

Learning from citizen participation for accountability in Nampula province

Erika Lopez Franco, IDS
CEP - Cidadania e Participacao 2015
Maputo, Mozambique

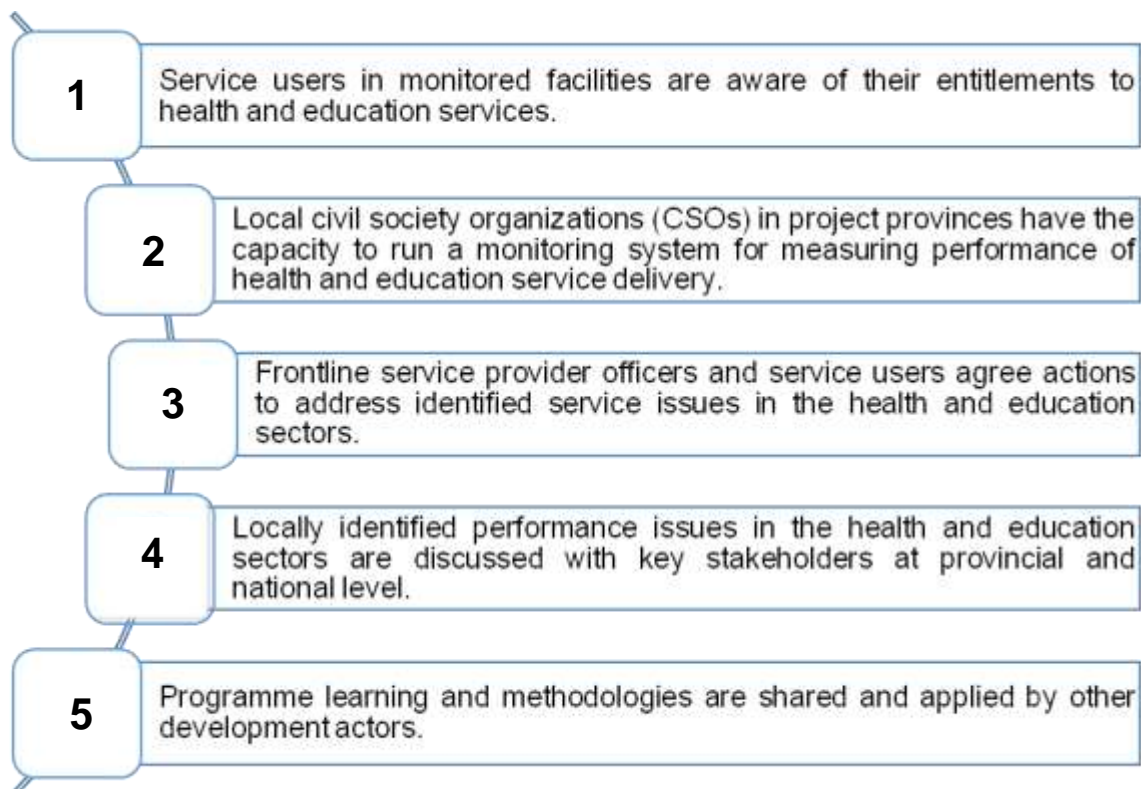
Acknowledgments

Firstly, I would like to thank the organization *Facilidade* for having the interest and energy for jointly designing and conducting this study. As well, I would like to thank the Citizen Engagement Programme for the support given throughout the process. A special thanks to Joanna Wheeler for her methodological and analytical guidance. Finally, thanks to the citizens in Nampula province that provided their valuable time and knowledge to conduct this study.

Introduction

The Citizen Engagement Program (CEP) in Mozambique is an empowerment and accountability program aiming to improve the quality of health and education services through supporting citizens to monitor them. The program supports citizens to engage with service providers to address identified problems; it also aims to generate evidence for policy and program improvement at the local and national levels. Overall, CEP implementation is based on a five-pronged approach, which include the following strategic outputs:

Figure 1. CEP's strategic outputs





The Institute of Development Studies (IDS) is member of CEP consortium, leading the design and implementation of activities to achieve Outputs 4 (Advocacy) and 5 (Learning). As part of its contributions on the first year of implementation, IDS designed an Action Learning research case study with the local civil society organization Facilidade – Instituto para Cidadania e Desenvolvimento Sustentável (ICDS, here onwards *Facilidade*), which is the implementing partner of CEP in Nampula province. In 2004, *Facilidade* started as a program established by the Netherlands Embassy, with HIVOS and Oxfam Novib as implementing agencies. The overarching objective of the program was to strengthen the capacity of community-based organizations (CBOs) and civil society organizations (CSOs) in Nampula province to thereby enable citizens to participate in both economic opportunities as well as democratic processes which were fostered by the decentralization process across Mozambique. In 2011, *Facilidade* formally transitioned from a development program to a CSO, now working in five districts of Nampula and three municipalities through a variety of activities that range from training and capacity building, income-generating schemes, monitoring of service delivery, and enabling citizens to network in order to contribute to citizenship-building.

For CEP learning purposes, it was important to have a better understanding of *Facilidade's* work with citizen groups and networks (see Table 1). Some of these are implementing Community Score Cards (CSCs) as a social accountability tool. CSCs are the method that CEP – as well as a few other initiatives in Mozambique- is using to monitor the performance of health facilities and primary schools across 20 districts in four provinces; training local citizens to engage with this process. Hence, it was relevant to gain insights from an implementing partner that had several years of experience using CSCs and more generally, explore the learning derived from the work of *Facilidade* on citizenship-building done by or with grassroots organizations in Nampula. Another relevant component was the design of a research methodology that proved useful to *Facilidade's* organizational purposes, as well as the citizens they work with. The Action Learning research approach was used under the understanding that effective learning cannot be abstracted from action. We take action as a result of our learning, and we learn from our action. Hence, ‘learning’ is important because it encompasses the personal, the organizational, the community and the wider context. If done with time and depth, it can open the door to change at all levels (Taylor et.al. 2006).

Table 1. Citizen groups involved in the research process

<p>Local Development Committees - CDLs</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Created through the SNV MAMM (Mogovolas, Angoche, Mogincual, and Moma) project in 1998 - Formed by 20 to 40 members elected within the community and abide by democratic principles, with strong representation of women
<p>Rotating credit and savings group (PCR)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Established by the NGO Ophavela in 2004 with the objective of constituting a joint economy based on the members’ savings to invest in income-generating projects - Women participation is very strong. There are regulations and working rules based on democratic principles
<p>Multi-thematic district-level network (i.e. rede)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Group of citizens in Murrupula members of the thematic Education, Agriculture and Water & Sanitation district-level platforms - Convened by <i>Facilidade</i> as an attempt to open dialogue about diverse themes and break the boundaries between the existent thematic platforms in an attempt to work towards a holistic development process



This case study is structured in three main sections. The first section provides a background to set the context in which organizations such as *Facilidade* emerged across Mozambique, with reference to the ‘third generation’ of decentralization policies in Sub-Saharan Africa and the growing expectation over nearly two decades of ‘participation’ as a magic bullet to improve service-delivery and governance (Mansuri and Rao 2013). As well, this section will give an overview of the methodology, some of the assumptions behind the approach and the challenges and questions that the process raised. The second section presents the findings of the research. These are structured around four themes: practices of participation; citizenship building for accountability; inclusion challenges; and other positive outcomes from the work with citizens. Finally, the third section provides conclusions and spells out questions that remain after this exercise. These questions will be useful for CEP, as well as other social accountability initiatives, to bear in mind when thinking about citizen participation for accountability.

Section 1. Background to this study

1.1 Decentralization context in Mozambique

The decentralization waves that swept many parts of Africa, Asia and Latin America over the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s are testimony to a growing attention to, and engagement with, local governance. They embody the high hopes that both ‘neoliberal’ and ‘liberal-democratic’ perspectives placed on ‘development from below’ (Joshi and Schultze-Kraft 2014: 1).¹ Within vast parts of the global south, reforms towards decentralization were marked by their linkage to the promotion and deployment of Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs in English, known as PARPAs in Portuguese) by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, as basis for writing off debts or making new loans to highly indebted countries. These institutions and its advocates conceived these instruments as a means for improving ‘country ownership’, as countries were supposed to write their own three year national development plans, which detailed macroeconomic policies, government spending targets and also social development programs (Fraser 2011: 317).

The Mozambican government followed the decentralization approach highly incentivized by the donor community through their significant contributions to the PARPAs (Weimer 2012: 13). However, authors have noted that Mozambique embarked upon decentralization in the 1990s without any clear policy and strategy and the extent of the decentralization processes is debatable in itself and has not translated into significant improvements for democracy (Forquilha 2014). Akesson and Nilsson (2006: 50) argue that in reality the centralist historical continuity in Mozambique has, in its essence, survived the constitutional changes of 1990 and 2004. Weimer (2012: 13) agrees:

The process of decentralization has been undertaken in Mozambique in such a way that it has not challenged, unless only fractionally, the role of the central government and the control of

¹ Joshi and Schultze-Kraft state that two schools of thought on ‘the local’ can be discerned. One strand, neoliberal, is concerned with the promotion of political pluralism. In this view decentralization is a vehicle for more effective and (market)-efficient provision of goods and services. The other strand is mostly concerned with issues of citizen representation and participation in the political process.

the political party in power. This is hindering the consolidation of the practice of democracy and the free expression of local interests.

Formally, the legal framework for the implementation of the decentralization reforms was approved taking shape in the laws on locally elected municipalities (Law 2/97) and on local state bodies (Law 8/2003). The later reform seen by the government as crucial to its efforts to move the focus of development to district level, and to create new bases for legitimate governance (Akesson and Nilsson 2006: 21). Hence, the consolidation of democracy in Mozambique could finally be perceived at the local level after 2003 when multi-party elections took place. Democratization was accompanied by a two-pronged decentralization process: devolution in municipalities and deconcentration in provinces and districts. Devolution refers to ‘the transfer of funds and powers – including decision-making powers, and sometimes revenue-raising powers – from higher levels in political systems to elected bodies at lower levels’. Whilst deconcentration is ‘the transfer of administrative powers, and sometimes administrative personnel, from higher to lower levels in political systems’ (Manor 2009).

The most widely-known initiatives towards decentralization in Mozambique include the aforementioned laws on municipalities and on local state bodies; the inclusion in public administration of traditional chiefs and other community leaders (frequently members of Frelimo’s political mobilization units); the creation of provincial-level assemblies, publicly elected but with questionable amount of power; and the so-called ‘Seven Million Meticaís District Development Fund’, conceived as a credit scheme jointly managed by the District Administrators and Consultative Councils -a fund that until now has been perceived to work mostly as a donation scheme, rather than a public finance one (De Brito 2012: 10).

At the district-level, the high point of the decentralization process was the establishment of Institutions for Community Participation and Consultation (IPCCs), commonly known as Consultative Councils (CCs), Community Development Councils and Local Forums². The main objective of the CCs was to establish a public administration for development through a space in which citizens participate and influence decision making. These councils were institutionalized only for the district and lower levels: administrative post, locality and village. Each level must have its own CC, but lower levels must be represented in the subsequent higher layer in order to convey their interests and needs. Despite the fact that the legislation is clear that the focus of co’ activity should be to foster the participation of the citizens and interaction between communities and the state, the vagueness of some laws has been

² In accordance with the Decree no 11/200522, regulating the Law on Local State Organs, Local Consultative Councils are created at three different levels in the district:

- One council composed of 10-20 members at the Locality level;
- One council with 20-40 members at the Administrative Post level and
- One council with 30-50 members at District level.

At least 30% of the members should be women. The members of the councils are not elected in the same way as when a person is elected in a democratic election. Those taking part in the councils are proposed and approved by the community. This is a process that tried to mirror the process for selecting traditional leaders. Ultimately, consultative councils were created in an effort to broaden the interface between, on the one hand, the state administration at district and sub-district level, and, on the other hand, the population in general, local elites, and a variety of legitimized social and cultural leaders and personalities at community level. On paper, these consultative councils are aimed at guaranteeing community participation in the planning and development processes (Akesson and Nilsson 2006: 38).

exploited by NGOs and donors as an entry point for advancing accountability at the local level with mixed results (Faehndrich and Nhantumbo 2013: 12-13).

Initially the impacts of devolution were generally positive, particularly in relation to service provision and the capacity to generate revenue locally in the context of a highly centralised state and limited fiscal devolution (Linder 2009: 25). Formal elections also resulted in some victories for opposition parties, such as Renamo and *Movimento Democrático de Moçambique* (MDM). On the other hand deconcentration, in which Consultative Councils were involved, also appeared to start opening some spaces for civil society, even though – contrary to the law – the process became more political than developmental (Faehndrich and Nhantumbo 2013: 12). Table 2, summarizes some other positive outcomes of the decentralization in Mozambique according to Weimar.

Table 2. Outcomes of decentralization in Mozambique*
1. The decentralization to the district-level of the planning and budgeting processes, a task that only started as a pilot project in Nampula fifteen years ago, became a country-wide process which provides financial resources and purchasing power to the districts.
2. The locally elected municipalities (known in Mozambique as ‘ <i>autarquias</i> ’) started to achieve progress regarding the profitable supply of certain public services despite the evident lack of resources (human, financial, infrastructure) and the many ongoing operational challenges they face on a daily basis.
3. The basis for a solid local fiscal framework was created; despite the fact that for the time being it only covers the municipalities. The challenges mostly relate to its efficient allocation, as well as a transparent and functioning of public finances at the municipal level.
4. The creation of municipalities also fostered the democratisation process through periodic elections which are now a relevant component of the political agenda; generating a certain degree of change in the regime.

*Table made by the author with information from Weimer 2012: 20-21.

However, scholars have also raised concerns of the deeper negative consequences of the decentralization process: ‘there is a vast chasm between the benefits that proponents of decentralization have claimed that reforms can have on service delivery, economic development and social cohesion and the reality, according to empirical research’ (Scott 2009: 9). Among the main reasons that explain this gap are that decentralization may increase the risk of elite capture of local governments and result in the strengthening of informal patronage networks and patron-client relationships (Schultze-Kraft and Morina 2014: 94). This speaks clearly to the Mozambican case, as Frelimo in order to retain power has used the decentralization initiatives as mechanisms for establishing local-level alliances, and consolidating a clientelist system, based on resource redistribution from a neo-patrimonial state (De Brito 2012: 10).

Moreover, in the last few years, former president Armando Guebuza largely promoted deconcentration at the district-level, highlighting districts as the basic units for policy design



and citizen consultation, with the objective of extending the reach of the neo-patrimonial state model and consolidate Frelimo's power (Weimer 2012: 19). Moreover, this clientelist approach to decentralization has direct implications for accountability at the community-level:

(...) representation within Consultative Councils is filtered by the relationship that is developed with the ruling party'. If Frelimo makes participation, inclusion and involvement in a decision-making process conditional on party affiliation and accentuates exclusion and intolerance, biases in accountability can be anticipated.
(Forquilha and Orre 2011: 51)

This political and institutional scenario is aggravated by poor education, the absence of either a national decentralization policy or law on access to information, and the bypass of local authorities by the 'open and inclusive presidency' instated by Guebuza. Certainly, these fragilities require examination of factors that shape the actions of civil society in accountability initiatives (Faehndrich and Nhantumbo 2013: 15). As it is seen in the following sections, **understanding and navigating the political context in which *Facilidade's* work with citizens groups has developed, has been a crucial component for the evolution and conceptualization of projects and programs for this organization.** It is essential that CEP, as an ambitious program that aims to achieve change, from the facility to the national-level, understands and questions the politics surrounding each particular setting.

1.2 Methodology of this case study

The fieldwork for this study was conducted using an adaptation of an Action-Learning process, which is part of the Participatory and Action Research methodological approach to inquiry in the social sciences. There are many different kinds of participatory and action research, and they are easily confused; often lumped together into a single 'alternative' by virtue of what makes them different from 'conventional' research. In this alternative, the people affected by an issue are involved in defining their concerns, their learning leads directly to changes in their practice, and their findings are also used by themselves and others to advocate change. This contrasts with conventional research in which outsiders largely define the problem, analyze it and make recommendations, which -intend to- lead to changes in practice (Pettit 2012: 11)

The tradition of Action Learning originated in industrial and organizational settings in the UK more than 60 years ago. This original definition of action learning recognised that groups of practitioners facing similar challenges can be trusted to reflect on their experience, ask good questions and develop practical solutions – often better than outside experts can, and even without the help of facilitators (Revans 1983; Kramer 2007). Since then, there have since been many versions of action-learning, mostly used in organizational settings to improve effectiveness or performance. The basis of an action-learning process is that a person and/or organization needs to critically reflect on what has been done, question their actions and assumptions; think what should be done differently; and finally plan for change accordingly. This process is simplified in Figure 1.



Figure 1. Action-learning cycle



Overall, the design of the action-learning research allowed for both, Facilidade members of staff and members of the citizen groups and community-based organisations (CBOs) who were part of the research to use participatory tools and methods to reflect on their work so far; speak about their personal drivers, dialogue about the obstacles and enablers to achieve their collective aims across the last five years. To avoid common downsides to action research, such as placing too much emphasis on the method and losing sight of the power, position and behavior of the researcher/facilitator, and the ethical dilemmas that arise in all research processes (Pettit 2012: 11-12); certain precautionary measures were taken.

The first measures related to the design of the process for conducting the case study; to start the research it was imperative that Facilidade deemed it useful for their own purposes. Hence, as it can be seen in Figure 2, a scope visit was done early in 2014 to better understand the different perspectives and interests in the conduction of this study by the multiple parties: CEP Programme Management, *Facilidade* executive team, and members of the Murrupula district-level citizen network. Afterwards, a methodological concept note was developed in an iterative manner outlining the objectives and questions that the parties would like to answer through the case study. Three overarching objectives were constructed:

1. **Learning with and from communities:** Draw out relevant learning for the CBOs and citizen networks, from the work supported by Facilidade for collective action and accountability initiatives for citizenship building.
2. **Learning for Facilidade:** Prompt an organisational learning process that this organisation can undertake for its own purposes and programming.
3. **Learning for CEP:** Reflect on the action-learning approach in order to develop a guide to be used by the Learning and Advocacy Networks alongside implementing partners. Relate the lessons learnt to relevant components of the programme both in the methodological approach being used for the CSCs as well as further learning activities.

Figure 2. Timeline *Facilidade* case study 2014



The second measures were linked to the flexible and reflective approach to the methods and tools used through the research process. As Pettit (2012: 13) argues:

Appropriate methods need to be identified, but this is no substitute for critical reflection on the power dynamics of the learning process and the actors involved. It is also helpful to reflect critically on the transformative claims of the methods, the origins and theories behind them, and how they might need to be adapted or questioned (...)

Overall, the methods chosen for conducting the fieldwork were diverse and aimed at responding to the three overarching objectives (see Annex 2) as well as engaging people through dialogue, creativity and reflection from a personal to a community-level. The process was structured in two separate moments.

- **Two-day workshop with *Facilidade's* executive team.** The first day occurred before conducting the visits to the districts; the methods used on that day had a twofold objective. On one hand, they were useful for the lead researcher to better understand the concerns of the executive team and get a feeling for the organizational moment in order to revise and adapt accordingly the activities for day two of the workshop. On the other, they allowed *Facilidade* staff to understand the steps taken to obtain the knowledge and reflections from the fieldwork with the citizen groups as the exercises were similar, although not exactly the same. The second day of the workshop happened after fieldwork; then, the executive team created an organisational newsletter that gathered the positive and negative reflections derived from questioning the fieldwork 'data'. There was also some space for discussion of the major challenges perceived; however, a major constraint was time and *Facilidade* staff would have liked to deepen the discussion and talk about the next steps.
- **Dialogue with citizens in 5 localities.** A process was designed to dialogue with the citizens for approximately half a day in each locality; in some localities it was possible to also conduct brief interviews with school directors and/or teachers. The methods used to facilitate this dialogue was taken in order to understand the personal and the collective dynamics within the group; particularly the drivers and most relevant experiences lived through their participation in these collectives. It is important to say that no process was exactly the same; the activities planned were adapted from one group to the other in order to better suit its dynamic. Having an open conversation at



the end of each session amongst the facilitators³ was essential for achieving this flexibility that allowed for improved conversations to develop.

Despite these cautionary measures; it is true that the case study came with its flaws and challenges. As noted in the introduction, this research was undertaken as part of the learning component of CEP; which has at its core an approach to *learning for social change*, not only learning for the sake of generating academic knowledge. Hence, in the conclusions to this case study, the challenges that remain open to achieving a continuous process for learning for social change within CEP will be outlined.

Section 2. Findings of the study

In this section the findings from both, the workshop with *Facilidade's* executive staff and the citizens groups are jointly presented. These are organized around four sub-sections, aiming to capture the learning around practices of participation; citizen engagement for accountability; the challenges of inclusion and representation; as well as other relevant outcomes derived from the work with citizen groups.

2.1 Practices of participation

Alongside the figure of Consultative Councils as the mechanism for citizen engagement in development issues from the locality level, the Mozambican government also instituted sector-based mechanisms for citizen participation. For the education sector, in 2003, the figure of 'school councils' was introduced across primary schools. This was seen as an important initiative; a step towards democratizing the school management and to bring closer the schools and the communities. The shift from the Directorate to the school council as the main decision-making body within the schools signaled an increased value given to the participation of relevant actors to the education process: teachers, service providers, parents, pupils and the wider community. However, an extensive study conducted by CESC (2011) showed that in reality the schools approach the community mostly for financial support or for building a new classroom, but they rarely make public their expenditures nor the financial records from the diverse funds received; overlooking the existing regulations (KULA 2014: 31). The health sector intended to go further (at least on paper). In 2004, the Ministry of Health (MISAU) launched its Community Involvement Strategy, which highlights how key the participation of local communities in primary health care service delivery is. The strategy relies on the principles of community mobilization, community ownership and community empowerment towards achieving effective health care through two types of community health agents who act as the link between health facilities and local communities (service users). MISAU's health promotion strategy prioritizes health facility co-management committees (*Comités de Co-Gestão*) as a means of responding to patients' complaints and encouraging community member participation in health facility management. It also focuses on health committees (*Comités de Saúde*), which focus on health promotion at community level. More recently, the MISAU's

³ The facilitators group was formed by three people. The lead researcher who is part of CEP's Innovation Lab, a component of the program whose objective is to develop and adapt methodologies for research and learning in citizen participation. The director of Facilidade who provided the leadership needed to drive the organisational learning process forward and co-facilitated in the local language Macua all the activities in the localities. Finally, a member from CEP's Health Learning and Advocacy Hub to learn the methodology and be able to replicate a similar process with other CEP implementing partners if requested.



Strategy for Quality Improvement and Humanization of Health Care (2011-2014) also supports the active participation of service users and local communities in monitoring the quality of services delivered as a means to improving the relationship between health service users and providers. The strategy proposes service users are provided dialogue and feedback mechanisms, such as satisfaction surveys, opinion polls, complaint phone lines and books, etc. (CEP's Advocacy Strategy 2013).

Despite what is set on the law, in reality all of these mechanisms have limited power – they approve rather than take decisions, and do not monitor the decisions or actions taken. However, an evaluation carried out by ITAD and COWI in late 2011, revealed that civil society in Mozambique has gained valuable experience in engaging in policy dialogue through a range of processes and strategies; frequently outside the several invited spaces⁴ created by the government. As it can be seen from this case study, citizen participation cannot only mean attending meetings, responding to consultations or ticking boxes. Much depends on who participates, what they participate in and what effect their engagement actually has on the outcomes of decisions, policies or programmes (Cornwall 2008: 19).

During the 1990s and early 2000s Nampula saw the 'blooming' of so-called citizen participation initiatives; pilot programmes from the central government as well as numerous projects funded by international cooperation were implemented. Nampula became the province at the forefront of citizen participation due to numerous sociopolitical and even historical factors⁵. One of the outcomes of this boom, was the creation of numerous grassroots organizations such as the Local Development Committees (CDLs, from their name in Portuguese), Rotating Credit and Savings Groups, and user committees that were working mainly in three sectors: water, education, and agriculture. Alongside the grassroots organizations, CSOs such as Facilidade, Ophavela, Olipa-Odes, and Akilizetho, just to mention a few, emerged to complement the work of these groups.

As previously mentioned, *Facilidade* initiated work with these citizen groups as a programme for strengthening local civil society capacity and improving local governance. Once it became a CSO, Facilidade built its citizen participation strategy on interaction and support to the already existent CBOs in the province as stated in its Strategic Plan 2010-2014. Their approach never aimed for the creation of new citizen collectives or groups; on the contrary, the objective was to facilitate access to material, symbolic, and relational resources to those already existed. Regarding material resources, Facilidade has supported groups with grant schemes for income-generating activities; some of the symbolic resources that have been provided relate to strengthening individual confidence and awareness-raising; finally, relational resources are generated in dialogue and interaction with the other members of the group, local level formal and informal authorities, and the rest of the community.

The citizens groups partnering with Facilidade (see Annex 1 for the list of localities and participants in the research) recognized the value of the grants they had received for income-

⁴ Here, 'invited spaces' refers to fora or platforms set up by Government and/or other development partners where CSOs are invited to participate; 'claimed spaces' are fora or platforms set up or initiated by CSOs.

⁵ For a comprehensive review of the socio-political characteristics that allowed Nampula province to be at the forefront of citizen participation initiatives, debates and other innovative policies see Weimar 2012b



generating activities; however, **it was the opportunity to learn, strengthen their voice, and interact with others** that sparked their interest on participating in the diverse activities organized by Facilidade such as trainings and in mobilizing for improving their communities continues driving them forward. Comments such as this from Julia in Maquela, now a youth animator in charge of supporting the creation of new CDLs, were heard across the five research groups:

I have learned a lot of skills. I am not shy anymore and I am able to speak in public

‘Empowerment’, ‘democracy’, and ‘community participation’ means different things to different people. For some, it is about efficiency and the neoliberal mantra of choice; for others, it is about giving ordinary people the democratic right to contribute to decisions that affect their lives and about voice (Cornwall 2008: 19). Through the fieldwork and the workshop held with Facilidade, it was observed that the combination of material, symbolic, and relational resources has fostered particular skills and knowledge within the citizen groups which could be conceptualized as a **bi-dimensional model of practice for participation**.

The first dimension relates to the citizens groups participating in institutionalized mechanisms such as the aforementioned consultative councils, and the school, health and water committees. A few members of CDLs, the Women’s savings group and all the members of the Multi-thematic network participate in a variety of committees. Whilst describing the pathway followed for reaching their most important achievement, many spoke about the strategies undertaken to influence formal policymaking processes and actors, such as influencing the District Development Plan in Namualli or negotiating with health authorities who were opposing the creation of a Maternity Health facility as in Maquela. When listening and reading the transcripts from the fieldwork, *Facilidade’s* executive team also recognized the efforts being made; a member of staff felt proud to see that citizens were taking their ‘development in their own hands’.

The second dimension relates to allowing and promoting the participation of the rest of the community members in their activities. It is a fact that not all citizens are keen on participating; scholars on the field of citizen participation have long grappled with the question of ‘who participates’ as most instances of citizen participation involve only some citizens, some of the time (Houtzager et.al. 2003, Skidmore et.al.2006). Full participation is rarely possible; even in the most open-ended of participatory exercises will involve only a fraction of potential participants; it is hard to achieve deep and wide participation. Yet where citizen participation has succeeded in bringing about positive change, it has often been through a combination of broad-based consultation and in-depth collaboration (Cornwall 2008: 24). Facilidade’s model nearly fits this approach. On the one hand, the citizens groups involved in this research have been continuously engaged for an extended period of time in various training, advocacy and research activities. It is evident that these people are outspoken and have gained certain status within their villages, as it was evidenced by one of the local leaders in Maquela:

I am not a member of the CDL. However, I think those communities that don’t have a CDL are left behind because they are missing on a lot of knowledge. CDL members are like messengers; the ones that bring the needs and questions from the communities to local authorities and beyond.

Manuel- Member of Community Jury

Furthermore, this statement denotes a perception of trust by the authority figures within the community; the fact that these groups have become a reference point between their communities and the formal and informal local authorities. It is important to recognize that strong citizen groups not always advance the common interest. Hence, it is the way that *Facilidade* has designed its programs, what has sustained the practice of integrating the wider community needs as part of these group aims. For example, the women's savings group in Quinga decided to have some members dedicated to building relationships with the wider community in the school, near the water sources, and the health center; they talked to the people to see what was not working. As well, from the income they generated through their poultry micro-business; some shelters were built for people to wait outside the health facility. Despite these efforts, challenges with inclusiveness of all social groups and representation are still present (as seen in section 2.3).

When analyzing the practices of participation set out by *Facilidade*, a caveat found was that there is room for strengthening works towards fostering 'informal' or 'spontaneous' citizen participation. Taking the definition given decades ago by Arnstein (1969: 216), in her influential work:

(...) citizen participation is a categorical term for citizen power. It is the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future. It is the strategy by which the have-nots join in determining how information is shared, goals and policies are set, tax resources are allocated, programs are operated, and benefits like contracts and patronage are parceled out. In short, it is the means by which they can induce significant social reform which enables them to share in the benefits of the affluent society.

Facilidade is keen on seeing citizens campaigning, mobilizing, and demanding rights for gaining more meaningful access to power and decision-making; however, the outcomes of their work with the groups are still limited. On one side, they are pleased to see that citizens groups are able to identify actors that can support their aims, start to conduct certain administrative processes on their own, amongst others. On the other side, they recognize that the groups continue to depend on financial donations and remain vulnerable to partisan politics and the clientelist dynamics of Mozambique's political system mentioned on Section 1.

The citizen groups have only marginally shifted the power balance. For example, the work done with the multi-thematic citizen network in Murrupula has sparked citizens' ideas on how they could work in a more coordinated way across the whole district to achieve common goals. Despite being at an early stage, the support given by facilitating these encounters could focus on fostering this third dimension of participation: collective action⁶ for achieving rights and accountability. *Facilidade* has awareness that this third dimension of participation comes with a cost, as it explicitly challenges those in power. For that purpose, the organization has started to take a serious approach to risk assessment and protection of activists; currently thinking about innovative ways on how to build this component into their programs.

⁶For the purpose of this briefing we use the following definition: The process through which people come together, define shared goals, and agree how to pursue these goals, and take action (Burns et.al. 2013: 2).



2.2 Citizenship building for accountability

At the beginning of 2014, as part of CEP's learning activities, IDS produced a comprehensive background document which provided an overview of some of the most cutting-edge experiences of social accountability and citizen engagement practices from various African contexts as well as other international ones, as a means to help raise the overall level of interest and awareness of citizen engagement practices in Mozambique (Kelbert and McGee 2014: 1). According to this study, social accountability initiatives have sprung up in the void that existed between citizen-side efforts to promote participation and voice, and state-side efforts to promote development effectiveness and democratic governance. These have arisen in response to increasing evidence of the inadequacies of traditional political accountability and state-led mechanisms. Kelbert and McGee note that despite the appeal of social accountability, it is nonetheless deeply political in terms of stakes and impacts (p.2).

Joshi (2011) traces the origins of social accountability to two 'ideological streams'. One is New Public Management that gave rise to a form of accountability to 'service users as individual consumers who could choose to use these mechanisms or, alternatively, exit in favor of other providers'. The other is the 'deepening democracy' school of thought which advocates the direct participation of citizens in governance and, broadly speaking, includes the promotion of social movements and their claims to services as rights (Avritzer 2002; Fox 2007; Fung and Wright 2003; Gaventa 2006). **This particular perception of services as rights and citizens as right-holders -rather than service providers and consumers- inevitably changes the approach to initiatives for social accountability** and the relationship built with and amongst the so-called beneficiaries of these services. For example, if health is seen as a need, then people are grateful when there is willingness and someone able to provide help. If it is seen as a service, then people try to understand the conditions and transactions necessary to secure that service from the government. **When it is understood as a right, however, it is no longer just a private transaction, it now has collective and public significance** (Shahrokh 2015, forthcoming, my emphasis). In this moment accountability goes beyond a bureaucratic procedure or transaction and becomes an outcome of citizenship building.

To explain how citizenship is being constructed and defined by the members of this citizens groups, unpacking the definition constructed by Naila Kabeer (2005: 21-22) is useful.

First element: *A citizen is '(...) someone who belongs to different kinds of collective associations and defines their identity from participation in activities associated with these different kinds of membership. Their sense of citizenship lies in the terms on which they participate in this collective life and the forms of agency they are able to exercise.'*

This element relates to the fact that citizenship is not constructed in isolation. Legal documentation and identity registries are important –unfortunately, many times essential- to have access to most entitlements, such as pensions or health facilities. But **a true sense of citizenship is only developed in the collective, in the way that an individual is able to interact in spaces from the family to the wider nation-state.** People living in poverty and marginalisation want to be allowed to build equitable social relationships that secure their rights in their everyday realities. They want to organise themselves and build communities where they can discuss and deliberate citizenship and rights, and ultimately to respond to the failure of provision or protection of their rights by demanding accountability (Shahrokh in Burns et.al. 2015: 17)

In this regard, the citizen groups working with *Facilidade* have developed their sense of citizenship at the community and even at the district-level. As it has been mentioned, many of the participants involved in these CBOs are also members of other groups such as parents associations, and health and water councils. Across all of the groups participating in this research there was a sense of cohesion; often expressed as what made people feel most happy about their journey within the group was that the sense that they are not alone. A sense that there are other community members interested in collaborating towards a common cause and the spaces for learning and sharing ideas and concerns:

In the CDL we have been learning about our rights. How to protect the natural resources we have. In fact, we also helped a community nearby to make a better use of the taxes they are receiving from the exploitation of natural resources

Julio – Namualli

Second element: *‘When citizens are only able to participate on highly unequal terms, or are denied access altogether, citizenship relates to their attempts to challenge these exclusionary practices and bring about change’*

Overall, in the localities visited for the purposes of this case study access to basic services and respect to rights is still highly restricted. In all cases, the CBOs have had to unite to bring about change; from the building of a school facility, as in Namualli, to getting support from the authorities to re-design the village layout like in Namanchepa, where Alfredo, stated:

The new CDL is a kind of bridge between the people and the government. They take the demands from the people to the government; but also concerns and information from the government to the people.

Some of the CBOs’ demands have gained traction with both local community leaders (cabo, régulo, secretário) and formal authorities from the administrative post up to the provincial level. Interesting to note is the fact that for certain changes to happen it was necessary to engage with both informal and formal power holders and structures. For example, in order to shift significant customary practices, such as the initiation rituals for girls -one of the major obstacles for keeping girls in school- it was necessary to involve the informal local leaders as they continue to be powerful figures of authority which people seek for guidance. As mentioned in Section 2.1 all citizen groups have also negotiated their demands through formal policy spaces; attending meetings and assemblies in order to hold authorities accountable and achieve their rights to health, water, education and land.

IN FOCUS: Community Scorecards building citizenship?

An interesting feature of citizenship is expressed via the Community Scorecard (CSC) tool for social accountability which Facilidade introduced to the Women's Savings Group (A vida começa assim) in Quinga. Despite the low levels of literacy within the group, the women took the lead on conducting this monitoring process of health, water and education facilities. There was a lively discussion about the usefulness of engaging with this process; of course, not without disagreement on some of the outcomes. However, all women agreed that it was satisfying to be able to organize different community members come and dialogue about the issues raised by the CSC and give ideas on how to address them.

The scorecard has made us empowered; now the service providers are scared of coming to the engagement meeting because we are not anymore a silenced community.

Mama Mariamo - Leader of the Savings Group

The fact that citizens across all the communities were able to identify the key actors, particularly within the government, that they could link to in order to achieve their aims, was recognized by *Facilidade* staff as a positive feature of their work. Also, the *Facilidade* co-researchers were surprised about the changes in people's attitudes and perceptions of their position as citizens able to demand rights that the Community Scorecard process has brought to some of these groups. In addition to Quinga (see IN FOCUS), the CDLs of Maquela and Namanchepa also talked about the usefulness of this collective monitoring exercise as a means for holding accountable those in power:

Before, even if we were detecting the problems, we didn't know how to approach the authorities to achieve this change. So with the scorecard we learned how to do that; we could now bring the evidence to the government of the satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the services

Group reflection - Maquela

The learnings derived from this short case study resonate with Shahrokh's (2015 forthcoming) views. Firstly, they relate to the understanding that to engender accountability for people living in poverty and marginalisation strategies need to be grounded in processes of empowerment that are both an individual personal process and a collective, political one. Secondly, that networked approaches that engage multiple actors in processes of accountability are important for bringing together multiple and diverse knowledge sets, and build power for change. Finally, that it is critical for actors supporting these groups, such as *Facilidade*, to continue pushing for consolidating changes at structural and institutional levels, in order to see responsiveness and the enforcement of laws that protect the citizenship rights of all; as well as generating the enabling environment for citizens to generate spaces where the possibilities for freedom of voice and association, and collective actions toward social justice can be transformed (i.e. the third dimension of participation).

Box 2. Implications for CEP on citizenship building

- CEP could support the existence of spaces for citizens to dialogue. These ideally will be informal and do not need to follow a process or agenda. Having these spaces shall not be linked to 'ticking a box' for the programme. People would be free to join and when they have the time to do so and will be setting the agenda.
- Formal trainings on rights and citizenship are important and should continue at the core of the CEP activities but it is important to keep them meaningful and perhaps complement with other skills training relevant for the day to day lives of the people in localities.
- CEP shall revise the work it is doing with the power-holders to also raise awareness amongst them about transforming the paternalist or clientelist way of relating to citizens. Working with 'both sides of the equation' is key to social accountability processes.

2.3 Inclusion

An inclusive society must have the institutions, structures, and processes that empower local communities, so they can hold their governments accountable. It also requires the participation of all groups in society, including traditionally marginalized groups, such as ethnic minorities and indigenous populations, in decision-making processes (World Bank 2013a: 33). However, achieving full inclusion has proven to be one of the major challenges for development, this has been evidenced by the growing interest over the last five years on addressing inequality. From national level poverty reduction policies to grassroots programs and activities, there are individuals and groups that are excluded based on their identity. Among the most common group identities resulting in exclusion are gender, race, caste, ethnicity, religion, and disability status. Social exclusion based on such group attributes can lead to lower social standing, often accompanied by lower outcomes in terms of income, human capital endowments, access to employment and services, and voice in both national and local decision making (World Bank 2013b: 5).

As it was seen in section 2.1; the dilemma of inclusion/exclusion is inherent to participation as in practice, even the most open-ended of participatory exercises will involve only a fraction of potential participants (Cornwall 2008: 24). Inclusion has both implications for the practices of participation within a group of citizens as well as towards the wider community; also, it has implications for accountability as often the groups knowledgeable of accountability processes/mechanisms exclude certain types of people. For example, Mahmud's (2002) study of collective action in Bangladesh showed how social hierarchies in groups mobilising in the health and education sectors constrained the possibilities of equity within group actions. In all four cases examined, actions were induced by more powerful groups outside of the community and unequal power-sharing within the community.

Facilidade has been aware of the risks of exclusion, and they have set up certain parameters in their programs to improve levels of inclusion. The most notable are democratic processes for electing leaders and gender balance in group membership. However, it is important to note



that all human collectives despite being governed by the same set of rules, inevitably develop different group dynamics. The characteristics of each of the individual members as well as the context within which they arise are highly influential on the ways groups operate and relate within themselves and towards the wider community.

The groups visited were no exception. For example, the CDL in Maquela showed valuable shifts in gender balance and influence; they have a female president and overall women were able to take charge and participate in equal terms as men not only in their group but also in other decision-making spaces. This was something they were proud of:

I feel that is relevant that we are learning about gender issues, that women can also become leaders not only in CDL but also in the community and beyond. For example, now the district administrator is also a woman

Martinho – CDL Member since 2002

On the contrary, in Namualli the CDL has reduced its membership from more than 20 people to only 13 members. Despite having gender balance in membership, women are not as outspoken or taken meaningfully into consideration. The discussions were dominated by the men who were older, traditional leaders and linked to the ruling party. The women's group in Quinga is powerful, they managed to buy a small plot and construct a base for their work in the village. When asked what the men of the community thought of their group, they were confident to say that they are seen with respect, as entrepreneurs who were able to start a poultry micro-business. In Namanchepa the group dynamic was mixed, a few women were at the forefront of discussions, but younger, more religious and less educated women were notably quiet and less confident. Finally, the citizens in the Multi-thematic district-level network were mostly outspoken, evidencing the fact that they are all leaders within their communities and thematic networks. Despite the fact that they also elect their leader democratically and shall follow gender balance parameters, during the research it was observed that certain traditional gender roles were perpetuated. For example, only men were working in the agriculture thematic network whereas women belonged to the education and water networks. This was noted by the *Facilidade* lead researcher and came as a surprise, as this goes against the existent rules on gender balance and inclusion for the networks.

The notion of 'intersectionality' or 'intersecting inequalities' has become a widespread framework for understanding social inclusion/exclusion dynamics and is relevant to our study. The intersection of different realms of an individual's identity can produce a multiplication of advantage or disadvantage. For instance, the intersection of gender, age, ethnicity, and place of residence can have significantly more deleterious effects than the effects of gender alone (World Bank 2013b: 7). This is the case of Namanchepa mentioned above, inequalities amongst the women in the group were observed linked to age and perhaps religion. Other identities also seem underrepresented or inexistent in these groups. A few very young women and men are part of the CDLs focusing on sports and sexual and reproductive health. However, the inclusion of children or people with disabilities was not even spoken about in the composition of any of these groups. As well, for the author if this study it was impossible to grasp if certain ethnic minorities, landless farmers, widows, people living with HIV-AIDS were being included as these characteristics are not as evident. As such, it would be relevant for *Facilidade* to think

how it could be possible to integrate work with these sectors of the population as they tend to be those most marginalised and commonly excluded from development interventions.

Despite challenges on inclusion within the groups, *Facilidade* executive team is well aware of the risks of working with established groups which are better-off and more skillful than the rest of the community, as this can easily lead to a situation known as ‘elite capture’⁷. But, their rationale behind this approach is twofold. On one hand, *Facilidade* aims to avoid the imposition of ‘participation for development’ as opposed to working with those collectives who are already motivated and organised to take action for social change; they are not ‘pushing’ for participation. On the other hand, this scheme is thought to increase the possibilities for long term sustainability of initiatives and programmes and decrease dependency from NGOs and donors. As the fieldwork showed, this strategy has resulted successful in the sense of sustaining the drive and energy of people to keep participating. Nonetheless, dependency on the development sector is still significant due to the lack of other state-driven support structures or sufficient funds derived from the income-generating activities or the profitability of their livelihoods. Despite being slightly better-off, these citizens groups indeed confront high levels of material poverty.

In order to mitigate the risks of elite capture, *Facilidade* has designed certain strategies in their programmes and grant-making schemes. The scorecard process requires that the groups involve citizens from the community in an ‘interface meeting’ with the service providers. Hence, they are not accountable only to the CDLs or the thematic networks, they have to respond to the whole community. For the income-generating activities, it is mandatory that 10% of the proceedings are destined to a project that benefits the whole community. *Facilidade* staff recognised that there is still room for reflecting and learning from the wider community on how several of the challenges described in this section can be overcome.

Box 3. Implications for CEP on inclusion*

CEP works in highly marginalized rural localities; however, targeting those most excluded within these communities requires more efforts such as:

- The use of direct forms of communication and engagement such as rallies, door-to-door visits, open theatre in spaces for gathering such as markets and water pumps
- Speaking, as open as possible, about who has authority over the agenda, dynamics of authority and other protocols
- Implementing partners must reflect and avoid approaching always the ‘usual suspects’ to accomplish the targets

Assigning quotas for particular identities has been a longstanding tactic for increasing inclusion; however it has been shown that this approach is not straightforward. Quotas must also tackle other personal dimensions of exclusion such as low levels of self-esteem, confidence to be outspoken, etc. Hence CEP, shall also consider working more strengthening the sense of agency amongst citizens.

***The implications on this box were adapted from Cornwall 2008: 52-53**

⁷ For the purpose of this briefing we use the following definition: Elite capture is a phenomenon where resources transferred for the benefit of the masses are usurped by a few, usually politically and/or economically powerful groups, at the expense of the less economically and/or politically influential groups (Duta 2009: 2).



2.4 Other outcomes

In the previous sections, the outcomes on participation, citizenship building and inclusion have been described. Despite conducting only half-day group work, other two outcomes were evidenced, although to a lesser extent. The first one relates to the acquisition of both 'hard' and 'soft' skills for participating and contributing to the political, social and economic spheres. The second relates to the recognition of the centrality of transparency, not only from service providers but also amongst the community.

The terms 'soft skills' and 'hard skills' have been used in the Anglophone employability and human resources literature. Broadly speaking, soft skills encompass those individual characteristics that relate to personal qualities and/or interpersonal skills (for example, communication skills, creativity, cultural awareness, problem-solving skills, etc.) (Schulz 2008: 147-148); whereas hard skills refer to technical knowledge to conduct or deliver a task (for example, drive a tractor, doing business plans, etc.). For the purposes of social inclusion and citizen participation, it has been evidenced through a number of studies, that **is key to support excluded people to develop soft skills such as training in public speaking, awareness-raising on entitlements and rights, consciousness raising about their own position and the possibility of finding inner and collective power to act in the public spheres** (Cornwall 2008: 60). Nonetheless, soft skills are not enough if people are not able to materially sustain their households, technical skills for livelihoods development are also highly useful.

In this regard, *Facilidade* has a core component on capacity building which provides training on both; the citizens groups recognized the skills gained through their programs. So called hard skills were highly valuable for women engaged in an income-generating activity in Quinga:

For me the best of being part of this group is the training I received about financial management for small organizations and businesses

Sofia – Women's Savings Group

As well, a participant from the Agriculture Network in Murrupula district noted the usefulness of learning appropriate agricultural techniques and sharing them with her community. Members of the other citizens groups spoke about gaining knowledge on basic legislation regarding water management, land rights, the district planning processes, etc. Some networks have done surveys and mapping of services across their districts (Monapo and Murrupula) and used the data collected to meet with local government to discuss how to overcome the identified problems.

As mentioned in section 2.1, the soft skills were recognized by all the groups. People spoke about the confidence they have gained, the values they have built through the interaction within their citizen groups:

The training on women leadership I received was very relevant for me. I learned many skills to take the leadership of our group. I learn a lot that I would not learn in other places.

Lucia, president of CDL - Maquela



Regarding transparency on the management of public services, it was possible to see the importance these groups are giving to this when speaking to the multi-thematic district-level network. Of notice is the fact that the emphasis was given to intra-community accountability rather than on government/service provider – citizen relationship. For example, the water networks discussed the lack of clarity on the way the water fees were being used and managed. This was discussed with the water committees and they developed a plan to use payment confirmations (*recibos*) and regular meetings between the water councils and water users to explain the allocation of these money. Also, the Murrupula Water network said:

The most important achievement for us is that we were able to avoid misappropriation of the water pumps by community leaders. Some of them wanted to keep pumps for themselves and the rede prevented them of doing so...

In this sense, it is valuable to see that this aspect has been understood by most groups. It is often intra-community power dynamics that are in fact hindering the process of accountability and often other external actors such as ruling party officials and corporations are using traditional authorities and social leaders to legitimise their (often harmful) activities (Lopez Franco 2015: 26). Hence, having citizens aware of the danger of co-optation and manipulation is of great importance at a time when natural resource exploitation and industrialisation through land grabs is happening across Mozambique.

Box 4. Implications for CEP

- CEP shall continue to provide a mix of capacity building in soft and hard skills for conducting the CSC methodology. Confidence to speak-up is as important as understanding how to use the tool
- Intra-community dynamics are complex and a lot of awareness needs to be developed. CEP implementing partners should frequently monitor the political context and changes on formal and informal authorities to be aware of the shifts in power dynamics.



Section 3. Conclusions

The United Nations Secretary-General’s High-Level Panel of Eminent Persons on the Post-2015 Development Agenda (UN 2013) called for designing development goals that focus on reaching excluded groups. “Leave no one behind,” it advised. “We should ensure that no person—regardless of ethnicity, gender, geography, disability, race, or status—is denied universal human rights and basic economic opportunities.” However, such a global, worldwide call could never translate into something meaningful for the people on the ground if development programmes continue working top-down and keep ignoring the wider structural, and sociocultural norms that impede people to participate meaningfully in decision-making processes, exercise their citizenship and hold their formal and informal authorities to account.

NGOs and other organizations shall be aware that despite having the best intentions to help those they seek to represent, they may also end up speaking for them and limiting the opportunities for citizens to represent themselves (Cornwall 2008: 60). In this sense, *Facilidade* is in a path towards generating the spaces and conditions for citizen groups to travel their own route with minimum support from intermediary organisations; instead, building on the skills and networks developed across the last decade in Nampula province. As this paper shows, traction has been gained when looking at practices of participation, citizenship building for accountability, intra-community transparency and capacity building. However, there are still challenges for inclusion and most importantly for consolidating the conditions for these citizen groups to act autonomously (i.e. primarily stable income).

This case study also showed that the Community Scorecard process should be seen as a component –powerful if implemented properly- of a holistic strategy for improving all forms of governance and outcomes in health and education. Whilst it looks like the Mozambican society is moving in a direction towards more local participation and decentralization, guided by government decrees and other state bodies, it seems as if parts of this same government are distancing or de-linking themselves from this process more and more (Akesson and Nilsson 2006: 53). It is naïve to expect that interface meetings can solve the worst problems encountered in schools and health centers; the lack of infrastructure such as roads and electricity was an always present demand from the people encountered and many times the cause of deaths. This puts in evidence the limits that citizens, NGOs like *Facilidade*, and local authorities have to achieve change and foremost, exposes the need to rethink the strategies for engagement with those public and private structures that do have the decision-making power at the national level.



References

- Åkesson, G. and Nilsson, A. (2006) National Governance and Local Chieftaincy: A Multi-level Power Assessment of Mozambique from Niassa's perspective, Maputo: SIDA/ Swedish Embassy.
- Arnstein, S. (1969) 'A Ladder of Citizen Participation', Journal of the American Planning Association, 35.4, Routledge
- Barefoot Collective (2011) The Barefoot Guide to Learning Practices in Organisations and Social Change, published online www.barefootguide.org (accessed February 2014) UK: CDRA, PSO, VSO
- Burns, D.; Howard, J.; Lopez-Franco, E.; Shahrokh, T. and Wheeler, J. (2013) Work with us: How people and organisations can catalyse sustainable change, Brighton: IDS
- Cornwall, A. (2008) Democratising Engagement: What the UK can learn from international experience, London: DEMOS
- De Brito, Luis (2012) 'Prefacio' in Weimer, B. (ed.) Mocambique: Descentralizar o Centralismo – Economia Politica, Recursos e Resultados, Maputo: IESE
- Dutta, D. (2009) Elite Capture and Corruption: Concepts and Definitions, published online http://www.ruralgovncaer.org/images/product/doc/3_1345011280_EliteCaptureandCorruption1.pdf, National Council of Applied Economic Research (accessed October 2014)
- Faehndrich, M. Nhantumbo, I. (2012) 'Advancing Accountability through Conselhos Consultivos in Mozambique: PROGOAS Case Study', IDS Working Paper 420, Brighton: IDS
- Forquilha, S.C. and Orre, A. (2011) Transformações sem mudanças? Os Conselhos Locais e o desafio da institucionalização democrática em Moçambique, www.iese.ac.mz/lib/publication/livros/des2011/IESE_Des2011_2.Transf.pdf (accessed March 2014)
- Forquilha, S.C. (2014) 'The Paradox of Articulation of Local State Organs: From the discourse on decentralization to the conquest of local political spaces', Cadernos de Estudos Africanos, p. 89-114
- Fraser, A. (2011) 'Poverty reduction strategy papers: Now who calls the shots?', Review of African Political Economy, 32:104-105, 317-340
- Houtzager, P., Lavallo, A., Acharya, A. (2003) 'Who participates? Civil society and the new democratic politics in Sao Paulo Brazil', IDS Working Paper 210, Brighton: IDS
- Houtzager, P., Joshi, A. and Gurza Lavallo, A. (eds.) (2008) 'State Reform and Social Accountability', IDS Bulletin 38.6, Brighton: IDS
- Joshi, A. (2011) 'Review of Impact and Effectiveness of Transparency and Accountability Initiatives: Annex 1 Service Delivery', prepared for the Transparency and Accountability Initiative



Workshop October 2010 <http://www.transparency-initiative.org/workstream/impact-learning> (accessed 17 June 2013)

- Joshi and Schultze-Kraft (2014) 'Localising Governance: An Outlook on Research and Policy', IDS Bulletin 45.5, Brighton: IDS
- Kabeer, N. (ed.) (2005) *Inclusive Citizenship: Meanings and Expressions*, London: Zed Books
- Kramer, R. (2007) 'How Might Action Learning be used to Develop the Emotional Intelligence and Leadership Capacity of Public Administrators?', *Journal of Public Affairs Education* 13.2: 205–42
- KULA (2014) *Relatorio de Pesquisa Formativa: Saude e Educacao de Qualidade em Gaza, Manica, Zambezia e Nampula*, internal document prepared for informing the strategy of CEP, Maputo
- Mahmud, S. (2002) 'Spaces for participation in health systems in rural Bangladesh: the experience of stakeholder community groups' in Cornwall, A. and Schattan Coelho (eds.), *Spaces for Change? The politics of citizen participation in new democratic arenas*, London: Zed Books
- McGee, R. and Gaventa, J. (2010) *Review of Impact and Effectiveness of Transparency and Accountability Initiatives: Synthesis Report*, Brighton: IDS
- Pettit (2012) 'Getting to Grips with Power: Action Learning for Social Change in the UK', IDS Bulletin 43.3, Brighton: IDS
- Revens, R.W. (1983) *The ABC of Action Learning*, Bromley: Chertwell-Bratt
- Shahrokh, T. (2014) 'Collective action and participatory research as strategies toward citizen-led accountability' in Burns, D., Ikita, P., Lopez Franco, E. and Shahrokh, T. (eds.) *Citizen participation and accountability for sustainable change*, Brighton: IDS
- Schultze-Kraft, M. and Morina, E. (2014) 'Decentralisation and Accountability in War-to-Peace Transitions: The Case of Kosovo', IDS Bulletin 45.5, Brighton: IDS
- Schulz, B. (2008) 'The Importance of Soft Skills: Education beyond academic knowledge', *NAWA Journal of Language and Communication*, June 2008 (146-154), Windhoek: Polytechnic of Namibia
- Skidmore, P., Bound, K. and Lownsborough, H. (2006) *Community Participation: Who benefits?*, York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation
- Taylor, P.; Deak, A.; Pettit, J. and Vogel, I. (eds.) (2006) *Learning for Social Change: exploring concepts, methods and practice*, Brighton: IDS.
- Weimer, B. (2012) 'Para uma estratégia de descentralização em Moçambique: "Mantendo a falta de clareza?": Conjunturas, críticas, caminhos, resultados' in Weimer, B. (ed.) *Mocambique: Descentralizar o Centralismo – Economia Politica, Recursos e Resultados*, Maputo: IESE
- World Bank (2013a) *World Development Report 2013: Jobs*, Washington D.C.: World Bank.
(2013b) *Inclusion Matters: The Foundation for Shared Prosperity, New Frontiers of Social Policy*, Washington D.C.: World Bank



Annex 1. Groups participating in this study

- CDL Maquela: 21 participants
- CDL Namualli: 13 participants
- PCR Quinga: 13 participants
- CDL Namanchepa: 17 participants
- Murrupula district: Multi-thematic platform with representatives from water, agriculture and education networks. 14 participants

Annex 2: Methodological tools used in this Action Learning process

Learning with and from communities

CDLs and Women's Savings group

- Methods used
 - **Portrait:** Who are you? What makes you happy being part of this group? Describe the most important moment with the group?
 - **The pathways:** enablers, obstacles, moments of change

Multi-thematic citizen rede in Murrupula district

- Methods used:
 - **Portrait:** Not individual but collective. Achievements of each thematic rede
 - **Identifying a dream:** short-term objective for each rede
 - **Acting for our dream as a group:**
 - Which actors?
 - Activities with government, NGOs
 - Activities with community

Learning for Facilidade

Day 1: Pre-fieldwork

- Methods used
 - **Portrait:** drawing your thoughts, reflections; emotions and drivers; current responsibilities. Finally, what do you want to leave behind?
 - **Organisational timeline:** Key moments/events. What factors have contributed positively negatively to it? Which actors
 - **Collective reflection and discussion**

Day 2: After fieldwork

- Methods used
 - **Diário da Facilidade:** By analysing the documentation from the fieldwork Facilidade staff put together a journal including:
 - Reflections and thoughts about their work with citizens
 - Positive and negative surprises
 - Remaining questions to be answered
 - Reflections on the Action – Learning process