Critical Issues on Social Accountability in Mozambique

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ACRONYMS

AGIR	Programa de Acções para uma Governação Inclusiva e Responsável/ Action for inclusive and responsive governance
AMODE	Associação Moçambicana para o Desenvolvimento da Democracia/ Mozambican Association for Democracy Development
AP	Assembleia Provincial/ Provincial Assembly
AR	Assembleia da República/ Mozambique's Parliament
CEP	Cidadania e Participação/ Citizenship Engagement Programme
CIP	Centro de Integridade Pública/ Centre for Public Integrity
CSC	Cartão de Pontuação Comunitária/ Community Score Card
DIÁLOGO	Diálogo Local para a Boa Governação/ Democratic Governance Support Programme
GMD	Grupo Moçambicano da Dívida/ Mozambican Debt Group
GPSA	Parceria Global para a Responsabilização/ Global Partnership for Social Accountability
HC	Unidade Sanitária/ Health Centre
MASC	Mecanismo de Apoio à Sociedade Civil/ Civil Society Support Mechanism
MuniSAM	Municipal Social Accountability Monitoring/Monitoria de Responsabilização Social ao Nível Municipal
MA	Municipal Assembly/ Assembleia Municipal
OSC/ CSO	Organização da Sociedade Civil/ Civil Society Organization
OCB/ CBO	Organização Baseada na Comunidade/ Community-Based Organization
SAMComs	Comités Comunitários de Responsabilização Social/ Social Accountability Monitoring Committees

Introduction

In the late 1990s, the debate on social accountability was associated with a movement favourable to the direct involvement of citizens in the prominent aspects of governance (Ackerman 2004; Fox 2015). This movement demanded greater accountability, transparency and performance from service providers (Joshi 2013; Gaventa and McGee 2013). At the same time, development partners and agencies supported social accountability to ensure rational, effective and efficient use of loans and grants channelled to institutions in developing countries. The assumption was that the actions and participation in governance processes of citizens knowledgeable of their duties and rights would contribute to reducing state limitations and market failures (Brock, McGee, and Besuijen 2014).

In 2005, the Swiss Embassies in Maputo and South Africa, in partnership with Mozambican, South African, Malawian, Tanzanian and Zimbabwean civil society organizations, conceptualized social accountability development projects. In 2008, AMODE, CIP and GMD created a civil society organizations consortium to work on social accountability. At the time, the concept was limited to tracking local public expenditure and revenue. In 2012, Mozambican civil society organizations expanded the idea of social accountability to include their participation in government planning processes and monitoring of government institutions through the Municipal Social Accountability Monitoring Program (MuniSAM).

This study provides a global view of social accountability initiatives implemented from 2008 to 2022¹. It analyses the changes in the context, results, good practices and lessons learned from social accountability projects funded by various donors over the past 14 years. It uses MuniSAM, an Embassy of Switzerland's funded program, as a reference to discuss social accountability interventions and tools developed over the years.

We follow a body of literature that conceptualizes social accountability as "a form of governance in which citizens (the demand side) and governing authorities (the supply side) change the way they interact regarding the management of public resources. Demand-side actors demand explanations and justifications for how public resources are managed, leading to a progressive improvement of service delivery by supply-side actors"². From this perspective, social accountability can be divided into four stages based on the public

¹ A number of reports captured the diversity of lessons learned, good practices and experiences of social accountability in Mozambique. See for example: (Mazzolini 2007; IPAM 2008; Foresti et al. 2008; MASC 2012; Faehndrich and Nhantumbo 2013; Kelpin et al. 2013; McGee and Kelbert 2014; Lalá and Oliveira 2015b; Franco and Dumangane 2015a; Macuane and Salimo 2016; Shankland, Franco, and McGee 2018a; 2018b; CESC, CDD, and Concern Universal 2019) (Foresti et al. 2008).

² Definition adopted from MuniSAM (Municipal Social Accountability Monitoring Programme), implemented by United Purpose and funded by the Swiss Development Cooperation.

finance expenditure cycle, namely:

- 1. Planning (Public policy-making and participatory planning);
- 2. Budgeting (Independent budget analysis and advocacy, analysis of budget for local bodies, gender-responsive budget and participatory budget);
- 3. Expenditure (Public expenditure tracking and social audit) and;
- 4. Performance (Participatory performance monitoring, community monitoring, Citizen Report Cards on health and water, citizen charter, right to information and public hearing) (Coghlan and Brydon-Miller 2014, 701).

The study investigated the impact, effect and results of social accountability programs in the provision and access to public services in the broader context of the decentralization process. The discussion focuses on reinforcing transparency mechanisms and systems, service providers' capacity, attitudes and behaviours to produce evidence-based justifications and explanations, community participation and trust in different decentralized bodies and citizen engagement in public resource management processes.

Method

In November and December 2020, we interviewed actors who implemented the MuniSAM program in Quelimane and Mocuba in Zambezia province, Ilha de Moçambique and Ribáuè in Nampula province, Lichinga in Niassa province and Pemba in Cabo Delgado province. We conducted four group interviews in the six municipalities and 58 individual interviews with presidents or representatives of Municipal Councils, members of Municipal Assemblies and SAMComs and representatives of local communities.

The study considered municipalities covered by MuniSAM and the governance survey Municipal Barometer³. Additional criteria for selecting field sites combined the history of party leadership in the municipality ⁴, generation ⁵ and category ⁶ of the municipalities⁷. As a re-

³ For Municipal Governance Barometers conducted by IESE see (Forquilha et al. 2018a; 2018b).

⁴ The three major Mozambican political parties, Frelimo, Renamo and MDM led different municipalities in Mozambique. The selection sought representation of the three parties during the period of the in which the study was conducted.

⁵ There are three generations of municipalities in Mozambique according with the period of their creation.

⁶ Mozambican municipalities are grouped into categories from A – E according with level of importance and development and vila. See Law nº 8/97 of 31 May.

⁷ The Ribáuè was included in the study to meet the requirement of a municipality with the category of vila even. However, there was no previous social accountability programs or surveys.

sult, the chosen municipalities illustrate diverse experiences and are sites where secondary data on social accountability was available.

We conducted field research during a period when restrictions imposed by COVID-19 made it challenging to access some municipal authorities, specifically the members Municipal Executive Councils. When it was impossible to interview the incumbent mayors, we interviewed other current or past members of the Municipal Executive Councils at the respective municipalities.

We combined interviews and field observations with secondary data available in academic and grey literature. In addition, we consulted legislative provisions, manuals, baseline studies, outcome and impact journals, minutes of meetings, activity reports, case studies, evaluations and newsletters about accountability in the selected municipalities.

Rather than looking at the programmatic objectives covered in program and project evaluations⁸, our discussion focuses on the effects of completed social accountability programs in the local governance landscape. We draw on a body of literature that explores the afterlives of development interventions (Ferguson 1994; Schler and Gez 2019; Gez 2021; Olivier de Sardan 2021). This contributes to a growing debate on development interventions in Mozambique and the institutionalization of democratic processes and institutions (Weimer 2012; Forquilha 2017; 2020).

Following this introduction, there are four sections in this report. The first section puts into perspective citizen participation in the context of decentralized governance in Mozambique. The following section presents key social accountability interventions in Mozambique since 2008. Third, we turn the discussion to MuniSAM and its effects on the local governance landscape. The last substantive section evaluates the results, effects and critical issues related to social accountability interventions in Mozambique.

Decentralized governance and citizen participation

Mozambique adopted a dual decentralization model, which included citizen participation in solving local problems and the development process. While the government created formal spaces for citizen participation, such as Local Councils at the district level (Forquilha and Orre 2012) and Development Observatories at the provincial level (Gonçalves and

⁸ See for example (Lalá and Oliveira 2014; Holmberg, Macuane, and Salimo 2014; Franco and Dumangane 2015a; Dias 2015; Shankland, Franco, and McGee 2018b; Kruse, Tvedten, and Macuane 2018; Shankland, Franco, and McGee 2018b).

Adalima 2008), no formalized spaces existed at the municipal level. These "regularised institutions" (Cornwall 2002, 17) are adequate communication spaces to share information and hear community demands. Governors, districts administrators, mayors and counsellors also conduct visits to disseminate information and listen to citizens' issues (Leininger et al., 2012; Gonçalves 2013). Similar to the practice in rural and urban districts, municipal authorities also grant meetings to individual citizens upon formal requests. However, these are not spaces where citizens can critically discuss government performances.

Formally, Municipal Assemblies represent citizens at the Municipal Council, and recently approved legislation gives more power to municipal oversight bodies⁹. Still, several surveys suggest that councillors and members of Municipal Assemblies remain distant from citizens, and there is a generalized lack of motivation on the part of citizens to contribute to decision-making processes (DIÁLOGO 2014; Forquilha et al. 2018b).

In the current election model, party lists are the basis for the election of municipal authorities. Thus, mayors prioritize their relationship with the respective political parties over their relationship with citizens (Macuane 2009). Additionally, political party politics hindered citizen participation. Members of CSOs and citizens interviewed for this study reported that local government officers perceived observations related to accountability as actions designed to expose the poor performances of political parties in government¹⁰. In supplydriven participatory spaces, party youth and women organizations were seen as the ideal vehicles for citizen interventions.

In the last 14 years, donor-funded CSOs have been taking part in participatory governance processes. The recent shift to social accountability has resulted in an initial mistrust in these organizations as those in government fear they could become a platform to launch oppositional candidates or new political parties¹¹. The first social accountability interventions emerged due to the need to track external support to the state budget¹². Given this experience, local governments are open to critiques from CSOs that work in the provision of public services and suspicious of rights-based interventions.

Adopting a gradual decentralization process, where periodically progress is evaluated to build upon experiences gained, means that changes in the regulatory framework made

⁹ See Law 6/2018.

¹⁰ See also (Lalá 2013; Lalá and Oliveira 2015a; CESC, United Purpose, and WaterAid 2018; CESC, CDD, and Concern Universal 2019).

¹¹ The Mozambican political history has examples of political actors and institutions that started as civic movements. Frelimo, the ruling party and the he Mozambique Democratic Movement (MDM) are good examples of this.

¹² See for example: (Grupo Informal de Governação and Aliança 2015 2010; CIP 2013; N'weti, n.d.; CIP 2017).

over short periods affect systems and institutions and pose challenges to political actors and CSOs. The recent introduction of a new decentralization package is an example of another change to the decentralization regulatory framework (Weimer 2021).

While formal spaces for citizen participation are still being consolidated, most citizens are primarily attached to informal networks that contribute to address their everyday issues more effectively (Francisco 2010; Ilal, Kleibl, and Munck 2014). Formalized CSOs are highly dependent on donor funding. They have to find a balance between their survival and institutional development and the alignment of their work with specific issues that concern citizens at the local level. In the meantime, developments in digital communications are enabling new forms of citizen participation through the use of new media, social networks and expressions in popular culture (Tsandzana 2018; Taela et al. 2021).

Social accountability processes: key tools

Over the past 14 years, Mozambican CSOs and international organizations implementing projects in Mozambique used various tools to contribute to social accountability processes. Many organizations used different programs and projects that adopted multiple tools for the same or different accountability processes. For example, the Action for Inclusive and Responsive Governance (AGIR) contributed to "a Mozambican society where its citizens, particularly the most marginalized groups, fully enjoy their rights to inclusion and equity, to redistribution of wealth created from the country's patrimony, to accessible and affordable public services of good quality, to basic civil freedoms and political representation and participation; in a peaceful and ecologically sustainable environment" (Kruse, Tvedten, and Macuane 2018, 19). For ten years (2010-2020), this demand-side social accountability intervention provided support to a total of 108 Mozambican CSOs that used various social accountability tools.

The Support Program for Non-State Actors (PAANE) is another initiative that promotes the use of various social accountability tools to strengthen participatory, representative and gender-sensitive democracy in Mozambique through the involvement of public authorities and civil society in constructive dialogue. Since 2018, the European Union has been funding the execution of PAANE via the Office of the National Authorizing Officer of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation. Implementing partners include Action Aid, N'weti, FMO, PSCM-PS, CESC, MASC Foundation, ASCUT and Fórum Mulher.

Our discussion focuses on the most used social accountability tools according to a survey

conducted in 2017 (CEP 2017) and a review of social accountability programs that have emerged since then.

Planning

The first initiatives of decentralized governance focused on the supply side participatory planning. Participatory Budgeting and Community Action Plans were the most used tools in the late 1990s and early 2001. Projects such as the SDC-funded PRODEM explored participatory planning in Northern Mozambique. These initiatives expanded to other parts of the country. More recently, they have taken a narrower focus and developed around thematic areas such as climate adaptation and the Integrated and Participatory Territorial Planning (2016 – 2018) under PAANE.

Budgeting

Budget Tracking was the most used tool for the budgeting and expenditure processes. Many organizations have implemented budget tracking as a form of advocacy tool at the local and national levels. For example, CIP pioneered budget tracking throughout the country's district level (CIP 2013; Francisco and Semedo 2016; CIP 2017; Bande 2020). Other organizations, such as Facilidade – Citizenship and Sustainable Development Institute in Nampula province, engaged in participatory budget exercises as part of programs such as Diálogo (Shankland, Franco, and McGee 2018b).

Currently, the Budget Monitoring Forum (FMO), a group of CSOs interested in monitoring and influencing national public finances, is implementing throughout the country projects for advocacy and monitoring activities of the State Budget.

Performance

Social Audits, Public Hearings, Citizen Report Cards and Citizen Score Cards were the most used tools for the performance process.

The Citizen Score Cards (CSC) are widely used to improve citizen participation and public service providers' accountability (Franco and Dumangane 2015b; COWI 2017a; Shankland, Franco, and McGee 2018b). For example, the Citizenship Engagement Programme (CEP), implemented from 2010 to 2017 to strengthen citizens' involvement in monitoring health and education services, used the CSCs as its primary tool. CEP was co-implemented by

CESC¹³ in the provinces of Nampula, Zambezia, Manica and Gaza, with funding from DFID, Irish Aid and DANIDA (CESC 2015)CEP adopted CSC as a community-level participatory service assessment tool to promote direct dialogue between citizens and service providers and enable citizens to express their demands for improved service delivery (Dias 2015). As a citizen engagement tool, the CSC informs community members about the services available and their rights; asks for their opinions on the degree of access and quality of the services provided and creates the opportunity for a direct dialogue between the Public Service Providers and the Community, providing a closer relationship between them (CESC and Diálogo 2015, 5).

In partnership with local CSOs, CESC has implemented several projects using CSC. For example, Kuhinteka (2015-2018) in Southern Mozambique, a project that sought to contribute to evidence-based policy-making geared to the needs of citizens. Another project was *Mais Vida* (2013-2017), jointly implemented by N'weti, CIP and CESC to improve service delivery quality and the effective use of resources available in the health sector in Mozambique (Franco and Dumangane 2015a).

N'weti has also elected CSC as one of its key social accountability tools for its work with local partners, particularly in the health field. For example, the project Tua Cena (2013-2017) used CSC to foster the engagement and participation of youth and civil society in improving the quality of health service provision in Northern and Southern Mozambique (Namburete et al. 2015; Franco and Dumangane 2015a).

A tool similar to the CSC, the Citizen Report Card (CRC), has also been used by several CSOs working in the education and health sectors to monitor service delivery and actions. For example, CRP has been used to monitor access to medicines, services for elders, youth and pregnant women and teachers' attendance. Under the CEP programme, the National Association for Self-Sustainable Development promoted CRCs in School Councils and Co-Management and Humanization Committees to promote community participation and improve the quality of education and health services in Manica province between 2015 and 2017. Other projects like PAC *- Participação Activa das Comunidades* (Community Active Participation) (2015-2016) adopted CRC to promote access to information, active citizenship and engagement of communities in improving service delivery and local development in the health sector (CEP 2017).

Social accountability interventions also privileged Social Audits. For example, in Manica

¹³ Other com implementers were: COWI, Save the Children International, IDS, Kwantu and OPM. CESC has contributed to other social accountability initiatives including DIÁLOGO, Sou Cidadão and Forum de Monitoria e Orçamento.

province, central Mozambique, Plataforma da Sociedade Civil de Chimoio, PLASOC conducted social audits in Chimoio municipality under Environmental Sanitation (2013) and Stop Buraco (2017-2018), a project related to public roads. In addition, United Purpose has championed social audits for the duration of the MuniSAM program.

Digital Participation Platforms

Different projects have explored some digital tools. For example, CEP used a citizen feedback platform called *Olavula* to promote dialogue between citizens and service providers in the education sector (Macuane 2014; Taela et al. 2018). Other platforms include *Txeka*, which monitors the electoral process (Tsandzana 2018).

The DIÁLOGO - Democratic Governance Support Programme promoted citizen and media engagement and public accountability. It engaged civil society, media and municipal institutions to contribute to improved governance, accountability and responsiveness at the municipal level. This intervention, implemented from 2013 to 2017 by a consortium of DAI, COWI and CESC in the municipalities of Maputo, Beira, Tete, Quelimane and Nampula, also made extensive use of digital platforms. Like CEP, it used CSC as a key citizen engagement tool for citizens to evaluate service delivery, participation in planning and access to information related to the provision of public services (Dias 2015, 3).

Lessons from MuniSAM

MuniSAM was a program conceived to strengthen the capacities of engagement of municipal citizens and municipal bodies in managing available public resources toward meeting the needs of municipal citizens in the best manner. It was implemented from 2012 to 2017 by United Purpose¹⁴ (previously known as Concern Universal) in partnership with local Civil Society Organizations in 14 municipalities of Central and Northern Mozambique.

MuniSAM conceived social accountability as the right of citizens to demand explanations and justifications about using public resources to satisfy their needs and rights. Accordingly, they fostered civic participation in the five municipal public resources management processes by strengthening capacities and influencing attitudes and actions of municipal

¹⁴ United Purpose worked in other social accountability initiatives such as the "Civil Society Empowerment in Niassa Province" and "Social Accountability Knowledge, Skills and Networking." See (Sipondo 2015, 30).

managers and officials towards the production of justifications and explanations on how the available resources are transformed into services and how they respond to the most pressing needs and rights of citizens (Lalá and Oliveira 2015a, 1).

MuniSAM created Social Accountability Monitoring Committees (SAMComs) composed of civic groups and municipal neighbourhood representatives (Guerzovich, Mukorombindo, and Eyakuze 2017, 3). SAMComs were divided into subcommittees per municipal directorates. The project also trained SAMCom members to analyse the annual municipal plans and budgets and compare them to the yearly municipal reports/expenditures. They also identified critical issues backed by evidence collected in the field and elaborated reports with their findings. MuniSAM also trained members of the Municipal Assembly and Municipal Council.

Beyond capacity building, MuniSAM sought to improve mutual trust, foster constant and firm interaction between the various municipal actors, and capture lessons to influence changes in the way of thinking and acting at the municipal level. They also sougt to affect systemic improvements at national level under the municipalization process" (Lalá and Oliveira 2015a, 26).

Participatory planning included meetings at the community level about citizens' needs and priorities. Reported community demands included markets, roads and education infrastructures. Some Municipal Councils met these needs gradually. However, the lag in time between demands and provision of some public services could be between 5 to 10 years¹⁵.

SAMComs and its civil society organizations took a leading role in the social monitoring of the municipalities' plans. Through social accountability tools such as the Social Audit, citizens endorsed issues identified by SAMComs or raised additional problems that may have been omitted. One interviewee pointed out that "SAMComs and the [civil society] platform carry out these activities. The population participates, suggests, and confirms if these activities took place.¹⁶"

Training on accountability

The training was one of the most valued activities during the implementation of MuniSAM. Participants of MuniSAM gave accounts of the ways that training contributed to changes in their understanding of their work and responsibilities. Training included water and sa-

¹⁵ See Quelimane, Mocuba and Ilha de Moçambique MuniSAM reports.

¹⁶ Field interview, Civil Society Organization, Ribáuè, 26/11/20.

nitation, fiscal citizenship and participatory budget. In the words of one of its members interviewed,

Before, we all had the mindset to do what was written. These things are all new. It is not resistance. People were unprepared for it, which was one of our challenges. Training is needed. Also, we must distinguish between party [work] and what needs to be done [for citizens]¹⁷.

While training on these topics was valued, there was a noticeable tendency to privilege topics aligned with existing donor projects. In addition, trained Executive Council members expressed their desire to participate in more diverse training, because they recognized that few councillors had specialized knowledge on the subjects under their responsibility.

MuniSAM also organized workshops where members of different Municipal Councils exchanged experiences. These workshops were positive learning exercises. Some participants also considered that in addition to the workshops involving participants from other municipalities, MuniSAM could organize local workshops to exchange experiences between current and past members of the same Municipal Councils and Municipal Assemblies.

Interview accounts, field evaluation anecdotes and the professional trajectory of members of Municipal Councils and assemblies confirm reports on the improvement in the capacity to understand governance and accountability processes. However, in the municipalities where training was provided, three main challenges existed: The first challenge was the high turnover of supply and demand-side members. Staff turnover weakened these institutions' capacity and created a need for continuous training of new members. The second was that social accountability initiatives were undertaken in "campaign-style" over three to five-year donor funding cycles. As a result, short implementation periods of new experiences were insufficient to consolidate new practices, especially considering that most activities took place in periods between six months to one year. The third challenge was that local revenue was inadequate to finance the required infrastructural interventions that could improve the levels of economic development indicators.

Community participation

Community participation at the local level was undertaken chiefly with the support of donor-funded CSOs through a wide range of community-based institutions such as the community-based paralegals and water, disaster risk management, police, education, health,

¹⁷ Field interview, Quelimane Municipal Council, 24/11/20.

child protection and natural resources committees. In addition, with the support of donor--funded programs, Local Councils at Municipal Assemblies also contributed to community participation.

In these institutions, there was increasingly more knowledge about government processes and channels to demand accountability. However, all faced the challenge of donor dependence on financial resources to cover basic costs such as meetings and trips to visit communities and sites of policy interventions. While social accountability initiatives built a connection to local communities, their association with donors was an important form of capital in their relationship with local governments.

Evidence-based dialogues

MuniSAM stressed the importance of the production of evidence-based dialogues and justifications. Municipal service providers received training to produce evidence-based explanations for using available resources to meet local public needs. In return, SAMComs conducted evidence-based monitoring, particulary on subjects for which members of the Executive and Municipal Councils received training. Municipal Councils have incorporated in their planning practice the breakdown of indicators so that members of the Municipal Assemblies could monitor them.

Except for Ribáuè, the use of evidence in engagements between supply and demand actors gradually declined from when funding for the project ended. On the supply side, there were cases of staff turnover and no institutionalized mechanisms of knowledge transfer. On the demand side, members of SAMComs mentioned the unavailability of resources to travel for monitoring visits and to produce the necessary evidence. In addition, municipal Assemblies were affected by a lack of knowledge and resources to conduct monitoring visits and document service delivery progress¹⁸. As a result, members of the Municipal Assemblies and SAMComs conducted most monitoring visits in the neighbourhoods near their residences.

SAMComs as intermediary institutions

Citizen participation through various social accountability tools highlighted the distinction between CSOs that were members of SAMComs and citizens that were not members of

¹⁸ It is important to note that there are indicators that require monitoring for extended periods of time. For example, the building of public infrastructures, roads in particular, proved to be more difficult to monitor giving the time and technical competences required.

community-based participatory institutions. SAMComs effectively operated as intermediary institutions that facilitated the interaction between members of the Municipal Executive Council and Municipal Assemblies and the communities¹⁹. For example, SAMComs championed sanitation and fiscal citizenship campaigns while channelling community-based issues and grievances to municipal authorities. In the process, the opportunities for community members to meet and engage directly with municipal authorities were limited to occasional needs assessment visits and social audits. These exercises had a significant educational effect as citizens learned the value of engaging municipal authorities directly but could not reproduce the same activities without project funding.

Municipal economic development

MuniSAM project reports document improvements in the provision of health and education services and tax collection. However, these improvements in the provision of public services did not translate into systematic economic growth reflected in indicators of local development. Advances in the provision of public services did not translate into economic growth because of the protracted decentralization process in which changes in governance practices at the local level do not necessarily lead to the production of national policies. Conversely, national policies are often partially implemented at the local level. Sometimes, national policy documents, international targets such as those set by the Sustainable Development Goals and local needs and priorities are not aligned.

Perceptions of accountability tools

In all the visited municipalities, actors in the supply and demand sides had positive responses to the social accountability tools introduced by MuniSAM. Through Public Hearings and Social, Audits MuniSAM promoted direct engagements between citizens and municipal authorities. CEP achieved the same goal by revitalizing Co-Management and Humanization Committees and School Councils, which are institutions composed of representatives of service providers and different socio-demographic groups from local communities. For example, one member of a Municipal Assembly we interviewed noted:

MuniSAM was the best and most relevant experience [of community participation] when compared, for example, with the community scorecards brought by CESC because not all citizens can take the card and write. But in the social audit sessions,

¹⁹ A good evidence of this is that, at the community level, CSOs that hosted SAMComs are better known that SAMComs in part because these CSOs have been operating for much longer in the municipalities. Good knowledge of SAMComs was only registered in communities that participated directly in the activities MUNISAM implemented.

people speak directly. People can speak the local language. In these sessions, the leaders take the opportunity to hear the citizen's experiences in the flesh. Everyone had to talk. If it didn't end, it could continue, but as a general rule, these events lasted for a day²⁰.

Earlier, an evaluation of MuniSAM reported:

The councillors explained that the Municipal Council promotes activities in the neighbourhoods that give lectures on the theme, organize plays and raise citizens' awareness. However, awareness-raising activities are still a challenge for the City Council, and it is hoped that MuniSAM can help to fill this gap by promoting more regular awareness activities at the neighbourhood level. However, according to the councillors, the Municipal Council does not have the financial or human resources to do this (Lalá and Oliveira 2016, 15).

All municipalities that used Social Audits responded positively to them. Participants in this study highlighted two significant gains. First is the possibility of speaking directly to councillors and mayors, sometimes in native languages. Second, many personal issues could be promptly addressed in public meetings, thus avoiding lengthy bureaucratic processes.

Overall, Social Audits worked as a platform to show off social accountability approaches and the possibilities it offers for improving service provision through the direct interaction between citizens and public representatives of local governments. It also had an educational element as audiences learned about their rights and how to make their voices heard. For example, the fact that demands for public services and infrastructures were made and later materialized remains in the memory of those who participated and learned to value these exercises. More importantly, citizens could participate in exercises where activities included in municipal planning documents were monitored.

Planning practices

MuniSAM did not institutionalize new planning practices to ensure vertical and horizontal integration of social accountability practices at Municipal Councils. Even if Municipal Councils' plans and priorities often rolled over to the following years due to a lack of resources, the absence of these exercises was a shortcoming to the oversight process. In addition, SAMComs could not conduct any form of detailed budget analysis, and their work consisted mainly of the juxtaposition of activities described in budgets with those presented in

²⁰ Field interview, Mocumba Municipal Council, 02/12/20.

activity reports.

Trust between supply and demand-side actors

A key achievement of MuniSAM was its contribution to building trust between supply and demand-side actors who learned to work together to improve the provision and monitoring of public services. While local authorities had reservations about social accountability interventions at the initial stages, gradually, they began to recognize its value for delivering public services, mainly because some of the activities contributed to awareness campaigns related to taxation and public sanitation.

Key results and critical issues

Key results

At the local level, social accountability interventions developed in the past 14 years introduced various tools to enable a dialogue between service providers and citizens, particularly in the health, education and water sectors. These interventions have contributed to more answerability by the local government as they created spaces for participatory planning and the setting of citizen priority needs, as well as reporting and evaluating implemented activities.

Social accountability interventions in Mozambique created new forums of public debate, strengthened civil society organizations, promoted acts of contestation of policy decisions, and supported proposals for regulatory reforms (Kruse, Tvedten, and Macuane 2018).

The most significant achievements have been in health and education, where organizations such as N'weti and CESC have been able to make interventions in partnership with central and provincial governments and with grassroots organizations throughout the country. The water sector has also achieved significant results through SDC-funded programs such as GOTAS (N'weti 2017). In addition, the justice sector has begun to open up. Even if the office of the public prosecutor remains a largely redundant institution, the judiciary has already started a quest to demand internal reforms, mainly through public statements made by (CFJJ) representatives²¹.

²¹ Of note is the inclusion of civil society contributions into the process of revision of the old Penal Code and the public acknowledgement of limitations in the recruitment and training of judges.

Projects conceived under DIÁLOGO, CEP and MuniSAM are good examples of social accountability interventions implemented in municipalities where the three major political parties took turns in power. Moreover, as politicians and public servants opened up to social accountability engagements, the community's participation in activities expanded the provision of public services and revenue collection (CESC, United Purpose, and WaterAid 2018, 26).

While the social accountability interventions discussed in this study were successful at the level of implementation of activities and establishment or revitalization of participatory institutions, they depended on the openness of individual actors on the supply side and tactics of leaders of institutions on the demand side. Even though these social accountability interventions designed codes or protocols for the interaction of its members with public authorities, the specific contexts and the personal character of the so-called 'champions' in the government or leaders of social accountability institutions and programs at the local and national levels determined the outcome of all engagements.

DIÁLGO, CEP and MuniSAM ensured that their respective interventions were gender sensitive and promoted the participation of women and excluded groups. For example, MuniSAM contributed to the emergence and supported women in leadership positions in Municipal Councils. CEP adopted the same approach and mainstreamed gender into Co--management and Humanization Committees and School Councils.

All social accountability interventions resorted to conventional, digital and alternative media to communicate their interventions. They also raised awareness on issues related to the provision of public services. Media outlets were also beneficiaries of projects aimed at increasing the level and quality of public debate, giving voice to excluded groups and raising awareness about duties and rights related to providing public services and access to information. Differently from other institutions, DIÁLOGO and AGIR's support to media organizations went to their core business, thus turning social accountability-related projects implemented by the media among the most effective interventions.

Critical issues

Combining supply and demand-side projects

Currently, most social accountability interventions in Mozambique assume that effective social accountability requires actions on the supply and demand sides. However, finding a balance between interventions on the supply and demand sides in a single project or program remains a challenge for donors and implementing partners. Therefore, programs

should consider allocating knowledge and financial resources simultaneously to actors on the supply and demand sides. We have learned that a lack of financial resources shifts institutional capacity and individual commitments to other livelihood or political priorities.

Harmonization

Although there has been rhetoric within the Ministry of State Administration and among donors that professes the articulation and harmonization of accountability initiatives, there are no practices that show a coordinated consolidation of these experiences. By and large, projects implemented each initiative within the respective conceptual and financial framework, and subsequent initiatives did little to draw on the previous ones. The integration of the MuniSAM in PRODEM is a case in point, leading one of its evaluators to suggest that there was a competition between social accountability initiatives such as DIÁLOGO, MASC and MuniSAM (Allan 2017, 16).

Formalization of local accountability initiatives

The formal recognition of social accountability initiatives and tools alone does not ensure their local ownership. A key element for the ownership and appropriation of social accountability initiatives is the association of awareness of duties and rights to the delivery of public services. Even in contexts highly influenced by party politics, supply actors show openness to initiatives that contribute to the delivery of public services. Citizens also welcome initiatives that address the access and quality of public services granted that selected issues are among their priorities. As reported in an evaluation of DIÁLOGO,

citizens feel more motivated to participate in municipal governance when the subject in question has or can have a direct impact on their lives. For instance, the overwhelming and immediate acceptance of the participatory budgeting approach by beneficiary communities was due to the potential for it to result in the construction of infrastructure that communities believe will have a direct impact on their lives (DIÁLOGO 2015, 28).

So far, formalization has facilitated project development at that level of donor procedures and the relationship between civil society groups and local government. However, beyond the donor funding cycle, formalization is not a determining variable for the success of social accountability initiatives.

Protracted decentralization process

The ongoing decentralization reform produced adverse effects on vertical and horizontal relations at the municipal level where, the provision of public services such as health and education continued to be centrally coordinated. Furthermore, the introduction of the institution of the Secretary of State further complicated the ambiguous distinction between delegated and decentralized authorities at the province level (Weimer 2021).

High staff turnover

Staff turnover has been a significant issue for institutionalizing social accountability practices developed during the social accountability interventions. A high turnover means that institutions have a limited capacity to accumulate knowledge and experiences. The electoral process was the leading cause of staff turnover on the demand side. After elections, new executive council members and municipal assemblies often came in. This scenario occurred whether a new political party took over the local government or not. On the demand side, Mozambican CSOs at the local level are notorious for their changes in human resources, especially because staff members look for new projects where they may have guaranteed salaries for more extended periods.

Professionalization of the Executive Council

The general practice in the visited municipalities was the replacement of the Executive Council and Municipal Assembly members after each electoral process. The professionalization of the Executive Council becomes a requirement as political allegiance continues to be the main criteria for appointments at the expense of technical competence, which is often hard to find. However, notable exceptions indicate a professionalization of the Executive Council in some municipalities. First, political parties at the municipal level are making efforts to recruit qualified and experienced staff from the public sector. We observed examples of this in Quelimane and Mocuba²². Second, inter-department rotation of portfolios was also a staff retention strategy. Third, in some cases, when new political parties took power in local government, there was a retention of members of the Executive Council considered to have unique skills and experiences.

Duration of donor-funded interventions

²² See the examples of Mocuba and Quelimane municipalities.

For over a decade, the study found that donor-funded social accountability interventions were of three to five-year periods. In some cases, there was project renewal but overall, implementing CSO at the local level felt that projects did not last long enough to appropriate new practices. The integration of MuniSAM in PRODEM is an excellent example of continuity, as the flow of funding ensured the integration of both projects. Yet, like other social accountability interventions discussed in this study, such as DIÁLOGO and AGIR, MuniSAM was hindered by the short life of the project and the subsequent dispersion of created capacities as soon as funding stopped.

Dependence on donor funding

The success of social accountability interventions has been highly dependent on project funding. However, outside donor funding, social accountability institutions and processes on the supply and demand sides rarely work. One possible avenue to reduce dependence on donor funding is the integration of new social accountability initiatives with existing but highly ineffective institutions such as Local Councils (Forquilha and Orre 2012), Development Observatories (Gonçalves and Adalima 2008) and co-management and humanization committees (COWI 2017b). While born from donor-funded projects, these institutions have and continue to benefit from multiple donor funding opportunities and government institutions at different levels have appropriated them.

Context-specific solutions

Over the past decade, social accountability interventions have been diverse. Even when they share similar principles and apply the same tools, these interventions may operate in different geographical areas and unrelated issues and combine formal and informal actions to various degrees.

Our analysis has shown that successful accountability interventions and best practices are context specific. Often they require a combination of buy-in from actors on the supply side, dynamic leaders on the demand side and the existence of social capital and material support. Moreover, due to the unique conditions in which each intervention occurs, it is often challenging to scale up or continue social accountability interventions once there is no more project funding.

Thinking representation "politically"

'Community ideologies' constitute a challenge for creating lasting social accountability interventions on the demand side. While retaining critical actors who have accumulated knowledge and experiences in public engagement processes is essential, our study has shown the importance of continuously assessing local power dynamics to avoid the reproduction of generational and gender inequalities. At the community level, it is essential to ask who the influential local people are and how they have become community representatives. Social accountability initiatives also need to ask who has access to what resources and when? Finally, asking what areas and issues are systematically excluded in public debates is essential. For example, social accountability intervention should not take for granted that traditional chiefs, community leaders, and long-established grassroots organizations are always the legitimate representatives of communities.

Action requires more than knowledge about rights

Two main reasons explain why knowledge alone is not a sufficient condition for continuous citizens' demand for better provision of public services: First, civil society mobilization for action and participation requires financial resources that are not always available. Second, supply-side institutions often lack the financial resources to improve service delivery. For example, the fiscal revenue is often insufficient to build public infrastructures such as roads or schools which rank high on the list of citizen's demands.

Institutionalization

In the long run, social accountability initiatives will institutionalise when new interventions build on past experiences and dwell on best practices, identified champions and continuous training. Presently, there is human and institutional capital dispersed in implementing agencies and beneficiary communities as a result of the history of various accountability projects.

Conclusion

This study has shown that social accountability projects and programs introduced in Mozambique since 2008 have increased and reinforced transparency mechanisms and systems at the decentralized and central levels. Social accountability tools introduced by programs such as MuniSAM, DIÁLOGO, CEP and PAANE increased municipal service providers' capacity, attitudes and behaviours to produce evidence-based justifications and explanations on using available resources to meet local public needs and engage citizens and social groups in local affairs.

Developing and implementing tools such as Community Score Cards, Citizen Report Cards, Social Audits, Public Hearings and Budget Tracking promoted community participation. They also increased the levels of trust between different decentralized bodies and citizens. The view of social accountability as an approach to identify solutions to local problems and promote collaborative planning replaced the perception of social accountability interventions as activities aimed at criticizing the local government.

The history of social accountability interventions at the local level also showed that the Mozambican decentralization process continues to produce new regulations and institutional arrangements. However, these institutional arrangements and rules do little to build on existing practices at the local level. Also, they are often not followed by the required human capacity development and financial resources. Additionally, centrally issued policies and international targets such as those set by the Sustainable Development Goals are not always aligned with local priorities and hinder horizontal and vertical integration of socially accountable practices.

For 14 years, there has been a high level of satisfaction among beneficiaries of the social accountability interventions at the central, municipal and community levels. However, it is essential to distinguish the successes in accountability processes from development outcomes or local economic growth at the level of the beneficiary municipalities. We have shown that reports on improving health and education services and tax collection during the life cycle of projects such as CEP, DIÁLOGO and MuniSAM were episodic.

While citizen participation through social accountability institutions has improved significantly from the early experiences of decentralized government, the created capacities, attitudes and behaviours on demand and supply-side remain highly dependent on donor funding. Only a group of donor-funded CSOs can sustain social accountability initiatives. Often, citizens who are aware of their duties and rights cannot act or demand government accountability in the provision of public services due to the lack of resources to support their actions in the communities or institutions they wish to engage. Over time, the absence of external resources diminished social accountability tools' strength, visibility and results.

A critical change toward more sustainable social accountability initiatives was providing material support that enabled CSOs to continue to operate beyond the duration of funded projects. In selected cases, programs such as DIÁLOGO and AGIR created capacity beyond

knowledge by providing equipment and infrastructures for social accountability initiatives on the supply and demand side.

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