to apply to all similar initiatives in the future.

The evidence, however, also highlights some important weaknesses in the design of the theory of change, mostly seen in the achievement of long-term outcomes. The media campaign, particularly the radio program, appears to not have had significant success, although key data is also missing. As already discussed, issues were raised about the format and the decision to broadcast through TBC. And while it remains impossible to arrive at a complete judgment without data on reach, it appears the efforts put into the media campaign were not sufficient to achieve even the medium-term outcome: there is, in other words, no evidence of whether positive narratives were strengthened thanks to the projects.

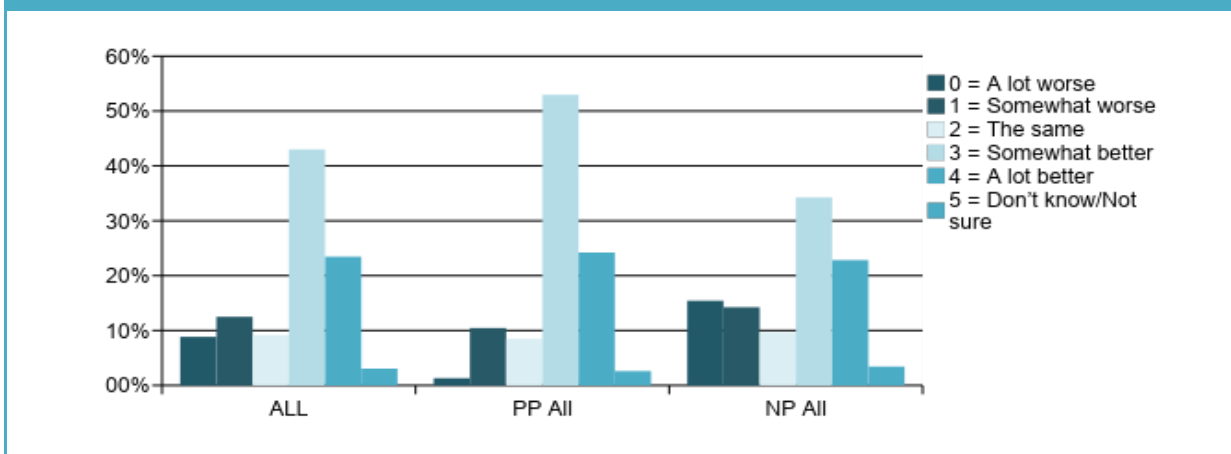
Most importantly, the evaluation did not find any specific evidence of impact, as will be discussed below. And while in the case of *Katika* this is likely due to the need for more time,

for other locations there appears to be a missing link between the strategies employed and *Pamoja*'s goal: the choice of participants in other words, ended up strengthening the capacities of individuals who did not play an important role in terms of violent extremism, while in Arusha, Dar es Salaam and Zanzibar, there is no indication that government officials were sufficiently involved. For *Pamoja*, the outcome chain described in the theory of change cannot be validated, at least not with the evidence available.

4.3.2. Impact by location

The overview of findings suggests that it is not clear whether the two projects achieved their goals. Specific and clear evidence of impact in relation to the projects' original design was not found, while data suggests that achievement of long-term outcomes depended on several factors: target areas, type of activities, topics discussed, and the conducive environment to operate. Indeed, Tanzania (unlike Kenya) has no strategy or policy to address violent extremism, which made it difficult for Search to get government buy-in. As a result, the projects changed their original design which was to address violent extremism in the target areas, and in the case of *Pamoja* decided to focus more on CGA, which to a great deal contributed to this lack of clear evidence of impact. However, the evaluation also noted some positive changes in some of the target areas, which projects might have contributed to.

Table 5: Answers to the question, "How would you describe security in your community compared to two years ago?"



In terms of community-level perceptions of safety, the table above shows a clearly positive trend. Among all endline respondents, 66% answered that they see security as better compared to two years ago. The data does not vary significantly by location or by gender. There are, however, some differences in the results between project participants (PPs) and non-participants (NPs), with more positive views among the former (77% vs. 67%) and more negative views among the latter (11% vs. 29%).

Qualitative data from interviews and focus groups establish also support the improvement noted by survey results: respondents declare that the projects have been able to open a safe space, where issues like interfaith dialogue, or tensions between police and youth could be tackled in a collaborative manner, rather than in a confrontational way, as was the case before. Religious leaders especially, both Muslim and Christians, highlighted a positive change in behavior: where before the project fear and mistrust used to dominate the narrative around violence, they now are learning to listen and respect each other's religion. Similarly, the two projects appear to have had a role in contributing to improved dialogue between Muslims and Christians in all intervention areas. The qualitative data again confirms this, showing that there is a change in knowledge, attitudes and behaviors among religious leaders, whereas before the interventions, relationships based on faith were filled with mistrust and prejudices. Through trainings in CGA and dialogue activities, Search

successfully created a space for better mutual understanding. And although other dialogue efforts were already present, stemming from own initiatives from religious leaders, for example in Zanzibar or in Tanga, evidence from the evaluation shows that Search made a contribution to interfaith dialogue. According to several interviewed participants, religious leaders who participated in trainings and dialogues felt more confident that they had a role in resolving faith-based community conflicts, thanks to the skills that they gained.

These positive findings do not yet amount to impact, however, and the evaluation could not determine the contribution of the projects to goal-level changes: it is not clear, in other words, whether these changes have happened as a result of project activities, as the evidence assembled is not specific enough to Search's efforts. This can best be seen by looking separately at the evidence of impact for Tanga, where it is stronger, and that for all other locations, where it is weaker or lacking.

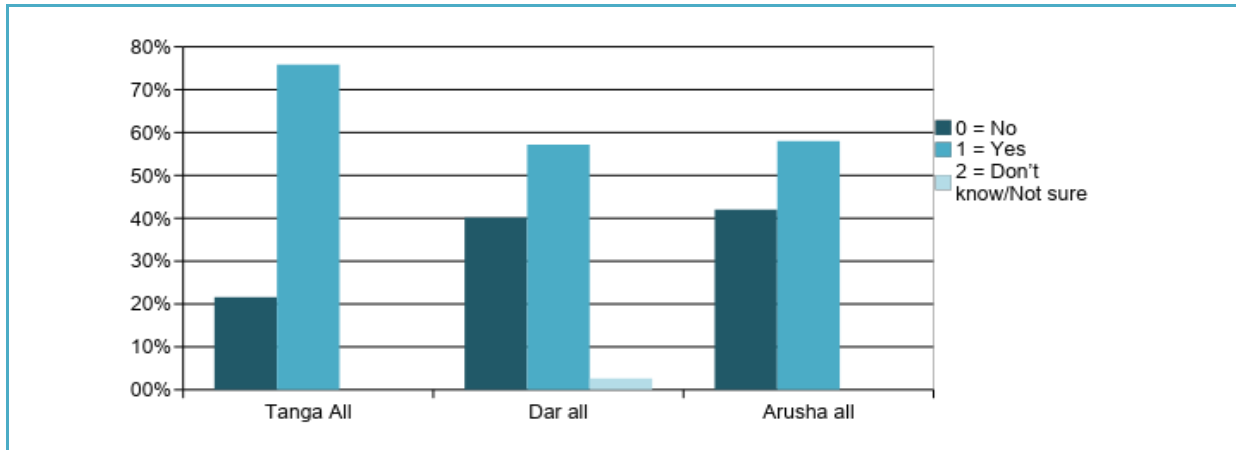
In Tanga, the claim for impact is indeed stronger. Interview and focus groups participants there suggested that Search's projects, in particular *Katika*, was able to provide a platform to bring people together; that in the dialogues adversaries were able to address their differences and reach a common ground; and that this in turn helped to increase social cohesion and improve the sense of belonging among community members in Tanga. Importantly, this change was not only praised by those who participated in the projects, but also the community members who were never engaged in them. Community-police relationships were also strengthened as a result of the activities under the *Katika*. There was, in fact, a gap between police and *boda boda* drivers, which was mainly caused by police arresting or asking for bribes from them. There was also a gap between religious leaders and police, which was mainly due to the arrests made by police of suspected extremists, a majority of whom were Muslim. Through strategic joint dialogues between these two groups and the police, all were able to better relate with each other. Some mentioned that these dialogues positively impacted how the communities viewed security and improved collaboration with law enforcement.

*"We have been hosting a community dialogue between us and religious leaders and youth, including boda boda drivers. These dialogues have improved our relationship. Now in each House of God, there is a security committee responsible for reporting suspicious activity to us. Likewise, the boda boda drivers have been involved in community policing and are tipping us off on any suspicious activities or passengers"*⁴⁰

The agreement on this trend among community leaders and government officials is further supported by quantitative data. As the table below indicates, at endline 76% of respondents in Tanga compared to 58% and 57% in Dar es Salaam and Arusha respectively said that they attended meetings of interfaith groups or community leaders to discuss how their community can stop radicalization or violent extremism.

Table 6: Answers to the question, "Have you ever attended a meeting of interfaith groups or community leaders to discuss how your community can stop radicalization or violent extremism?"

⁴⁰ Personal communication with author, interview, December 2018, Tanga.



These findings suggest that the combination of the two projects might have resulted in impact in Tanga. The evidence is still unclear, however, as more time is likely necessary to see how trust grows between stakeholder groups and whether resilience is actually increased. A number of other initiatives have been implemented in this location, by other CSOs, to counter violent extremism, making it difficult to separate Search's efforts from those others. Certainly, it appears that the implementation of two projects, rather than one, and Search's partnership with a strong local partner, which was already established at the grassroots level and trusted by communities in Tanga specifically, likely made community members feel comfortable to participate in dialogues.

In Arusha, Dar es Salaam and Zanzibar, the evidence of impact is instead weak or lacking. In general, where the evaluation found relevant information, this has remained superficial and inconclusive. In Arusha, for example, interviewed participants said that trainings and dialogue sessions provided them with new skills that they applied in their everyday lives, and expressed their satisfaction with the project, noting positive changes in the security situation as a result of the decline in political, land-related and religious conflicts. In Zanzibar, project participants interviewed during the evaluation said that, thanks to Search, they discussed openly issues of interreligious dialogue. At the same time, they also recognized that Search actually built on something that was already happening in a spontaneous manner among them. Data suggests also a nuance, when it comes to addressing interreligious dialogue. Christian religious leaders in Zanzibar tend to voice discrimination against them in the past, and a general feeling of mistrust against them by Muslim population. On the other hand, the Muslim community seems to homogeneously agree that the episodes of violence that spread across the island in 2015 are forgotten and forgiven, and that everyone learned from past mistakes.

All of this represents evidence of outcomes, however, not impact. Furthermore, the evidence collected points to very little to no progress made even in discussions around violent extremism in Arusha, Dar es Salaam and Zanzibar, where only rarely did respondents of interviews and focus groups specifically mention issues of violent extremism. In Dar, interviewed participants referred to conflicts such as gender-based violence, conflicts in marriages, or conflict between youth and police forces. Youth especially avoided the subject, while governmental authorities denied that violent extremism was in fact an issue, when explicitly prompted.

Stemming from the analysis, it is difficult to say that the broader communities have been impacted by the projects. This points to a problem with scale and targeting: that the people reached by the two projects were not enough and, with the exception of Tanga, maybe not the right ones. This seems to be supported by the opinion, expressed by several interviewees, that radio programs had only a limited influence over its listenership. Finally, data from interviews and focus groups suggest that it is too early in time at this point to say that communities feel safer than before. There is a kind of consensus among interviewees

and focus group participants in declaring that, although the projects did change some behavior, any impact would only be seen with the national elections scheduled for 2020. People recall, in fact, the violence and the tense situation that the 2015 elections spurred, and believe that if Search continued with its conflict resolution programming, the communities would largely benefit from it during a time in which collaborative problem solving would be much needed.

4.3.3. Conflict Sensitivity

Overall, the project did not have any positive or negative unintended consequences. From a conflict sensitivity standpoint, data suggest that the project was designed and implemented taking into account the peculiarities of the contexts of the different areas. The slight delays that occurred at the beginning of their implementation might better inform the fact that Search field staff spent some time ensuring that the projects would run smoothly and, to the extent possible, that they did not put participants and stakeholders in risky or dangerous situations. To this aim, project staff spent the first months of the projects to meet participants and stakeholders, to create space for dialogue. This process was pivotal to create trust and to give time to key groups and individuals to buy into the project.

Following this first phase, project staff found themselves in front of the challenge of using a language that could in fact be harmful for the organization and its stakeholders in Tanzania. Because of the current national policies towards violent extremism, Search staff concluded that it would be best to change the language and point more in the direction of peacebuilding and conflict resolution rather than talking overtly about violent extremism with community leaders and general population. This allowed them to carry out activities avoiding harming the projects, their staff or participants.

It is worth mentioning, finally, that a pattern showed that might cause concerns and have negative consequences on Search's image and reputation, as well as its staff. Often times, it has occurred that participants to training and dialogue sessions complained about reimbursement of transport fees, and that this caused them problems with their communities. Comments related to the tardiness of promised payments were recorded in all project locations and from different sources. Reportedly, Search has delayed these payments, which caused frustration among participants to activities. These delays have the potential of putting participants in danger.

4.4. Sustainability

The two projects were sustainable in terms of the changes that they produced at the individual level. It is common opinion that direct participants to the project gained new skills, and that they are applying these skills in their everyday lives. The research has shown that Search has successfully transferred knowledge about its win-win approach to problem solving, and collaborative approaches to conflict resolution. Be it at the level of community or religious leaders, or at the grassroots level, the projects influenced the knowledge, attitudes and behaviors of their participants. Furthermore, participants are now connected through a network of "Search Ambassadors" and they maintain contact through various WhatsApp groups that were set up as part of the projects, sharing their stories. This will in turn facilitate the amplification of the CGA through the network.

In Tanga the evaluation found that the project's effects went beyond the individual level, resulting also in institutional changes. The evidence suggests, as such, that the project outcomes are likely to be more sustainable in this location compared to others. For instance, about ten CSOs in Tanga have already formed a partnership and designed a project under the name *Tanga Salama* ("Peace in Tanga" in Swahili) with the aim to continue with the efforts to address peacebuilding issues in their community. The evaluation also found that local government and authorities in Tanga have adopted community dialogues to address

community challenges in their respective areas, although the nature and effects of these efforts should be researched further.

In line with the evidence presented in the effectiveness section, it is not clear whether the radio program *Amani Kitaani* has achieved sustainability, in terms of reach, listenership or resonance. There is currently no data available from partner radios on the matter, while there is a feeling, among interview and focus groups participants, that the effect that such a radio program has on young people is limited in time, also for the inherent limits already.

Finally, several different interviewees have expressed concern over the fact that the general elections of 2020 will represent a major challenge and a test to see if Search has really been successful. Historically elections in Tanzania have in fact marred by inter-group violence. To that aim, there is a common concern that, if Search does not continue with their CGA programming, the successes achieved so far will not be able to continue and, as such, not pass the test of elections in 2020.

As Search and its partners look into the future, it is thus important to take stock of several factors that may hinder the sustainability of results. In this regard, the first aspect worth noting is how the two projects reached a limited number of participants in training activities and dialogue sessions. Even though this is understandable on the account of limited resources in a limited amount of time, there is a concern that the assumption that this knowledge will cascade over communities does not hold necessarily true.

The second factor, linked to the first, is in relation to the role and use of media. There was an assumption, in fact, that the radio program *Amani Kitaani* would amplify the message behind CGA and that this message would change attitudes and behaviors of youth in its own right (i.e. separately from other training or dialogue activities). This assumption has again not been proven by this evaluation: rather, while it is clear that *Amani Kitaani* dealt with burning topics in a conflict sensitive and context-specific manner, the choice of radio outlet and the format proved to have limits. More specifically, youth do not listen to a radio program that does not sports or music in it. In a few cases, like Zanzibar, it seems that the choice of radio outlet was less than ideal, as the radio that Search chose did not have the most listenership. These are all factors that might hinder the sustainability of results.

In conclusion, the evaluation points to the achievements of the program not being sustainable over time: even though Search has in fact managed to change the knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors of individual participants, this by itself does not necessarily imply sustainability of results. In the case of Tanga, there is some evidence of sustainability, which is more tied to the *Katika* project, but it also remains to be seen how outcomes will remain in place, especially at the systemic level, which even in this location (as in the others) was not a focus of Search's efforts. In line with this, it is unclear whether the impact of the small grantees program can be sustained over time, as the outcomes from these initiatives rely in large part to the work of local organizations, which were otherwise not supported.

5. Lessons Learned

Based on the findings discussed in the previous section, the evaluation was able to identify several lessons learned that should provide insight for Search and other development partners while designing and implementing future programming to counter violent extremism in Tanzania. These are as follows:

- Diverging from the initial design of the projects resulted in less impact in countering violent extremism in the communities intended. Initial designs of the projects were to counter violent extremism in communities; nevertheless, *Pamoja* in particular diverged and instead engaged on address conflict more generally. This created difficulty in determining the impact of the project against the intended outcomes in Dar es Salaam, Arusha, and Zanzibar.

- Successful community dialogues require engaging with each group separately to understand their concerns and build their capacity before bringing groups together. In Tanga, where the evaluation found that this happened, it not only helped to build understanding of each group's differences, but also created the sense of communality that enabled the groups to work more easily together. The evaluation was able to see the value of this approach when addressing differences between police and communities in Tanga. A sequenced approach to dialogue, from single- to multi-stakeholders, should therefore be adopted in future programming for dialogues during interventions focused on violent extremism in Tanzania.
- Working with grassroots CSOs is a necessary component of any peacebuilding intervention to achieve positive impact. For instance, by engaging with NAF in Tanga, Search was able to effectively implement the project, and the activities were more impactful compared to those in Dar, Arusha, and Zanzibar, where Search operated by engaging individual partners *ad hoc* or on their own.
- The sub-granting approach by Search was not well received by recipients, and it might have negatively impacted the sustainability of the project outcomes. Although the supported initiatives reflected community security challenges, Search played a key role in implementing activities under them. The approach made the communities feel that they were not the owners of the initiatives, and rather acted as coordinators or event planners for Search activities.
- If there is tension around the use of violent extremisms, it should not be avoided, but rather addressed in the context of a gradual process, like the one used in Tanga. Disagreement around the use of violent extremism between the government, project implementers, and other stakeholders was a major challenge. However, choosing to avoid a confrontation, as it happened in all locations except Tanga, made implementation difficult and limited Search's ability to understand best practices.
- Technology has a role in addressing violent extremism if and when the right approach and type of technology is adopted. The evaluation learned that WhatsApp was very effective in achieving project outcomes and was well accepted by the community. Traditional media had a role to play as well, if projects had engaged with the media with programs at a convenient time for the targeted group.
- Poor management of project participants during implementation could have negatively impacted the positive outcomes of the projects, and more importantly for Search as an organization. Although financial aspects of the projects are beyond the scope of the evaluation, overwhelming complaints from participants, especially regarding allowance reimbursements after participating in Search activities forced the evaluation to note this. This inconvenience could result in a decline of community trust toward Search going forward.
- A gender gap in opportunities for youth to engage with their political leaders was also noted by the evaluation in most of the target communities. This was mainly caused by a recent increase of women's engagement in social activities, which is likely because of a number of efforts by stakeholders to increase specific strategies to enable females to be more engaged. In the future, Search could use this example to continue to promote female engagement in their programming.

6. Conclusions and Recommendations

Overall, the *Pamoja* and *Katika* projects were relevant to the communities in which they were implemented, but, with the exception of Tanga, not in the specific context of violent extremism. Dialogues, trainings, and grants were to a large extent able to address challenges around conflicts in the community. However, the projects' media components were not particularly effective, nor was their impact sufficiently monitored. All said, while participants were able use the CGA approach in their day-to-day life, including to resolve

conflicts in their family, place of work and among people in their communities, the projects appear to have made little contribution to dynamics that related specifically to violent extremism in Tanzania.

Search's efforts have been complicated by the context, where the challenge in addressing violent extremism is very evident, in particular as the government has securitized the issue and made it difficult for stakeholders to discuss. Being aware of this challenge, Search had to reframe its activities from countering violent extremism to peacebuilding, and while this decision was justifiable, it had a significant negative impact on the organization's ability to achieve the outcomes under the *Pamoja* project. This said, the more positive outcomes achieved under the *Katika* project, where a different process was created that made it possible to discuss violent extremism more openly, suggests that the challenge can be overcome. With this in mind, we offer the following recommendations for improving efforts to counter violent extremism in the future.

- **Review and revise the design of the project.** The evaluation's findings show that the departure from the original design, as described in the theory of change, resulted from a knowledge gap in relation to the local dynamics. In the future, Search should ensure that local dynamics are accurately analyzed and captured in the project design at all levels, from the ToC and assumptions, to objectives, outcomes, and activities. Furthermore, in a context as sensitive as Tanzania's, it is also important that dynamics be regularly monitored during implementation, thereby informing project adjustment. To this aim, Search could endeavor to undertake a Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats (SWOT) analysis.
- **Reach the right target groups.** The two projects wanted to address preventing violent extremism by working with those groups that have been identified as the most at-risk. However, the evaluation has shown that in all targeted areas except Tanga, Search ended up working with youth who were easy to reach. On the one hand, this was understandable given the specific context of Tanzania; on the other hand, however, failing to target the at-risk youth groups affected negatively on impact and sustainability, and resulted in "preaching to the choir". The recommendation to Search is to ensure that at-risk youth are correctly identified and engaged. To achieve this in the future, Search should engage with grassroots organizations like it did with NAF in Tanga. It is clear that Search has not done this in some areas even though it was a recommendation in the baseline report.
- **Establish clear rules, procedures and policy for sub-grant initiatives,** by assessing the actual capacities of local organizations, and/or strengthening their capacity in project management. In particular, Search should: a) establish and enforce clear rules and procedures for small grants, tailored to the local context, in order to be able to identify and select the best local organization to partner with; b) strengthen the capacities of those local organizations, whether registered or community groups, in terms of project design and administrative procedures, as this will result in improved project management and effectiveness of small grants, and will avoid misunderstandings; and c) instead of Search controlling all aspects of the grants including the activities themselves, which in turn made communities feel that they did not own the initiatives, Search should delegate activities to be directly implemented by the grantees themselves to improve sense of ownership.
- **Conduct an in-depth assessment of the media landscape.** During project implementation, Search employed several media, both old and new, but the research has shown that radio was not successful in all target area, due to different type of listenership. On the other hand, new media have proven to be much more attended to. WhatsApp is widely used to exchange success stories: participants to training or dialogue activities have reported that they still maintain contact via WhatsApp, exchange success stories, and ask and provide advice on conflict resolution issues.

The recommendation to Search is then to invest resources in better understanding the ways in which it can diversify its media offer, by tailoring it to local use.

- **Address key drivers of conflict directly, ensuring safety and acceptance in the process.** The experience under *Katika* shows that it is possible to engage communities and even government representatives on violent extremism, even in a context where the issue remains sensitive. A structured process of engagement, leading to trust and safety, and eventually acceptance, is what makes the difference. In particular, where such sensitivities are identified, Search should ensure to use a sequenced dialogue approach, conducting single-stakeholder dialogues first, followed by multi-stakeholders dialogues.
- **Get more government buy-in.** Linked to the above, in the future Search should focus on extending capacity building activities on countering violent extremism to key government actors. Search should design its projects to include some activities, which will empower government actors to better understand violent extremism and be more open to discussing it accept. This could look like the training programme developed for journalists and will widen Search's platform to freely operate in the country.
- **Develop a gender plan.** The evaluation found that several outcomes were gendered: they differed, in other words, for men and women. However, very few considerations appear to have been made specific to gender dynamics in the project design and implementation. This happened in spite of growing data on the role that women and men play in violent extremism, and the specific consequences for each group. In the future, Search should be expected to have a plan to ensure that its interventions are gender sensitive.
- **Adopt a learning agenda.** Positively, both projects had theories of change and included a variety of monitoring and evaluation tools. These were not, however appropriately used, and the evaluation noted a general absence of learning events, such as workshops to discuss project progress. It is also notable how project implementation failed to integrate key findings and recommendations from the baseline. In the future, Search should adopt a more over learning agenda, tied to both project-based and organizational benchmarks, with allocated resources. These should include at least three learning events for main partners and stakeholders, and more appropriate tools to measure progress.