

“YOU HAVE TO SAY EVERYTHING IS NICE HERE”: COMPLEXITIES OF GATEKEEPING IN QUALITATIVE RESEARCH IN NORTHERN MOZAMBIQUE.

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INTRODUCTION TO STUDY











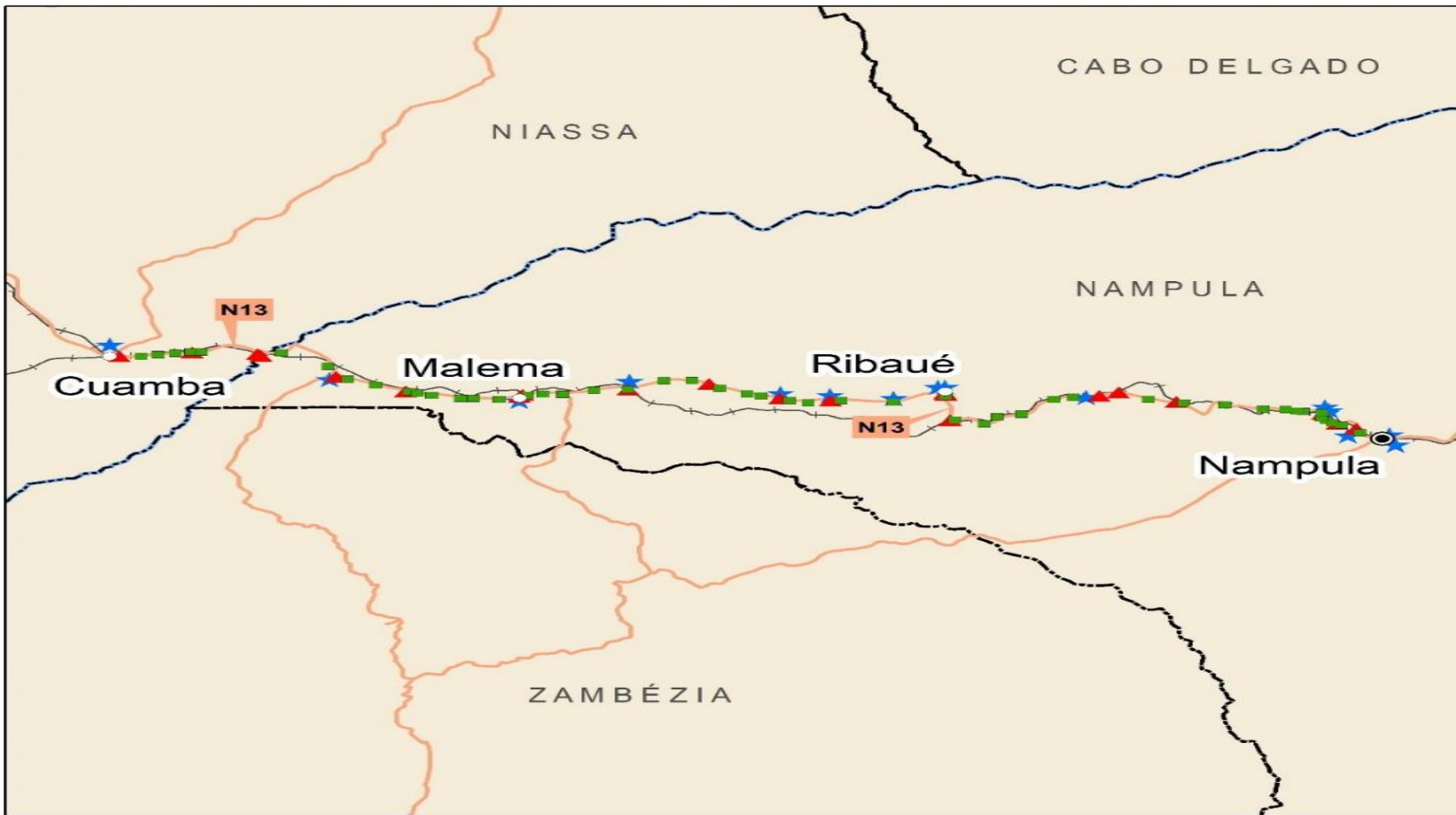


RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

- To investigate how Mozambique's development vision and agenda is interpreted and received by local communities, specifically in the rural north.
- To examine how individuals within the study area interpret and react to the changes occurring within their communities.
- To explore how local communities have experienced the impacts of development, specifically the construction of the Nacala Development Corridor and the Rehabilitation of the N13 Highway.
- To examine the degree to which affected individuals along the N13 have participated in the negotiation of local development outcomes.
- To interrogate the role of intermediaries, such as civil society organisations and traditional leadership, in shaping interactions between citizen and state along the N13.
- To explore how local development, the construction of the Nacala Development Corridor, and the N13 highway rehabilitation have affected the ways in which citizens and local agents of the state 'see' each other.
- To interrogate how citizens within the study area resist or struggle against the state through alternative forms of participation.

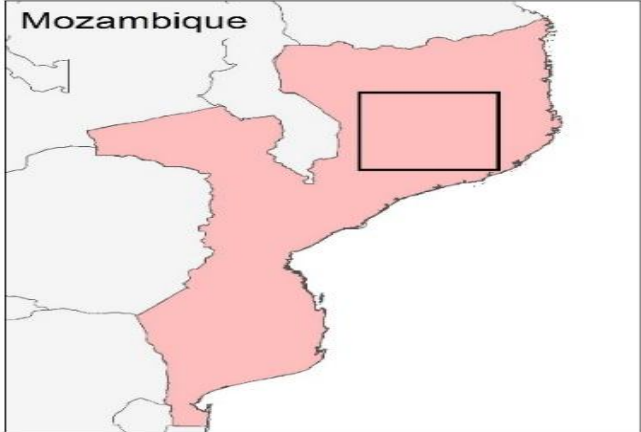
METHODOLOGY

- Qualitative and Constructivist
- Conducted over several visits between 2011-2015
- Purposive sampling regimen, determined during scoping
- 27 Semi-structured community focus groups
- 86 Semi-structured interviews
 - 50 impromptu interviews with affected citizens
 - 36 stakeholder interviews in both the north and Maputo
- Purposive sampling regimen, determined during scoping
- Thematic Analysis



Legend

- Provincial Capital
- Towns & Villages
- Interview Types**
- ▲ Focus Group Sites
- Informal Interviews
- ★ Provincial, District & Local Stakeholders
- Lurio River
- Main Roads
- +— Railway Line
- - - - Provincial Boundaries



FINDINGS

- State-citizen relations in Mozambique are complex, and are constantly being reshaped by the transformational impacts of infrastructural development.
- Mega-projects, like the NDC and the rehabilitation of the NI3, are radical programmes for change, which seek to bring development through broad strokes. However, as literature on infrastructural mega-projects suggests, these types of radical changes were often rejected by the citizenry which they are meant to serve, who instead look to development for incremental quality of life improvements.
- This was accompanied by a sense of citizen disenfranchisement from developmental decision-making processes, a feeling that was amplified within citizens in the study area by a perceived pro-south bias on behalf of the state, as well as resurgent political violence across the country.

- Largely, affected citizens have coped with the impacts of the two projects. However, as a result of these developments and their varied impacts, citizens along the NI 3 are increasingly encountering the state in their daily lives.
- The rehabilitation in particular, has dramatically increased the number and nature of interactions of local communities with state institutions, largely through local government, by forcing affected individuals to negotiate their continued existence in relation to the road.
 - primarily through interaction with local government over impacts stemming from the rehabilitation, such as the destruction of property, resettlement, dust, or employment opportunities.

- Processes of negotiation over local developmental outcomes are shallow, with the state dominating in decision-making processes.
- Moreover, in the absence of a flourishing civil society, citizens are often forced to negotiate through traditional leadership who act as intermediaries, and who are not necessarily accountable to the citizenry and are not universally accessible to citizens within the study area.
- An individual's positionality is central to their ability to meaningfully contribute to the negotiation of local developmental outcomes.

- While it can be said that the Mozambican state has also made efforts to engage its citizenry over the impacts of the Nacala Development Corridor and the rehabilitation of the NI 3, these interactions are not of an inclusive, participatory nature, rather they are distinguished by a sense of ‘Governor Papa’, a paternalistic and hierarchal notion of state power that structures citizen-state relations within the study area.

- In the absence of formal participatory mechanisms some citizens have turned to alternative forms of participation in order to have their voices heard.
- In the study area these took the form delivering complaints and the delivering of criticism, is strongly tied to a citizen's positionality, in particular their position relative to the state or traditional leadership.
- As a consequence, alternative forms of participation are unevenly available to citizens within the study area, and are largely ineffective at challenging the state's dominance in development processes.

- The majority of citizens within the study area were reluctant to resist the state through alternative forms of participation, instead demonstrating a passive sense of ‘uncritical’ citizenship.
- The study suggested that individuals willing to resist the state were generally better educated and located in urban areas, where information and state institutions are more accessible.
- However, as a consequence of the overwhelmingly rural nature of the study area, the study uncovered only a few individuals who were able to successfully challenge the state through alternative forms of participation.

METHODOLOGICAL TAKEAWAYS

- Multiplicity and variety of gatekeepers encountered during the course of the study, which needed to be navigated when:
 - When negotiating access to communities
 - When negotiating access to participants (Sampling)
 - During data collection activities

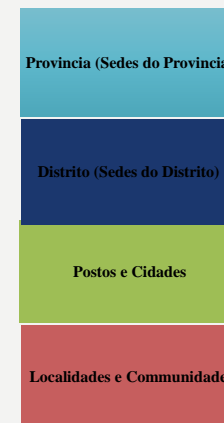
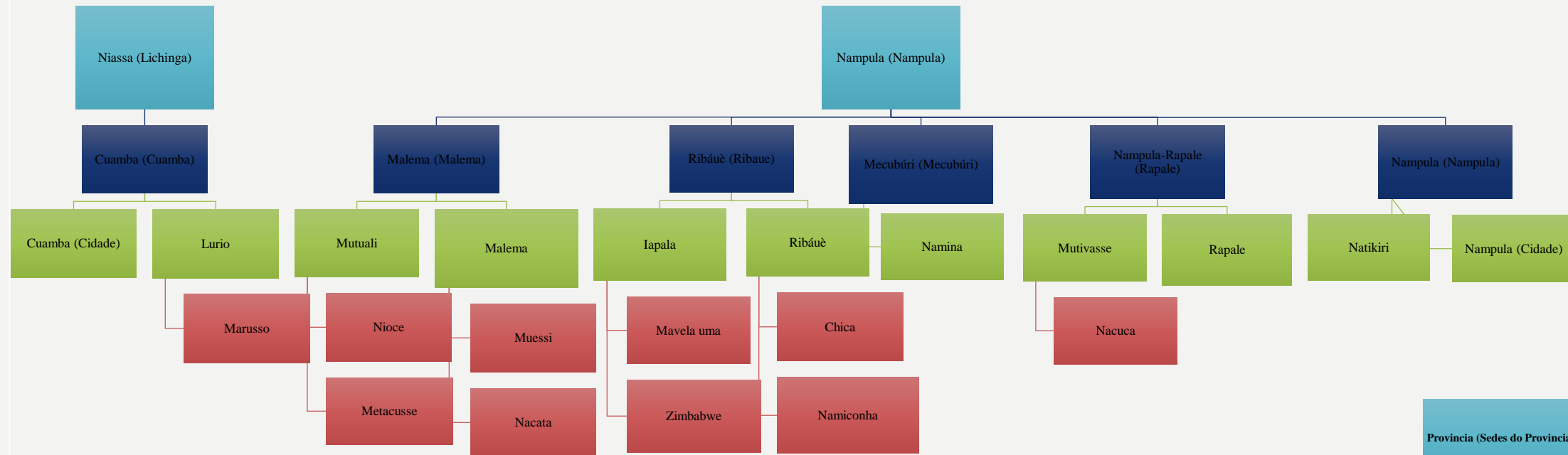
WHAT IS A GATEKEEPER?

- Someone who controls access, i.e. through a gate
- Gatekeepers 'keep the gate' by deciding or influencing what information or resources reach the researcher (Lewin, 1947)
- Writing within a political science framework, Hay (2000, 114) defines gatekeepers as individuals who control 'opportunities to interact with others in the chosen researcher site'.
- Campbell et al. (2006) identify two types of gatekeepers:
 - Gatekeepers can serve as obstacles to access, particularly in research contexts where there is a power imbalance between the researcher and the subject (Campbell et al., 2006)
 - Gatekeepers can also be helpful facilitators, i.e. research assistants, informants or translators. Gate-openers as well as gatekeepers (Campbell et al., 2006).

- Literature on qualitative research in contexts similar to Mozambique suggests that a researcher would experience vigorous gatekeeping on the part of the national state apparatus (Heimer and Thøgersen, 2006; Koch, 2013; Nelson, 2013; Sökefeld and Strasser, 2016; Turner, 2013).
- However, the most formidable barriers experienced were not presented by the national, but rather the local officials and traditional leadership in certain areas which needed to be navigated in order to access local communities.

GATEKEEPERS DURING ACCESS

- Mozambican dual system of governance (State+Traditional Authorities) resulted in a complex web of local gatekeepers which needed to be navigated for each community accessed.
 - State Authorities: *Provincia, Distrito, Posto, Localidade/Comunidade (Secretario)*
 - Traditional Authorities: *Chefe de Bairros, Chefe de Mercados, Regulos*
- Example of Chica: Provincial (Nampula), District (Ribáuè), Posto (Ribáuè), Secretario (Chica), Chefe do Mercado (Chica)
- Frelimo
- Huge strain on time and resources



GATEKEEPING DURING SAMPLING

- Typical Sampling Procedure
- In many communities we had to rely on local authorities to gather participants
 - Explanations
 - Help
 - Prestige
 - Gifts/Patronage
 - Control
 - Conflicts
 - ‘Gatekeeper Bias’ (Groger and Mayberry, 1999)
 - Example of Nacuca
 - Solutions?





DURING INTERVIEWS

- Attempts to influence the tone and content of interviews
- Took two forms
 - Direct interference, ‘You have to say everything is nice here’
 - Control the setting of the interview
 - Office/personal home
 - Explanations
 - Helpful
 - Influence the proceedings

LESSONS

- Gatekeeper relations were generally very positive
- Patience
- Recognition (Fraser, 1996)
- Good Credentials
- Gifts (Potentially problematic)
- Map out the hierarchy
- Language flexibility

Obrigado!