

# Urban Governance and Service Delivery in Chibuto Municipality

*An exploratory study on participation and gender issues*



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*Dedicated to my family,  
friends and all the people that  
supported me during this research.*

## List of Acronyms

AMOPROC	Associação Moçambicana para a Promoção da Cidadania
ANAMM	Associação Nacional de Municípios de Moçambique
CBOs	Community Based Organisations
CCM	Conselho Cristão de Moçambique
DDSMAS	Direcção Distrital da Saúde, Mulher e Acção Social
FIPAG	Fundo de Investimento e Património de Água
FRELIMO	Frente de Libertação de Moçambique
HDR	Human Development Report
INAS	Instituto Nacional de Acção Social
MAE	Ministério de Administração Estatal
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MZN	Mozambique New Metical
NES	National Education System
NGOs	Non-governmental Organisations
OJM	Organização da Juventude Moçambicana
OMM	Organização da Mulher Moçambicana
ONP	Organização Nacional de Professores
PARPA	Plano de Acção para a Redução da Pobreza Absoluta
PRSPs	Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers
RENAMO	Resistência Nacional Moçambicana
SDILD	Support to Decentralization and Integrated Local Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UN-HABITAT	United Nations Agency for Human Settlements
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WB	World Bank
WLSA	Women and Law in Southern Africa

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## 1. Introduction

Like many developing countries, Mozambique has undergone extensive political, social and economic transformations in the last couple of decades. Liberalisation, democratisation and decentralisation reforms were implemented in the 1980s and 1990s in response to the social and economic crises of post-civil war Mozambique. Local governments gradually assumed greater responsibility for local service provision and development, because it was believed that decisions made at the local level, with the conscious participation of the local population, would better respond to the needs and priorities of the poor. However, despite the decentralisation processes, local authorities in Mozambique are often still unprepared and thus struggling to face the numerous challenges that urban areas exhibit. They do not possess the adequate skills and knowledge to facilitate and participate in urban development processes, such as service delivery, leaving a lot of the poor un-serviced and thus excluded from any form of improvement.

In response to this challenge that Mozambique and many other developing countries are facing, many scholars, donors and international development organisations stress the need for capacity building programmes to support local governance. It is increasingly acknowledged that the quality of urban governance is an essential factor in eradicating poverty, achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and creating a sustainable urban environment. However, it is quite a challenging undertaking to enhance the quality of local urban governance frameworks, because it involves a lot of actors, scales, sites, activities, modes of power, etc.

In the framework of two of UN-HABITAT's governance related capacity building programmes in Chibuto municipality (i.e. the "Capacity Building for Local Participatory Planning, Budgeting and Gender Mainstreaming Programme" and the "Municipal Capacity Building Programme for the Implementation of a Simplified Land Registration System"), an exploratory research has been conducted to contribute to a better preparation of these capacity building programmes. This research consisted of analysing the municipal capacity for urban service delivery and the extent to which the urban governance framework is inclusive, i.e. whether the local population is involved in decision-making processes concerning service delivery, especially women.

As such, the central research question was:

*To what extent is Chibuto municipality adopting participatory and gender mainstreaming approaches in its urban governance?*

Ideally, all of Chibuto's citizens, whether male or female, powerful or powerless, should participate and contribute to local decision-making processes concerning service-delivery, as this is said to improve service delivery according to the needs and priorities of the poor. Moreover, the rights of both men and women should actively be safeguarded in all the phases of municipal service delivery, as women still hold an inferior position to men in society. Nevertheless, this often does not occur as such in practice, which makes it urging to tackle these issues. All in all, this exploratory research will provide a comprehensive understanding of Chibuto municipality's local governance framework, which may be useful to further develop the capacity building programmes.

This research specifically focuses on the link between urban governance and service delivery, because “services represent the basis of the poor individual’s acquisition of functionalities and capabilities” (Mehrotra, 2006, p. 270). Moreover, governments play a significant role in making sure that all citizens can develop their capabilities to secure their livelihoods. This can best be done by engaging in a continuous dialogue with the poor so that greater insight can be reached on their poverty dynamics (Brocklesby & Holland, 1998, pp. 23-24).

In addition, the way a service is delivered says a lot about the performance of a municipality. According to a report of the Mozambican Ministry of State Administration and the National Association of Mozambican Municipalities, “service delivery is an important result of improvements in the performance of municipalities”. The studied municipal services (e.g. land registration and water) thus serve as measuring and exemplifying tools of the extent to which urban governance is inclusive and gender-sensitive in Chibuto.

Land registration has been chosen, because it is the focus area of one of UN-HABITAT’s capacity building programmes. Next to that it is an important urban management tool and municipal service that secures the ownership of land, thus improving the livelihoods of the people living on that land. This service mostly serves to portray gender issues. Next, water delivery has been studied, because it is a more physical service than land registration, which makes it possible to involve people in decision-making processes concerning its planning, operating and financing. Moreover, water has been chosen, because Chibuto municipality is currently facing great challenges in this sector. Gender issues also plays an important role in this service.

Several sub questions have been set up to arrive at a comprehensive answer to the central question of this research. These questions are enlisted in chapter 4 and will be answered in the chapters along this study. The chapters have been structured in the following way.

Chapter 2 provides some theoretical background knowledge on urban governance issues, i.e. on what urban governance means exactly; how this concept ended up on the development agenda; what it consists of, etc. Several key principles can be delineated that make up a well-functioning urban governance framework, of which participation, accountability, transparency and equity and gender are indispensable to target services towards the poor. Next to that, other key principles will be reviewed, that are interrelated with and reinforce these first principles, i.e. the importance of a sound legal and regulatory framework, the availability of financial resources and management, technical and managerial capacity of the municipal staff, and efficiency. This chapter still contains some theoretical thoughts on the two studied services, e.g. on the benefits of land registration and on pro-poor water governance.

Next, chapter 3, the regional framework, will provide some initial background information on Mozambique and Chibuto municipality. A brief outline will be given on how some historical events have led to important present-day reforms, such as political and administrative decentralization, which subsequently influence the country’s current state of development. Moreover, the geographical setting of Chibuto municipality will be presented, as well as its governing structure, financial resources and service delivery. This chapter still briefly elaborates on the UN-HABITAT capacity building programmes, on the basis of which this research was conducted.

Subsequently, in chapter 4, the methodological framework, it will become clear by which means the research has been conducted. The research questions and objectives will be presented, as well as a schematic overview of the main elements that play a role in the research. Furthermore, an overview will be given on what methods have been used to carry out the research and what the general limitations were during the whole process. These can be of influence on the reliability of the findings.

Chapter 5 is the first out of three empirical chapters. It will provide some general information on the research population and the two neighbourhoods in which they live, to get a sense of the socioeconomic and geographical setting in which the research took place.

Chapter 6 focuses on Chibuto municipality's service delivery and is split up into two sections: one on land registration and one on water delivery. A description will be given on how these particular municipal services function within the local governance structure, what actors are involved in their functioning and what the possible constraints are. The chapter also contains information on the extent to which the Municipal Council makes these municipal services accessible to the local population. Furthermore, it will become clear how the local population perceives the quality of the two urban services.

Next, chapter 7 specifically studies to what extent the Municipal Council of Chibuto adopts certain mechanisms that promote the active participation of its citizens in its decision making processes concerning service delivery. Moreover, this chapter will expose whether Chibuto municipality incorporates a gender focus into its corporations. This will subsequently reveal what the role of women is in decision-making processes, and overall, in society.

Finally, the central research question will be answered in the conclusion. It has been subdivided into several sections so as to provide a synthesis of the discussed themes. An attempt has been made to explain Chibuto's governance situation from several perspectives: a local and a national perspective. Moreover, some recommendations have been included, in the framework of UN-HABITAT's capacity building programmes.



## **2. Thematic-theoretical framework**

### **2.1 Introduction**

When studying the municipal capacity for service delivery in Chibuto, it is important to reflect upon local urban governance issues, because the institutional setting and functioning of a country or region determines to what extent certain policies can be implemented successfully, such as policies for service delivery.

To be able to understand how local governance functions, first of all a definition will be given of the concept. Next, the concept will be framed into the development debate, referring to how local governance ended up on the development agenda. It is also important to explain what local governance consists of exactly. However, various indicators exist for measuring good local governance. Although the scholars under review tend to highlight different issues (or under different headings), their core arguments mostly revolve around the same topics. This thematic-theoretical framework thus aims to highlight and bring together the most important components of local urban governance with respect to service delivery. It must be stated that these elements are interdependent and mutually reinforcing. In other words, in the absence of one element, others are bound to be lagging behind as well. Therefore it is important to study all areas that are related to local governance, although the main focus of this research will be on participation and gender issues. The situation on participation and gender issues in any given urban area might thus be influenced by other key principles of urban governance.

Some of the central components that will be addressed are participation, accountability and transparency. Equity and gender issues will also be taken into account, since these are largely related to the participation component, but often overlooked. These are indispensable to arrive at inclusive and gender-sensitive service delivery outcomes. Next, other relevant considerations that are closely related to local urban governance will be thoroughly discussed, such as the importance of a sound legal and regulatory framework, the availability of financial resources and management, technical and managerial capacity of the municipal staff, and efficiency.

Moreover, since land registration and water provision are the municipal services being studied, some theoretical thoughts will be shared on these topics as well. Land registration can be seen as part of governance, spatial planning and infrastructure provision but a whole debate exists as to whether formalising land rights is beneficial or not, especially in the sub-Saharan context. Next to that, some insights will be given on how to achieve pro-poor water provision, since past attempts have been failing to serve the poor. Four reform strategies are proposed which include: decentralizing assets; using private participation in operations; charging for services and relying on independent providers. These strategies have the aim to increase the accountability between all actors involved in the provision of water services, namely clients/citizens, policymakers and providers.

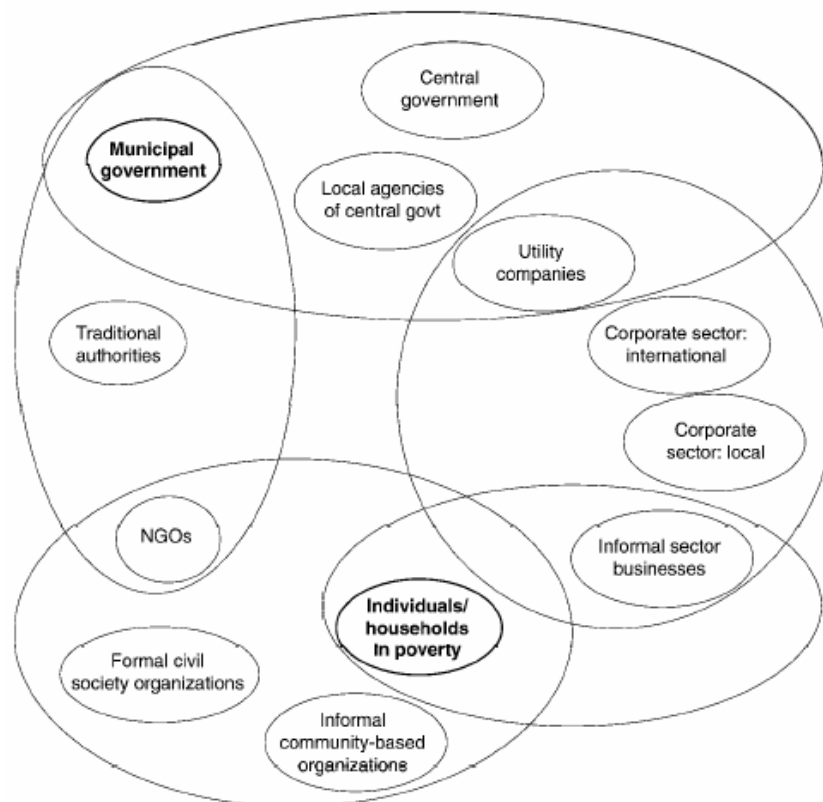
### **2.2 Defining and framing local urban governance**

The concept of local governance is not new; in fact, it is as old as the history of humanity. However, it has only entered the development debate quite recently. Local governance can be defined as “the formulation and execution of collective action at the local level, including the direct and indirect roles of formal institutions of local government and government hierarchies, but also the roles of informal norms, networks, community organizations and

neighbourhood associations” (Shah & Shah, 2006, pp. 1-2). Governance is thus all about institutional diversity, referring to a complex interaction between all kinds of actors and institutions at the local level that can influence and determine what happens within a city, from the public, private and voluntary sectors, i.e. businesses, civil society, political organizations, religious groups, trade unions and organizations, governmental agencies, individual citizens and households (Nuijten, 2004, p. 105; Devas, 2001, pp. 393-394). In this sense, urban governance is a very complex process because it not only includes a wide range of actors, but also multiple sites, various layers of relations, a broad range of economic and social activities and involves various modes of power, as well as different scales (Lindell, 2008, p. 1885). See figure 2.1 for a schematic overview of the different actors and institutions in urban governance.

It is important to stress that the interaction between these different stakeholders is supposed to lead to some sort of agreement on how to achieve numerous goals with limited public resources and capacities, whereby lower-income or disadvantaged groups are allowed to have a say on public policies and decision-making processes (Nunan & Satterthwaite, 2001, pp. 411-412). The goals of good local governance extend from providing local services, to safeguarding the life and freedom of local citizens, promoting democratic participation and civic dialogue, supporting market-led and environmentally sustainable local development, and, on the whole, making sure that the quality of life of the citizens improves (Shah & Shah, 2006, p. 2).

**Figure 2.1** Actors and institutions of city governance



Source: Devas, N. (2001), Does City Governance Matter for the Urban Poor?, p. 394.

When framing the concept of “local governance” within the development debate, it can be linked to different approaches and theoretical currents. The aspect that often first comes into mind when discussing local governance is its link with decentralisation processes and neo-liberal reforms in the wake of globalisation, such as trade liberalisation, deregulation and privatisation. This entails a profound reorganisation of the public sector at the administrative and institutional level (Nuijten, 2004, p. 104). These decentralisation processes occurred because of the negative attitude towards state interference in the economy, which was seen as excessive and counterproductive (de Jong, 2006, p. 29; Nijenhuis, 2006, p. 113). Decentralisation policies were thus at first implemented to enhance the efficiency of the public sector in what concerns economic and regional development and better service delivery. This was initially carried out in the less-developed countries under the heading of structural adjustment programs, whereby these countries had to restructure in line with the neoliberal agenda, i.e. reduce the role of the state and adopt free market reforms, as a condition to receive donor aid (Nijenhuis, 2006, pp. 111-113). This connection between local governance, decentralisation and neoliberalism dates from the 1970s and 1980s.

At a later stage, in the 1990s, the concept of local governance has been reconceptualised and consequently entered the development debate. A shift in paradigms was taking place from an emphasis on economic questions and market efficiency towards a more multidisciplinary, holistic and pluralist approach of development (van Lindert, 2006, pp. 60, 63). A balance was sought between different actors, perspectives, interests and dimensions, while also taking into account specific contexts (Nederveen Pieterse, 2004, p. 158).

Fukuda-Parr (2003) speaks of a paradigm shift of development economics from social and economic policies that emphasize institutional efficiency in the market and in the provision of public services, to political institutions and processes, with a concern for questions such as enlarging the participation, power and influence of the people, especially those that are marginalised. The once dominating emphasis on macro-structures and aspects such as national economic growth has thus been replaced by a strong focus on the agency aspects of people, i.e. their political empowerment to fight for their own interests (Gasper, 2000, p. 997; Fukuda-Parr, 2003, p. 301). Human beings can be active agents of change and development, both on the individual and collective level, by increasing their participation through democratic institutions (Fukuda-Parr, 2003, pp. 308-309). This concept of human agency has been stressed in several lines of thinking, such as the human development approach, the capabilities approach, the rights-based approach even the sustainable development approach. In fact, the people-centeredness of development thinking can be traced to post-modern discourse, because postmodernism stresses “the unique, place and person-bound experience and perspective on development” (Simon, 2002, p. 125; De Jong, 2006, p. 26).

This new focus translated itself into a concern to improve the functioning of local institutions, by making them more accountable and representative, and to encourage democracy and the participation of the local population in local issues. As such, it was perceived that decisions made at the local level would better reflect the needs of the population and thus also of the poor (De Jong, 2006, p. 29; Nijenhuis, 2006, pp. 111-113). Tuts (2002) also affirms that “poverty reduction starts with listening to the poor, fostering their initiatives and giving them a chance”. Besides that, a spatial (more local) approach towards development is favoured because it reflects the diversity of local development processes. Natural environments and social and economic contexts differ from country to country, but also within countries themselves, i.e. from place to place. Government decentralisation should thus facilitate

development processes, since interventions are adapted to local contexts (Helling, Serrano & Warren, 2005, p. 10).

However, it is important to state that different types of decentralisation can be distinguished (political, administrative and fiscal), which consequently have different implications for the functioning of local government structures<sup>1</sup>. For instance, while local governments are increasingly taking up responsibility for social policies, such as public service delivery, these differing forms of decentralisation can significantly influence the outcomes of service delivery (Wegelin & Borgman, 1995, p. 133; Robinson, 2003, p.2). Thus, the type of decentralisation does matter in the sense that decentralisation is not automatically pro-poor and leading to equity and quality improvements in service delivery (Mehrotra, 2006, p. 266). Most decentralisation reforms that have been carried out over the 1990s have not gone together with increased local democracy or more effective municipal government (Nunan & Satterthwaite, 2001, p. 419). Although good governance is viewed as a desired outcome of political decentralisation, too often central governments retain decision-making powers over the allocation of financial resources. Next to that, many other constraints can be identified that hinder effective decentralisation, such as the problem of capture, a lack of training of local government officials, etc. (Mehrotra, 2006, p. 267).

### **2.3 Key principles of local urban governance**

Several scholars stress certain elements that make local (urban) governance more pro-poor and thus responsive to the local needs and priorities of the poor population. While Mehrotra (2006) speaks of the model of “deep democratic decentralisation”, Shah & Shah (2006) refer to “citizen-centred local governance”. In the end it comes down to the fact that good local governance should be participatory, accountable, transparent and contribute to equity (Nijenhuis, 2006, p. 114). In the following sub-section, these elements will thoroughly be discussed. Although the scholars under review tend to highlight different issues with respect to local urban governance, or refer to the same issues, but under different headings, their core arguments revolve around the same topics.

#### **Participation**

It is increasingly recognised that local citizens have the right and thus should participate in decision-making processes of local governments, concerning the planning, operating, regulating and financing of services at the community and neighbourhood level (Cavill & Sohail, 2004, p. 156). This way, infrastructure and services can be improved in a way that

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<sup>1</sup> Political decentralisation (or democratic decentralisation) entails that local authorities are directly elected by the citizenry and that powers and responsibilities have been transferred to these elected local governments (Mehrotra, 2006, p. 266; Robinson, 2003, p. 2). They are responsible for their own decision-making, finance and management and are in charge of public service delivery (Nijenhuis, 2006, p. 112). Administrative decentralisation refers to the fact that the functions and functionaries from central government are transferred to field-units of government agencies, lower-level or semi-autonomous units. However, local authorities do not have much revenue collecting powers; the means that are necessary for public service provision are basically distributed by higher levels of government to local administrative units. Local governments remain under the supervision of central government (Nijenhuis, 2006, p. 112; Mehrotra, 2006, p. 266). Finally, fiscal decentralisation entails that local authorities have financial autonomy in that they can collect their own revenues and decide on their expenditures (Mehrotra, 2006, p. 266).

benefits the poor, according to their own needs and perceptions (Nunan & Satterthwaite, 2001, p. 410).

Although the concept of participation can take on different meanings, it is essentially about including the voice of marginalised people in decision-making processes, so that they can influence those issues that are of direct importance to them and relevant to their own situations (Nuvunga, 2007, p. 66). It is about the empowerment of citizens so that the recurring commitment and responsiveness problem of government to citizen preferences can be dealt with (Shah & Shah, 2006, p. 22). Cavill & Sohail (2004) also stress the fact that citizens should participate and be engaged in societal matters, because this is an important source of information for public agencies and forces them to comply to the received inputs, so that they can become more accountable. Citizens thus not only have the right to participate, it is also their duty, as advocated by the rights-based approach.

However, to be able to empower citizens, local governments need to have certain institutional mechanisms in place, through which the citizens can consequently articulate their voice and influence policies and actions (Nunan & Satterthwaite, 2001, p. 410). Next to that, it also matters in what way the local population is organised, because this will ultimately determine how those mechanisms are actually used. The local population should thus participate in a collective way (Mehrotra, 2006, pp. 269, 280).

Civil society can also play an important role in facilitating the participation process of the poor, as mentioned by Devas (2001) and Robinson (2003). In fact, civil society should definitely play a role in local urban governance in order for the poor to benefit from it. The condition of civil society, i.e. whether it is strong or not, will thus determine to some extent the ability of the urban poor to make their voices heard, by influencing policy agendas. Besides that, civil society will also determine whether city governments are willing to respond to the needs and priorities of the poor, by holding public bodies to account (Devas, 2001, pp. 400-402).

However, this participation element is often missing in developing countries (Mehrotra, 2006, p. 280). While local governments strongly advocate the participation principle, in practice not many citizens exercise their right to participate when faced with problems, especially not the marginalized people (Cavill & Sohail, 2004, p. 168). Interesting to note is that there are also different forms, i.e. gradations that participation can take on; some of which are rather “disguised” forms of participation, which do not lead to the same outcomes as true active participation.

Arnstein (1971) has developed eight types of participation in a ladder, whereby each rung of the ladder corresponds to the level of citizen’s power in determining the end product, i.e. “how information is shared, goals and policies are set, tax resources are allocated, programmes are operated”, etc. Broadly speaking, these levels vary from non-participation to citizen power, but the gradations in between are: manipulation, therapy, informing, consultation, placation, partnership, delegated power and citizen control. See figure 2.2 for a schematic overview of the ladder of citizen participation.

The levels of *manipulation* and *therapy* do not involve any participation of the citizens; citizens are involved so that power holders can merely educate them, try to get their support or try to simply “cure” their powerlessness.

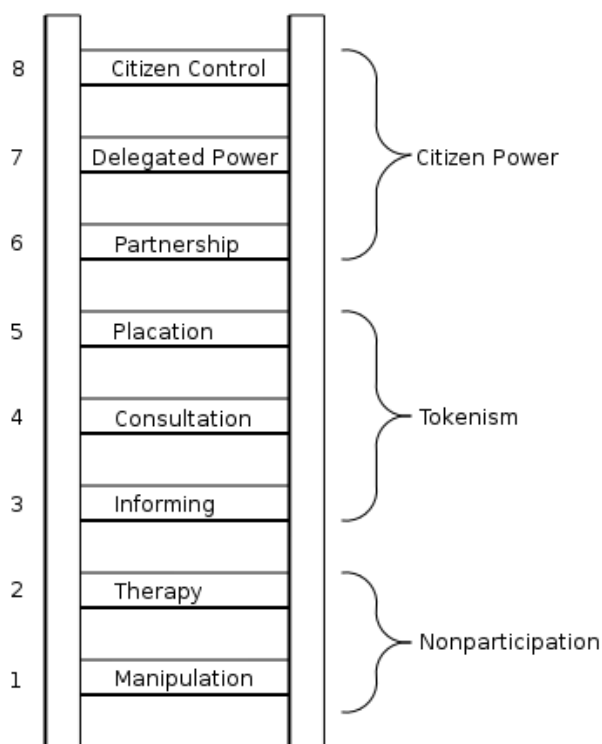
With *informing* and *consultation* citizens can, in fact, hear and be heard, but it is not certain whether their opinions will be taken into account by the power holders, so that the status quo can be changed. Thus, citizens still lack power, while they are made to believe that they can fully participate. These forms of participation are rather symbolic (hence the label of “tokenism”), because citizens only participate for the sake of participating and power holders only prove the involvement of the citizens, but the outcomes are not necessarily favouring the concerns of the citizens.

*Placation* is still a disguised form of participation, because, while citizens are allowed to advise, the power holders retain the final decision.

A higher level of participation is *partnership*, when citizens can negotiate and exchange ideas with the power holders. However, *delegated power* and *citizen control* are the highest forms, because then citizens, including the most marginalized, obtain the majority of decision-making seats or even full managerial power<sup>2</sup>.

In the end, the level of citizen participation will have an effect on the local government’s accountability and whether services will be delivered in a pro-poor manner or not.

**Figure 2.2** Eight rungs on the ladder of citizen participation



Source: Arnstein, S. R. (1971), A ladder of citizen participation, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> For more in-depth information on the ladder of citizen participation, see: Arnstein, S. R. (1971), A ladder of citizen participation. Journal of the Royal Town Planning Institute, April 1971.

### **Accountability**

Strongly related to participation is the concept of accountability. Accountability entails that local governments are responsible for delivering those services that are consistent with citizens preferences. They are thus accountable to their electorate in guaranteeing that “public interest is served with integrity” (Shah & Shah, 2006, p. 22). This key principle is composed out of three elements: information, justification and punishment or compensation, meaning that those in power should be transparent and provide information on government proceedings; they should also justify the decisions that are made and sanctions should be imposed to avoid inappropriate behaviour and to ensure that government officials comply with their responsibilities (Nuvunga, 2007, pp. 63-64).

In theory, there is a relationship between user’s voice, accountability and service outputs. Citizens, but also civil society organisations, should raise their voice and hold local authorities responsible for how services are affecting them. In this sense, direct participation in monitoring service-delivery and policy-making will thus improve the accountability in services, which will subsequently lead to better service delivery outcomes (Cavill & Sohail, 2004, p. 156).

Basically, the accountability problem is one of communication. This aspect has to be improved, so that the needs and priorities of the poor can be better understood by the service providers (government or other entities from the private sector or civil society). Citizens should be informed about current developments in their neighbourhoods, have the ability to attend meetings, express their concerns to public officials, demand continuous maintenance, and become involved in decision-making processes on planning, finance, etc. (Cavill & Sohail, 2004, pp. 158-159).

However, as mentioned before, citizens and especially the most marginalised, often do not use their right to participate. Moreover, putting the right mechanisms in place will not automatically lead to demands for better services, due to power and equality issues. Demanding accountability entails having some sort of power. Next to that, greater accountability does not always lead to an increase of user satisfaction on service delivery, because better informed citizens may have acquired higher expectations and standards and thus do not accept weak performance (Cavill & Sohail, 2004, p. 167).

### **Transparency**

Transparency is about providing the local population with the possibility to gain insight into local governance operations. A transparent organisation is one where anyone can easily obtain information that he or she might need to form opinions or to make decisions. This information can relate to the exact objectives of public policies or the responsibilities that belong to different actors, etc. Documentation on the proceedings of the organisation should thus be made available (Nuvunga, 2007, p. 61).

It is favourable for the local population to gain a better understanding of local government’s decisions and actions, because in that way they can participate and give their feedback more easily. Transparent and accountable processes will increase participation and allow multiple voices and perspectives to debate with each other in the public sphere (Akerkar, 2001, p. 20). Subsequently, government can be held more accountable and be more responsive to the needs of the local population. Transparency is thus closely related to accountability and participation.

## **Equity & gender**

The problem with participation, as explained above, is that often, the loudest voices are heard and the most vulnerable and marginalized groups remain excluded. Especially women are often excluded, because communities are treated as un-gendered units (Cornwall, 2003, p. 1329). However, women are very important stakeholders in the provision of services. For example, women play a central role in the management of water and sanitation. Women also often have a better understanding of social issues, but they lack legal rights, such as land rights; have limited time to participate; have to cope with a strong male bias in society and are stereotyped as not being capable of being a leader. Therefore men seem to do all the decision-making (Morna, 2004, pp. 224, 239; Cornwall, 2003, pp. 1329, 1335).

Equity and gender is thus about representing the most marginalized groups, i.e. the women and the poor (Akerkar, 2001, p. 1). There is a need for gender mainstreaming in local urban governance, whereby the particular needs and requirements of both men and women are taken into account in all stages of urban decision-making, priority-setting and resource allocation processes (Morna, 2004, p. 225; UN-HABITAT “Towards Norms of Good Governance”). Women and men should participate as equals, which is essential, since men and women have different perceptions about development matters. This way, the differing priorities among a society’s population get an equal chance of being addressed.

Urban governance strategies should thus focus on both men and women, but they should not be limited to gender only. Policies should work with other social differences and complexities within communities, such as class, age, religion, ethnicity, race, culture, sexuality, education, etc., so that equitable access to basic services can be guaranteed for everyone (Akerkar, 2001, pp. 5, 23; UN-HABITAT “Towards Norms of Good Governance”). Care should be taken with the fact that by including certain people, such as women, others still tend to be excluded (the disabled, the aged and the ill for example). Diversity and conflict are thus often underestimated within communities and within groups of men and women (Akerkar, 2001, pp. 5, 11).

Akerkar (2001) refers accurately to this difficulty by saying that “participation is not an open and spontaneous process, whereby all participate equally leading to a free consensus under discussion”. On the contrary, “participation is rather a complex political process in which inequalities in resources and power between participants and potential participants strongly influence the aims of participation and the forms which this takes” (Akerkar, 2001, p. 10). Those that have more means and a more powerful voice thus tend to determine the outcome of participatory processes.

Strict participatory or gender equity approaches do not necessarily address issues of power within communities (Akerkar, 2001, p. 7). Therefore, it crucial to integrate gender and participatory approaches into something like “gender-sensitive participatory approaches”. However, it must be stated that incorporating an equity and gender focus into development processes is not easy. Despite the fact that a lot of gender analysis frameworks and participatory approaches have been developed over the past decades, quite a few obstacles hinder the effective institutionalisation of participatory processes and gender issues at different levels. Some of these are: there is still a lack of clarity around the concept of gender (only referring to women); no time is made available for gender analysis, collecting gender disaggregated data and organising the necessary public consultations with different



stakeholders; there are often no accountability mechanisms to ensure that participation and gender issues in PRSPs are adhered to, etc. (Akerkar, 2001, pp. 17- 18).

Furthermore, there appear to be relatively few gender-sensitive and pro-poor indicators of good governance, which makes it difficult to monitor whether governance structures are efficient and effective in realizing certain goals. The few indicators that do exist are often only used at the international level. However, it is at the national and even sub-national levels that governance indicators should be implemented. These indicators are essential in that they promote transparency and contribute to holding public officials to account for their decisions (Corner, 2005, pp. 6-7).

Next to that, gender and participation can take on several meanings and forms (as has already become clear with the ladder of citizen participation). There are often differences between the rhetoric about empowerment and what is actually done, which is often only enlisting people in projects and processes with the objective of securing their compliance and minimize dissent. Also, involving women is often only limited to implementation processes and not necessarily to decision-making. A lot of gender mainstreaming and participatory methods may thus be more tokenistic instead of transformative (Cornwall, 2003, pp. 1329, 1331).

In the end, it is important to keep asking the question of “who is being represented and in what way?” when engaging in gender-sensitive participatory approaches. It needs to be considered who collects, analyses and evaluates the information and looks for solutions (Akerkar, 2001, pp. 12, 22). Cornwall (2003) also refers to the fact that whether and how gender issues are tackled, depends on the agency of those people that facilitate participatory processes. In that respect, issues of subjectivity and positionality can be of influence on participatory and gender-mainstreaming outcomes. Thus, critical reflection is needed on the quality of political participation.

Furthermore, rights and gender sensitisation training and capacity-building programmes should be put into place for citizens, staff of development institutions and government employees. It would be wrong to assume that an increase in the numbers of women participating would mean that gender issues have appeared on the policy agenda (Akerkar, 2001, p. 22). This will not necessarily address the fundamental power issues that are prevailing in society, because women also need to gain more confidence so that they know how to use their voice and how to act (Cornwall, 2003, pp. 1330, 1333). A lot more practical steps are thus needed to include equity and gender issues into local policymaking.

## **2.4 Other relevant considerations in local urban governance**

As mentioned earlier on, there is more to good urban governance and pro-poor service delivery than the above-mentioned key principles. In fact the different components of local urban governance can be categorised into two main dimensions. Harpham & Boateng (1997) distinguish the “representation” aspect of governance, referring to transparency, accountability, social justice, human rights and democracy. This dimension corresponds roughly with the first series of key principles of local urban governance discussed in this thematic-theoretical framework (participation, accountability, transparency and equity & gender). The other dimension of governance refers to “performance” elements, i.e. public sector management, the legal framework, economic policy and competence to form policies and deliver services. This dimension corresponds more or less with the additional relevant

considerations in local urban governance (legal and regulatory framework, financial resources and management, technical and managerial capacity of municipal staff and efficiency). Both dimensions complement each other and should thus be considered together, into one framework for governing a city. In the following paragraphs the elements composing the second dimension will be discussed.

### **Legal & regulatory framework**

Although not mentioned by a lot of scholars, another important aspect of local urban governance is that the legal and regulatory framework in place will have an impact on how local governments function and how their policies are targeted towards the poor. In fact, the regulatory framework of a municipality generally “sets the rules and standards for development” (Wegelin & Borgman, 1995, p. 134). The regulatory framework of a municipality is thus an important intervention area for urban poverty alleviation and closely connected to municipal service delivery and other intervention areas. Nunan & Satterthwaite (2001) also acknowledge that legal systems are an important aspect of governance in that they should defend the civil and political rights of the citizens (such as the right to basic services, etc.).

The legal and regulatory framework is set up by central and local governments and thus applies both at the national and local level. In this sense, local government is to some extent accountable to central government. However, when local government is highly dealing with local issues, targeting local conditions and priorities, then central regulation may only be inhibiting local government’s responsiveness (Wegelin & Borgman, 1995, p. 134).

In order for the regulatory framework to really target the poor and lead to effective development outcomes, some reforms would be desirable, in practically all sectoral areas, whereby the focus lies on more flexibility, simplicity and greater transparency in the implementation of the laws and less prescription and prohibition. Besides, the existing rules and regulations often impose social and physical standards that are too high and expensive for the municipality and the local population to afford (Wegelin & Borgman, 1995, pp. 134-135).

However, local governments are often not in charge of those services on which the poor rely the most, such as land allocation, housing, water supply, policing, education and health services (Devas, 2001, p. 399). The functions of municipalities tend to be restricted to administrative and operations or maintenance activities (Wegelin and Borgman, 1995, p. 134). Some specific areas of reform would thus be land and housing management. It is argued that land tenure should be regularised and that the registration process should be simplified so that the poor, particularly women, can get better access to land and also enjoy the delivery of basic public services. To have an operational cadastre, i.e. formalising property titles, would not only be beneficial to the urban poor, but also to increase municipal resources through property tax (Wegelin & Borgman, 1995, pp. 136-137). See section 2.5 for more information on the potential benefits of the formalisation of property titles.

Land management is closely related to the position of local governments on informal settlements and illegal ways of acquiring land. Ultimately, when informal settlements are recognized by urban governments, the poor living there will have better chances of accessing services and infrastructure. According to Nunan & Satterthwaite (2001), there is an obvious link between the legality of land occupation and infrastructure and service provision. However, Devas (2001) states that often informal settlements tend to be ignored by official

programmes. Certain legal restrictions thus often prevent city governments from addressing the needs of the poor.

Returning to the key principle of participation, these reform processes in the legal and regulatory framework would be greatly facilitated by the participation of the poor in the decision- and policy-making processes, through, for example, neighbourhood associations, unions and organisations representing the informal sector (Wegelin & Borgman, 1995, p. 134). Again, the concept of participation appears to be decisive in determining successful urban development outcomes.

### **Financial resources and management**

This section could actually be framed in the previous one, since it deals with regulations and power regarding municipal expenditures. According to many scholars, including Robinson (2003), the availability of financial resources in a local governance structure determines to a large extent the equity, quality and efficiency of public services. The adequacy of finance will determine the success of functionaries in their functions, either by receiving grants from central government or by collecting their own revenues, through taxes for instance (Mehrotra, 2006, p. 269). Having financial autonomy is thus of utmost importance, because it strengthens governance, efficiency and accountability (Shah & Shah, 2006, pp. 41-42).

Next to that, cities need enough resources and financial autonomy to be able to meet the huge responsibilities that have been assigned to them in the face of decentralisation reforms. The level of financial autonomy within a local government will thus determine the number of responsibilities that a local government can handle and is thus also a reflection of the level of decentralisation (low, moderate or highly decentralised).

However, in reality, local governments appear to have a weak local revenue base, receive limited transfers and also have a limited say in expenditure decisions. This can, first of all, be explained by the fact that higher levels of government (central or provincial) often still retain decision-making power over the allocation of resources. This entails that there have been limited changes in legislation and regulations. However, there also appears to be little interest among local officials to lobby for more taxing powers (Nijenhuis, 2006, p. 112; Shah & Shah, 2006, p. 41). Problems of corruption and a lack of accountability and transparency often worsen the situation (Devas, 2001, p. 400).

All in all, relations between national and city governments tend to be very complex, concerning both funding and politics (Nunan & Satterthwaite, 2001, p. 420). In essence, the principle of subsidiarity (entailing that decisions concerning service delivery are made at the lowest governmental level) is often not operational, whether it has been institutionalised or not.

It should be stressed that the wealth of a city, i.e. having enough financial resources, is essential to be able to invest in the needed services, but it is not enough by itself. The competence of local government officials in spending the money in an equal way (especially in those neighbourhoods where low-income groups live) is just as important. Local government officials should be “accountable to and influenced by low-income populations” when investing in the needed services (Nunan & Satterthwaite, 2001, p. 417).

### **Technical & managerial capacity of municipal staff**

Another important factor is the availability of sufficient technical and managerial capacity within local urban governments. Devas (2001) accurately explains that the poor will only benefit if city governments have the capacity to deliver. Political processes may be as inclusive as possible, but without the capacity (which can also refer to the availability of financial resources), the prospects for the poor will not be favourable.

The municipal staff should thus acquire the right skills and knowledge to be able to take on the complex task of providing public services, including the planning, budgeting and implementation of services. Next to that, this capacity is also needed to create an organisational culture within local governments that is more “citizen-friendly”, i.e. that encourages the local population to participate (Robinson, 2003, pp. 10-11). When talking about technical and managerial capacity, Eskemose (2004) mentions the availability of enough qualified staff, appropriate technical equipment and other basic working conditions, such as transport and funds to implement the necessary interventions.

However, multiple constraints limit the capacity of city governance institutions to respond to the needs of the poor. The most important ones include, for instance, the lack of adequate data and knowledge on population and poverty indices within the municipality (including where the poorest people live, even if this is in informal areas), on the extent and quality of service provision, etc. (Devas, 2001, p. 399). This could lead to possible biased outcomes in policymaking. It is thus crucial to possess adequate knowledge and information on these issues, so that a better understanding can be gained on what should be done and how in any given situation. Knowledge is therefore coupled to having power to do something (UN-HABITAT, 2002, p. 65). It is thus of utmost importance to further develop the municipal information base (Wegelin & Borgman, 1995, p. 151).

Other constraints are the lack of financial resources or weak financial management, and the lack of municipal autonomy, which demonstrates once more that all key factors in local urban governance are interrelated.

Important to add, is that not only should local governments be autonomous and have enough capacity. There is also a need for a strong, functioning state at the central level, because if a weak state devolves power, this can end up favouring local elites. Central state should thus also have effective capacity, so that it can oversee, regulate and sanction local authorities (if necessary) (Mehrotra, 2006, pp. 268-269). Nuijten (2004) also stresses the important role of central state. She argues that it remains an important actor in local governance, because decentralisation and empowerment of the local people will only be efficient if a strong state can institutionalise and sustain these processes and assure the rights of all the stakeholders that are involved. The responsibilities of higher levels of government are to make sure that local government structures are representative of and accountable to their citizens and to assign them the power and resources to fulfil their responsibilities.

However, the pressure “from above” (central government) should always be counterbalanced by pressure “from below” (local citizens). Mehrotra (2006) underlines that the relationships between the three levels (central government, local government and the local citizens) are crucial. Only with a functioning central government, empowered local authority and voice from the citizenry will service delivery be effective.

## **Efficiency**

Efficiency refers to the fact that cities must be cost-efficient in their financial management and service delivery (UN-HABITAT “Towards Norms of Good Governance”). This could be achieved by engaging in partnerships with other actors / stakeholders in service delivery. As a result, municipalities do not have to necessarily deliver service themselves. A distinction can be made between, on the one hand, taking up the responsibility for determining service standards and providing the services and, on the other hand, engaging in its production. For instance, local governments could coordinate and participate with the private sector (both formal and informal) and even civil society organisations (CBOs and NGOs) in the delivery of local public services, given their restricted financial capacities. This would increase accountability and choice in the local public sector and also promote efficiency and equity (Shah & Shah, 2006, pp. 7, 11; Robinson, 2003, p. 2).

In fact, the presence of other actors in local governance is of extreme importance. Local governments should take up a network facilitator role, which entails that they should expand their role “to serve as a catalyst for the formulation, development and operation of a network of both government providers and entities beyond government”. In this sense their own technical capacity becomes less relevant (Shah & Shah, 2006, p. 25). In the end, municipalities need to adopt a more flexible approach towards planning, programming and budgeting. It is about creating a “participatory decision-making culture”, whereby various programmes, with different financial sources, are coordinated (Wegelin & Borgman, 1995, pp. 142, 149).

However, it is not easy to reform the strongly embedded top-down government structures into bottom-up ones whereby different actors have a stake in decision-making processes. Next to that, often, the scope of activities of NGOs does not permit them to provide services and infrastructure to the whole city. NGOs also tend to have different foci; for instance, providing health care or education services appears to be easier than water and sanitation services, because these latter ones are more difficult to implement in low in-come areas, given technical, institutional and political constraints (Nunan & Satterthwaite, 2001, p. 422). Moreover, the private sector often tends to target higher-income areas, leaving the low-income areas out. Therefore, it is important to have stronger, more effective and representative local governments, so that privatisation can target the poorer groups. Important to note is that the informal sector sometimes fills up some service delivery gaps, but this is rarely the most effective solution, because the prices that are charged are often even higher than regular public provision of services (Nunan & Satterthwaite, 2001, p. 423).

Another way of increasing the efficiency of local urban governance, mentioned by Mehrotra (2006) and Wegelin & Borgman (1995), is to integrate sectoral interventions at the municipal level into one policy framework for poverty alleviation. Creating a synergy of interventions in the various social sectors (health, education, water and sanitation, reproductive health and nutrition) is of utmost importance so that efficient use can be made of the available resources and consequently effective services can be delivered. Inter-sectoral priority setting will thus improve the cost-effectiveness of services (Wegelin & Borgman, 1995, p. 142). Furthermore, this inter-sectoral action is best achieved with feedback from the community, i.e. the local population. This way local functionaries get pressured to better respond to the local needs and demands, instead of higher governmental levels deciding on the resource allocation for service delivery (Mehrotra, 2006, p. 264).

However, unfortunately, this is often not yet the case in developing countries. Municipalities are still too dependent on central government administration and thus lack the power for effective political and economic decision-making, as mentioned earlier on. Therefore these ties with national and provincial governments need to be dealt with, so that municipal autonomy in local decision-making can be improved. Clear responsibilities with respect to public services have to be defined between municipal, provincial and central government. Achieving this local coordination and integration in poverty alleviation will have to involve local institutional capacity building. Municipal government and administration needs to strengthen its capabilities. One possible solution would be to assign a municipal poverty alleviation coordination office. Next to that, it is essential that the municipal departments network between each other, through city consultations for instance, but also with the outside stakeholders (Wegelin & Borgman, 1995, pp. 149-150).

## **2.5 The debate on the formalisation of land rights**

As mentioned above, the formalisation of land rights through land registration is an essential part of urban governance, in that it facilitates urban planning and, thus, the provision of urban services. However, certain doubts exist on whether this activity is as beneficial to the urban poor. Before entering the debate on the formalisation of land rights, a definition of these concepts is in place. Land rights are “socially or legally recognized entitlements to access, use and control areas of land and related natural resources” (UN-HABITAT, 2008, p. 5). The reference to “socially or legally” entails that there are different kinds of land rights. UN-HABITAT speaks of a “continuum of land rights”, which extend from informal to formal land rights<sup>3</sup>. The formalisation of land rights refers to the official registration and issuance of titles to persons or families that possess housing or other land-based assets in a supposedly insecure state. These titles have the status of a right in the sense that the authority structure that issues the titles has to protect the title-holder, i.e. defend its interests, against harmful actions of others (Bromley, 2008, pp. 20-21).

Land registration has gained importance over the years, because of increasing (urban) population growth and increased trade and market development (Toulmin, 2008, p. 11). Different stakeholders demand and are competing for land (for shelter, food production and other economic activities), which makes it ever more scarce. Land is thus under great pressure, which increases the need amongst these different stakeholders to secure their lands, whether they are individuals, enterprises, etc. Especially the poor and vulnerable groups, such as small farmers, risk dispossessing their lands in the wake of globalisation and commercialisation, since most of these land owners (or users) do not possess a legal proof of ownership and depend on customary (unwritten) tenure systems. Land registration is thus considered of utmost importance to secure land tenure and confirm the ownership of land in order to minimize disputes that might undermine the interests of the most marginalised groups.

Moreover, land registration is also seen by many as a widespread tool for poverty reduction and development. While UN-HABITAT (2008) focuses on the more social benefits of land registration - that it is a basis for secure shelter and access to services, but also leads to empowerment, enhancing civic and political participation - most mentioned benefits related to land registration are of economic nature. Many studies have pointed out that land titles reduce

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<sup>3</sup> This continuum or range of different land rights include: perceived tenure approaches; customary; occupancy; anti-evictions; adverse possession; group tenure; leases and registered freehold.

tenure insecurity and thus enhance the incentive to invest in lands or urban dwellings/housing. This increase of investment can consequently increase land productivity and thus also income per unit of land (in case of lands for farming). In the case of urban dwellings, these investments increase the value of the property (however, this also depends on the location of the dwelling). Next to that, land titles are often mandatory to get a loan at a bank. They can thus serve as a collateral to banks and improve the title holder's access to credit. This credit can then again be used to invest in the lands or urban dwellings/housing, but also to start a new business, etc. (Feder & Nishio, 1999, pp. 27-29; Bromley, 2008, p. 20; Toulmin, 2008, p. 15). Moreover, land registration is also beneficial for the issuing bodies in that it increases government's tax base and government control (which is indispensable for the development of a certain area/region) (Sjaastad & Cousins, 2008, p. 2).

However, these benefits are not always prevalent and thus no automatic outcomes of land registration. While these benefits often apply in Asia and Latin America, sub-Saharan Africa shows a different reality. Feder & Nishio (1999) stress that land registration has both the potential to lead to desirable and undesirable outcomes. However, this is dependent on the context and ways in which a land registration system is implemented. It can thus be said that the benefits of land registration are highly context specific.

In order for land registration to induce the above mentioned economic benefits, well functioning financial markets should be in place (for loan provision) and there should be clear incentives for the title holders to increase investments and thus also land productivity (e.g. the proximity of a market) (Feder & Nishio, 1999), p. 37). Furthermore, borrowers often need to prove that they have a secure income/capacity to pay to obtain a loan from a bank (Bromley, 2008, p. 22; Toulmin, 2008, p. 15). Without these factors, land registration is bound to have no economic impact whatsoever. In order for the social benefits to thrive, the land rights should be inclusive and, for instance, include a clear gender focus.

However, sub-Saharan Africa's economic development has not yet progressed towards the direction of having the above-mentioned prerequisites in place (Feder & Nishio, 1999, p. 35). Furthermore, other factors make it difficult to enforce such tenure legislation in Africa. Often customary systems are still in place to deal with land issues, based on kinship, membership or relationship with traditional groups that hold the land (UN-HABITAT, 2008, p. 6). These systems tend to provide enough security for the land occupiers/users (whether farmers or citizens). In this sense, one's perception of risk and/or security also determines the degree of investment in land/housing. A formal title is not always needed to enhance tenure security and investment in land/housing or other land-based assets (Toulmin, 2008, p. 15).

Furthermore, it is rather complicated to attribute a formal title to a land plot owner/user in Africa, since one land plot can be occupied/used by different stakeholders, such as various members of a family. Bromley (2008) explains that "most African property regimes are notable in their multiplicity of interests and tenures on the same parcel of land". For instance, one person might use the land for cultivation and another person might collect fuel wood on it. The question then rises of who is the primary right holder and who is the secondary right holder? Sjaastad & Cousins (2008) also point to this challenge when they say that it is difficult to determine the social boundaries of a group of people that occupy/use a piece of land, because land tenure "represents a set of mobile relations valid for a point of time, and often consists of various overlapping rights to different resources". Moreover, the territorial boundaries are also often difficult to determine, in the case of pastoralist systems and common

pool resources. In urban and peri-urban areas, on the other hand, the formalisation of land rights is more likely to succeed, because in these areas often a culture of land transactions exists and the formalisation will not as much compete with existing institutional systems (Sjaastad & Cousins, 2008, pp. 5-6).

In short, it is rather challenging to try and implement a land registration system in sub-Saharan Africa. Land titles only make sense in situations where customary systems do not function anymore, i.e. where considerable tensions/land disputes exist between certain groups that cannot be handled by local entities (Toulmin, 2008, p. 15). Other situations are when there is strong competition for land (often in urban or peri-urban areas), i.e. when land markets expand, or in re-settlement areas. In this case customary systems are often inadequate; these systems only serve to handle transactions within a community (Feder & Nishio, 1999, p. 28). Finally, sometimes major project interventions call for full privatisation of land rights in order to be successful. Thus, with changing economic conditions, a formal registration system can have positive implications, because then the poor can protect themselves from any outside influence to their informal land rights (Feder & Nishio, 1999, p. 39).

However, it still depends on how this land registration system is implemented for it to be beneficial to the poor. Toulmin (2008) mentions that there are various ways to register land rights (from short term certificates of occupancy to more formal registers) and also various levels at which these rights can be issued. However, it is best to go with lesser, more simple forms of rights and to base the intervention on land management and tenure systems that the community is already familiar with, within a decentralised context. This way the system can be more cost-efficient, but also benefit the most vulnerable and poor (Feder & Nishio, 1999, p. 39; UN-HABITAT, 2008, p. 2). It is thus important to develop systems that are adapted to local realities and also carried out by local institutions, because central governments do not have the capacity or knowledge to implement a land registration system covering a whole nation. Moreover, the degree and type of intervention must be weighed against the costs the title holders will have to pay and it must minimize corruption (Toulmin, 2008, p. 13).

Next to that, there are other principles that should be taken into account when implementing a land registration system, in that it should be transparent (on the procedures and fees); involve the landholders and neighbours in the process (to avoid unfairness); examine the impact it has on women and the nature of the existing customary land tenure system (to see whether it should be incorporated into the formal land registration system or not), etc. (Feder & Nishio, 1999, p. 39). While it is important to keep costs low in the choice of technologies, one should also take into account the costs of maintenance and updating of the system (Toulmin, 2008, p. 16).

These principles and the context in which they are implemented are of key importance, because when not taken into account, land registration might lead to negative outcomes, such as opportunistic behaviour on behalf of elite groups. The introduction of a formal registration system can actually create conflicts instead of resolving them. Elite groups that are often better informed about the laws and procedures might suddenly seek to “grab land” that was not theirs under customary systems, which leaves the poor local people without land. (Feder & Nishio, 1999, p. 38; Toulmin, 2008, p. 15). Furthermore, secondary land right holders, such as women and pastoralists, are often not capable of profiting from a formal land registration system, because of high prices and the fact that their rights are not recorded in the system (Sjaastad & Cousins, 2008, p. 4; Toulmin, 2008, p. 15).



Land registration thus has the potential to work in people's benefit, but it can also perpetuate inequality. The context and means of implementation will determine the outcomes of such a system. It is generally agreed upon that a formal land registration system is not necessarily needed (because often it is slow, expensive and favouring the interests of elite groups); there are more simple measures that can increase tenure security. Key is that they are adapted to the local context.

## **2.6 Pro-poor water governance**

Water is an essential infrastructure service that has a direct and indirect impact on human development. However, this service has repeatedly failed to serve the poor (WB, 2004, p. 159). Earlier attempts for the delivery of water services have included public sector supply policies (in view of equity concerns and market failures), and private sector supply policies, (in view of efficiency and cost recovery), but neither of them have proven to be effective in targeting the poorest (informal) neighbourhoods.

Seppälä (2002) accurately describes the kind of problems that developing countries are currently facing in the water sector: increased water scarcity; deterioration of water quality; inter-sectoral and inter-regional water allocation conflicts; inappropriate pricing of water; non-viable operational and financial performance; excessive government involvement and bureaucratic control; outdated institutional arrangements and poorly coordinated water administration. Moreover, these problems are interrelated and have an institutional character: they deal with ownership, policies and administration (Seppälä, 2002, p. 368).

The World Bank (2004) explicitly stresses the need to address the institutional and political characteristics of infrastructure services. Their main explanation for the failure of water services is the prevalence of clientelism/patronage in service delivery. This entails that service providers become extensions of policymakers and, thus, that policymakers can no longer hold the service providers to account for delivering the service to all the citizens. Subsequently the service deteriorates and the voice of the poor weakens. Ultimately, the poor lose out and they are forced to develop their own coping strategies to overcome the irregular and scarce water supply.

As mentioned earlier on in this chapter, the most favourable setting for delivering pro-poor services is at the decentralized, local level, where the needs of the poor can best be targeted. However, various organizational arrangements exist to subsequently enable the provision of water services. For instance, local governments can take on direct responsibility in water provision (which involves the constructing, maintaining and delivering of the service) or indirect responsibility in that they ensure that the service is provided by coordinating, financing and regulating the producer(s). The government then has to take the right decisions on the policy and standards of the service (Allen, Dávila & Hofmann, 2006, p. 338). This latter option is often favoured, because it increases efficiency in view of the financial restrictions that local governments frequently deal with (as mentioned in the section on "efficiency" in this chapter).

Despite this array of organizational arrangements, the World Bank (2004) stresses the importance of accountability as a precondition for pro-poor service delivery, when it states that "successful services for poor people emerge from institutional relationships in which the actors (from citizens/clients to policymakers and providers) are accountable to each other".

However, as mentioned above, this accountability has often been lagging behind due to patronage. Therefore, according to the World Bank (2004), it is of utmost importance to take the following four reform strategies into account when trying to make services work for the poor, because they have the potential to separate policymakers and providers and increase the accountability between all actors involved.

The first reform strategy is to decentralise assets: central government can provide incentives (such as fiscal grants) to local governments, for instance to support municipal restructuring and reform in urban services (to form regional companies, use contracting etc.) (WB, 2004, p. 165). It is important to separate power and responsibilities between different tiers of policymakers and to separate the delivery functions from benchmarking and regulating. The latter activities are best performed by an upper-tier government and the former by a lower-tier government and/or the private sector (WB, 2004, p. 177). With this separation of power and responsibilities, more incentives are created for the different actors to hold each other accountable.

The second reform strategy is to use private participation in operations. As suggested above, the private sector can take up the responsibility of delivering water services. Their management expertise and private investment are bound to increase the efficiency of the water delivery process. However, it has proven to be successful to first create ownership at the level of the public sector, i.e. the local government (through effective decentralisation), before letting the private sector participate (WB, 2004, pp. 165, 177). This reform strategy actually complements the previous strategy in that it stresses the separation of responsibilities between policymakers and providers and thus increases the accountability between the actors.

The third reform strategy entails charging for services. Demanding user charges, i.e. to view water an economic good, enables the provider to operate autonomously, but it also gives the provider more incentives to be responsive to the needs of the client (WB, 2004, p. 170). However, one could question if charging for services is affordable for the poorest part of the population. This question lies at the heart of the debate on whether water is a right, i.e. a social good, or an economic good and whether the poor are citizens or consumers. One option would be to bring the tariffs to cost-recovery levels, which entails that tariffs should be balanced between residential, business and industrial clients, where the former clients pay less than the two latter types of clients (WB, 2004, p. 170). Another option would be to subsidise the connection costs for the lowest-income households (WB, 2004, p. 171). This way, paying for water services becomes more symbolic, but still involves the citizens/clients in the service chain and increases accountability between the different actors.

Last but not least, the fourth reform strategy entails relying on independent providers so that clients have a choice. It is a fact that independent providers are common actors in delivering water services in developing countries. The needs of the poor are mostly met by unconventional means, such as informal operators, privately operated wells, gifts from neighbours, rainwater harvesting and clandestine connections (Allen, Dávila & Hofmann, 2006, p. 334). It is important to recognize these independent providers and to give them legal status, because they can help serve the poor where the above mentioned reform areas are lagging behind (WB, 2004, pp. 171, 177). Those urban dwellers that do not have access to the formal water supply system can resort to these independent providers, which are more flexible in addressing the needs of the poor (Allen, Dávila & Hofmann, 2006, p. 341). However, it is

important to ensure the quality standards of this water, otherwise it could lead to severe health risks.

All in all, these reforms are not that easy to implement. Seppälä (2002) stresses that it has been difficult to implement water supply and sanitation policies. It is easy to formulate the policies and pass them through legislation, but to change informal institutions, like human and organizational behaviour, codes of conduct and attitudes, is much more challenging. It is hard for developing countries to make the transition from centrally managed state organisations to public and/or privately operated services - whereby government only takes up a supervision and regulation position - primarily due to a lack of qualified sector professionals (Seppälä, 2002, p. 384). Therefore capacity building is essential, not only of the professionals but also of civil society and communities, so that they understand and commit to the new policies.

In conclusion it can be said that nowadays the participation of the private sector is seen as indispensable in delivering water services; the private sector should increasingly take up the part of producing the water services, but in partnership with the public sector and NGOs/civil society (Seppälä, 2002, p. 381). Furthermore, the general principles of local urban governance, as described earlier on in this chapter, can be seen as key ingredients to achieving success in pro-poor service delivery.

## **2.7 Conclusion**

From the above it has become clear that local urban governance involves a lot of actors and stakeholders that take on a shared responsibility in managing a city, delivering services and contributing to poverty alleviation. Moreover, several key principles can be identified to speak of good local governance. Interesting to note is that these different components of local urban governance can be categorised into two main dimensions, such as the “representation” aspect of governance, referring to the key principles of participation, accountability, transparency and equity & gender, and the “performance” aspect of governance, referring to the legal and regulatory framework, financial resources and management, technical and managerial capacity of the municipal staff and efficiency. Both dimensions complement each other and should thus be considered together, into one framework for governing a city.

Nevertheless, this does not mean that these principles are being implemented in every developing country that has undergone decentralisation reforms. In fact, these elements are often not prevalent at all in most developing countries due to numerous constraints, that are all interrelated.

Another aspect of local urban governance worth mentioning, which is certainly not least important than the other key principles, is the fact that both central and local government should be politically committed and show leadership in ensuring that decentralisation reforms become more pro-poor (Robinson, 2003, p. 8). Without some form of political will, it will be difficult to realise transformative goals.

Thus, only with a well functioning urban governance framework in place and enough political will, can municipal services be delivered in a effective, inclusive and pro-poor manner, i.e. targeting the marginalized, most vulnerable people, such as women, children, the elderly, etc. The urban governance framework will determine whether people have access or not to services and whether people can enjoy the benefits of certain services or not.

In the case of land registration, elements such as transparency, involvement of the community, a clear gender focus and cost-efficiency are of key importance to make this municipal service beneficial to the people. However, contextual factors can also be of influence, next to the way that a land registration system is implemented. One can think of the presence (or not) of well functioning financial markets or the existence (or not) of a strong customary land tenure system. Moreover, the perception of risk/security of the citizens themselves also determines whether they feel the need to register their lands or not.

Concerning water provision, there are also a few more specificities to bear in mind, to make the service beneficial to the poor, which correspond with the four reforms areas advocated by the World Bank (decentralizing assets; using private participation in operations; charging for services and relying on independent providers).

Thus, to reach a pro-poor service delivery outcome, one must align all these different principles, actors and contextual factors with each other and the best way to do this is through a participatory decision making culture. Achieving pro-poor service delivery entails adopting a holistic and systemic approach that focuses on the institutions of a society and stresses the participation of multiple actors, each with their own specific responsibilities, so that they can hold each other accountable while pursuing the same objective.

### **3. Regional framework**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

After having acquired some general, theoretical knowledge on how local governments should best operate to deliver pro-poor services to its citizens, this chapter will focus on the research area itself, namely Mozambique and more specifically Chibuto municipality. A brief outline will be given on how some historical events have led to important present-day reforms, such as political and administrative decentralisation, which subsequently influence the country's current state of development. Furthermore, the geographical setting of Chibuto municipality will be presented, as well as its governing structure, financial resources and service delivery. This way, it becomes clear in what context the research has been carried out. Details concerning the contents, methods and results of the research will be discussed in the following chapters. This chapter still contains a small section on two of UN-HABITAT's programmes in Chibuto, on the basis of which this research was conducted.

#### **3.2 National context: Mozambique**

Over the past couple of decades, Mozambique went through a series of reforms. Political and administrative decentralisation is one of them, entailing "the devolution of resources, tasks and decision-making power to democratically elected lower-level authorities that are largely or wholly independent of central government" (Bossuyt & Gould, 2000, p. 1). To understand the rationale behind Mozambique's decentralisation process, it is crucial to look at some past historical developments.

After an extensive struggle against Portuguese colonial rule, Mozambique became independent in 1975. However, a civil war broke out and devastated the country for the years to follow. Only in 1992 a peace accord was signed between the two conflicting parties (FRELIMO and RENAMO), and consequently Mozambique entered a reconstruction phase (UNDP, 2004, p. 23). The country slowly transformed itself from a centrally planned and governed one party socialist state to a multiparty democracy and a market economy (Eskemose, 2004, p. 101). This shift in policies was necessary because the post-war situation was characterised by a lot of problems, with which central government could not cope.

Swilling (1997) and Grest (2006) mention that, for instance, urbanisation rates were rising due to an increased influx of refugees who migrated from the rural countryside to the urban areas, because their rural livelihoods had been destroyed by civil war. However, Mozambican state failed to deliver services and to regulate the markets (i.e. to manage the city) in the period of "socialism", which resulted in the development of parallel markets, such as the informal sector; a severe shortage of basic necessities and economic crisis (Grest, 2006, p. 8). To respond to this economic crisis in the 1980s, liberalisation measures were adopted through the World Bank's Structural Adjustment Programs. Yet, these liberalisation measures, which opened up the economy to outside market forces, imposed restrictions on government spending and reduced the role of the public sector (UNDP, 2004, p. 8), actually further weakened state capacity to respond to the growing levels of poverty in the city (Grest, 2006, pp. 3, 5). And state capacity, although strongly centralised, was not very strong from the start (at independence), because a lot of Portuguese skilled labour force that was running the economy and government departed in mass after the independence of the country (UNDP, 2004, p. 25). This massive exodus thus largely affected expertise in urban administration

(Swilling, 1997, p. 245). It also caused an acute crisis in the urban areas, because a lot of industrial and commercial activities were abandoned and collapsed (Grest, 1995), as mentioned above with the economic crisis. The lack of an efficient governance system thus led to a severely degraded urban environment, coupled with grave effects on public health. Peri-urban settlements had also become very vulnerable to environmental hazards, such as flooding, erosion and landslides (Eskemose, 2004, p. 110).

Decentralisation was thus necessary, because governments at the provincial and district levels were too weak, whereas the highly centralised government was too “heavy” (Cuareneia, 2001). It was blocking economic and social development and also inhibiting the population from participating in society. Furthermore, there was great confusion of functions at different levels of administration and a lack of local level autonomy (administratively and financially). It was acknowledged that stronger and more autonomous local governments were needed in order to respond effectively to the crises of the cities and their residents and to contribute to national development. In addition, conscious participation of the local population was seen as essential to rapidly fight social misery (Grest, 1995).

One of the first steps in the decentralisation process in Mozambique was the approval of the Constitution in 1990, which accepted political pluralism and increased freedom of expression, association and assembly (Grest, 1995). This entails that independent trade unions, religious associations and international and national NGOs, grassroots associations and other non-state actors started to emerge (Lindell, 2008, p. 1887). This strongly stands in contrast to the former period of transition after independence, characterized by a lack of autonomous social and political life beyond the Party-State (Swilling, 1997, p. 251).

Furthermore, a Local Government Reform Programme was put into place, sponsored by the World Bank (Cuareneia, 2001). New municipal government systems were created (both rural and urban) under Law N°3/94, which envisaged municipalities to gradually assume responsibility for local service provision and development, but also for environmental management (Eskemose, 2004, p. 111)<sup>4</sup>. The programme of local government reform aimed at promoting financial and administrative decentralisation and greater autonomy of action for local governments, by strengthening the capacities of local authorities so that they could effectively meet local needs and demands (Jenkins, 2000, p. 147).

These new developments fundamentally redefined the relations between central and local levels of government with respect to the allocation of powers and functions. Mozambique has acquired a politically decentralized local government system; perhaps even the most decentralised system in Southern Africa (at least in theory) (Swilling, 1997, p. 250). However, reality often proves otherwise due to recurrent obstacles.

Often the transfer of competencies from central to local governments and the increase of service provision in municipal mandates has not been accompanied by a sufficient amount of financial, human and material resources (MAE & ANAMM, 2009, p. 11). Next to that, there also seems to be a lack of clarity within the legal framework with respect to the actual

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<sup>4</sup> A total of 33 municipalities were created, which nowadays has risen to 43. Furthermore, there are 128 districts and 10 provinces in the country. While districts and provinces are administrative units whereby the plans, budgets and personnel are determined at the central level, in the case of municipalities this is determined at the local level. Moreover, municipalities are the only elected local governments in Mozambique (Nuvunga, 2007, pp. 56-57; MAE & ANAMM, 2009, p. 7).

responsibilities of the municipalities and central government. According to existing legislation, local governments should possess quite an extensive list of competencies (see box 3.1). However, four types of municipalities can be distinguished (from A, e.g. Maputo, to D, e.g. Chibuto), which differ in population size but also in economic, political, social and cultural activities. Subsequently their capacity to engage in these municipal tasks also varies.

### **Box 3.1 Competencies of local governments**

- Rural and urban infrastructure (green spaces; access roads; public cemeteries; markets and fairs; fire department)
- Sanitation (municipal water supply systems; sewage systems; waste collection and treatment systems; public cleaning)
- Energy (distribution of electricity; public lighting)
- Transport and communications (urban and rural road network; public transport)
- Education and training (centres of pre-school education; primary schools; school transport; basic education materials for adults, etc.)
- Culture, leisure and sports (cultural centres; libraries and museums; cultural, landscape and urban heritage of the local government; campsites; facilities and equipment for sports and recreation)
- Health (primary health care units)
- Social affairs (activities in support of the vulnerable people; social housing)
- Environmental management (protection and/or regeneration of the environment; afforestation, planting and conservation of trees; establishment of municipal reserves)

*Source: Matos & Costa (2008), Colectânea de Legislação Autárquica, pp. 153-154.*

According to a study coordinated by the Ministry of State Administration (MAE) and the National Association of Mozambican Municipalities (ANAMM, 2009), the following sectors particularly call for more clarity with respect to the roles of the different public institutions, of which the first and last sector (land & water) will be studied in the framework of this research.

- Management of urban space and urban land;
- Protection and conservation of the environment;
- Promotion of agriculture and livestock;
- Local services to promote youth, sports and culture;
- Infrastructure for public health, water and sanitation services

Furthermore, despite the importance of participation, urban citizens face constraints with respect to participating in local decision-making processes, because no institutionalised mechanism exists yet (Lindell, 2008). Next to that, there also seems to be insufficient understanding among most civic groups about the decentralisation and local governance processes (Cuereneia, 2001). These groups themselves acknowledge and even recommend the need for more education on these topics, so that citizens can become more aware of their rights and obligations and that, eventually, the contribution of civil society can become more effective and sustainable.

So despite the fact that Mozambique has undergone extensive political, social and economic transformations, it still faces a lot of problems, especially to what concerns poverty reduction. With the adoption of liberalisation reforms, Mozambique achieved high economic growth rates, with a current GDP real growth rate of 7% (2007 est.) (CIA The World Factbook, 2008). However, the urban poor are barely affected by the so-called trickle-down effects of economic growth (Grest, 2006, p. 8). Mozambique is also still one of the poorest countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, ranked 172 out of 182 countries in the Human Development Index for 2009 (which refers to 2007) (HDR, 2009). The question thus arises whether current development trends are occurring in an equal and inclusive way throughout the whole country (Lundin, 2000).

A possible explanation for Mozambique's current poverty situation is that the decentralised governance system is not yet fully operational at the lowest level, targeting the very poorest. This can consequently be explained by the fact that resources and adequate skills are lacking, but also by the legacy of highly centralised state planning and of a devastated post-conflict society (UNDP, 2004). Mozambique's past historical experience is thus of great influence on Mozambique's present-day performance in terms of development progress.

However, it is worth mentioning that Mozambique acknowledges that governance policies are one of the top priorities in its national development strategy targeting poverty reduction, i.e. PARPA (*Plano de Acção para a Redução da Pobreza Absoluta*), next to health, education, infrastructure, agriculture and macroeconomic and financial policies (UNDP, 2004, p. 30). To achieve further improvements, Mozambique thus has to further strengthen its overall governance framework and public financial management and further decentralise the delivery of basic services (World Bank, 2009, Country Brief).

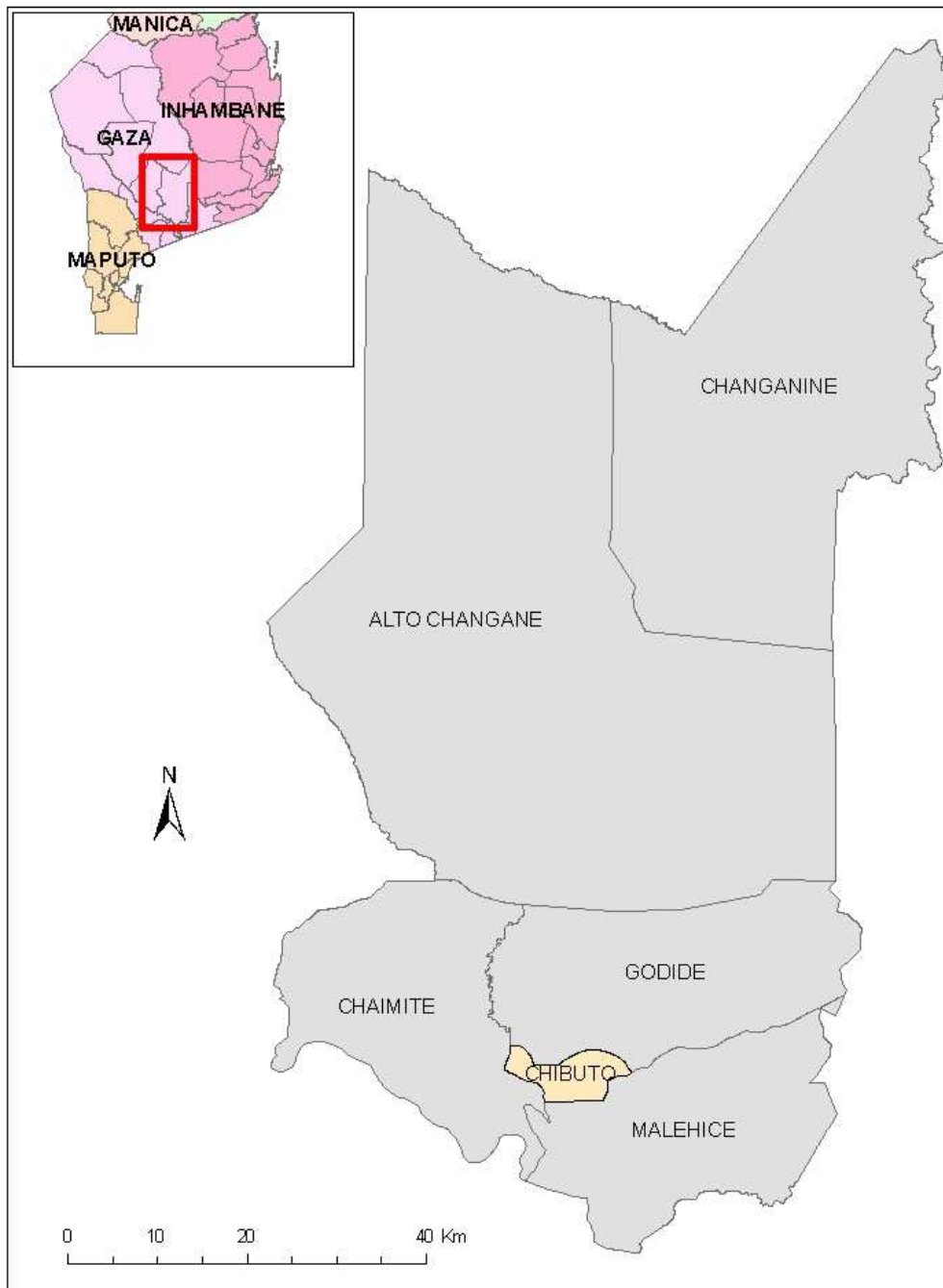
### **3.3 Local context: Chibuto municipality**

Chibuto municipality is a district capital in the Southern province of Gaza with a population of about 80.000 inhabitants and a size of 117 km<sup>2</sup>. As mentioned above, the municipality belongs to the lowest tier of municipalities. It is considered an urban region and holds the administrative title of "administrative post", which is positioned under the district and provincial levels and above the locality and village levels. Furthermore, Chibuto municipality is organised into 14 so-called "bairros" (neighbourhoods), of which three are urban and 11 rural. The degree of urbanisation is thus not very extensive. This translates itself into the fact that subsistence agriculture is the main source of income for Chibuto's residents (see chapter 5 for more information on the socio-economic profile of Chibuto's residents).

As can be derived from the map in appendix 10.1, Chibuto is situated only about 3 hours driving North from Maputo and near a river, called the "Rio Limpopo". Figure 3.1 provides a close-up view of Chibuto district, which is composed of 6 administrative posts, i.e. the city of Chibuto, Alto Changane, Chaimite, Changanine, Godide and Malehice. The little map in the top left corner of the figure demonstrates the location of Chibuto district within Gaza province.



**Figure 3.1** Map of Chibuto municipality within Chibuto district



Source: UN-HABITAT, 2009.

The structure of Chibuto's local government is as follows: it consists of a Municipal Assembly, Mayor and Municipal Council. The Municipal Assembly is the fiscal/inspectoral and deliberative body, and consists of 24 members, which are directly elected by the citizens (see chapter 7 for more detailed information on the Municipal Assembly). The President or the Mayor of the Municipal Council is also directly elected by the citizens and has executive power. The Municipal Council, which is the executive and is selected by the Mayor, comprises of six town councils, each with their own councillors, technicians and other employees<sup>5</sup>.

Furthermore, a whole power structure exists at the neighbourhood level. As such, every neighbourhood is headed by a neighbourhood leader, which is the government representative at the local level. Besides issuing certain declarations (for instance to register a plot of land), the neighbourhood leader collects taxes, heads popular neighbourhood meetings and listens to the concerns of the people. He also has to find out how the local people welcome the work that is being done by the Municipal Council. In sum, he has to run the neighbourhood, resolve its problems, make sure it is clean and safe and that the people are satisfied and living in a peaceful manner. In order to achieve this, he mobilizes and sensitizes the residents to get together, i.e. to organize themselves and work together in this.

Each neighbourhood is subsequently divided into quarters, which are then made up of several blocks (one block mostly consists of 10 houses). These quarters and blocks are also headed by local leaders, namely the leader of the quarters and the leader of the blocks. However, they are subordinate to the neighbourhood leader. Whenever citizens have a concern, they are advised to approach their closest leader, i.e. the leader of the blocks. If he/she cannot resolve this concern, it will move its way upward to the following leader, until the problem is resolved. The local neighbourhood structure thus holds a very important function; it is the link between the local population and the Municipal Council (the Assembly also has this function, but in another way; see chapter 7).

Moreover, the selection of the local neighbourhood structure occurs as follows: neighbourhood leaders are appointed by the Mayor and they can subsequently select the leaders of the quarters and blocks. However, the Mayor has to approve this choice and the population mostly observes, although they can express their discontent or approval<sup>6</sup>.

Often each neighbourhood also has a community leader (but this is not always the case), who deals with traditional and cultural issues, such as festivities etc. In fact, he represents the former traditional chiefs and has in-depth knowledge about the reality and history of the region. The community leader has decision-making power and coordinates his activities with the neighbourhood leader.

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<sup>5</sup> The town councils are:

- Water, sanitation and electricity;
- Culture, youth and sports;
- Governance, economy and finances;
- Urbanization, construction and environment;
- Social affairs, planning, transport and communications;
- Agriculture, markets and fairs.

<sup>6</sup> However, according to some people, it is up to the residents of a block or quarter to select their own block or quarter leader. Often the selection of the candidates is rather straightforward, since they have been in a similar leader position before.

Then, there are also Party representatives within the neighbourhoods, up until the level of the blocks. These representatives are in charge of raising awareness among the population about what the Party does. Moreover, they listen to the concerns of the people and stress that the Party stands close to them. The Party is closely linked to government in that the governance of the Municipal Council is a product of the ruling FRELIMO Party. The Party elaborates the manifest, i.e. of how government should run the country, and the Municipal Council is, subsequently, the executive branch. The Party, thus, in a way, “employs” the Municipal Council to execute the manifest and in return, they want to stay updated on how the “work” is proceeding. This means that there is a close interaction between the government and the Party. The Municipal Council and all other governmental bodies/structures are accountable to the Party.

Furthermore, the sources of income of Chibuto municipality are from local tax revenue and state transfers, which seeks to complement local government’s financial resources. State transfers consist of the Compensation Fund and the fund for local initiative. These state transfers are mostly spent on road habilitation and water provision (Nuvunga, 2007, p. 58). However, over time these funds are reduced, because it is argued that municipal capacity should increase as the municipal mandates go by. Furthermore, tax revenue is collected, amongst others, from the informal sector, small shops, parking fees that buses have to pay, licenses for the construction of housing and housing taxes, amounting to about 85 per cent of all tax incomes. Next to that, a very small amount is collected from personal income tax. However, tax incomes are highly insufficient, leading to deficits in the annual budgets. There is a shortage of daily revenues because people do not have the means to pay or simply do not pay, but in the meantime expenditures lie very high. As a result, most revenues barely cover salaries and administrative costs (Nuvunga, 2007, pp. 58-59). Chibuto’s low tax revenue is not very encouraging for improvements and actually worsens the quality of its urban governance system.

A previous study in Chibuto, carried out by Nuvunga (2007), has pointed out that the municipality also has a “lack of bureaucratic hygiene” in the areas of accounting, auditing, procurement, contract compliance and contract system management. Moreover, it scores badly on three dimensions that measure the quality of urban governance, i.e. transparency, accountability and participation. Nevertheless, these dimensions are quite well represented in the administrative laws for local governments in Mozambique.

When looking at the region’s infrastructure and services, it appears that Chibuto municipality holds the best living conditions out of the whole district. However, the number and quality of the services and infrastructure is still inadequate. More financial resources are needed in order to regularly maintain and repair the services, such as the water supply system, access roads, etc. (MAE, 2005, pp. 10, 16). At this point Chibuto municipality’s main responsibilities are: water provision (which will soon be taken over, most probably by a(n) (state) enterprise); sanitation of the environment; rehabilitation of green spaces and roads. This does not entail that nothing is being done in other areas: all town councils have their own tasks and responsibilities. However, in view of the limited financial resources available, the legal uncertainty as regards local and central government responsibilities, and local priority setting, certain areas receive more attention than others.

Thus, although local governments in Mozambique currently enjoy administrative, patrimonial and financial autonomy, in practice these forms of autonomy are not always prevalent in the

municipalities, as has been discussed earlier on. Despite the decentralisation processes, local authorities in Mozambique are often still unprepared and thus struggling to face the numerous challenges that urban areas exhibit. They do not possess the adequate skills and knowledge to facilitate and participate in urban development processes, such as service delivery, leaving a lot of the poor un-serviced and thus excluded from any form of improvement.

In view of this incapability of local governments, international organizations, such as UN-HABITAT, have developed certain programmes to support these governments in the ongoing decentralisation process.

### **3.4 UN-HABITAT**

UN-HABITAT is the United Nations Agency for Human Settlements. Its mission is to “promote socially and environmentally sustainable human settlements development and the achievement of adequate shelter for all”. To achieve this, it has set up various programmes in the following areas: urban development and management; land and housing; environment and climate change; water, sanitation and infrastructure; urban economy and financing shelter; risk and disaster management; social inclusion and information and monitoring. Mozambique’s country office is involved in many programmes, covering all of the above areas.

In response to the challenge that Mozambique and many other developing countries are facing in their urban management, UN-HABITAT has developed a capacity building programme to support local governance, entitled “Capacity Building for Local Participatory Planning, Budgeting and Gender Mainstreaming Programme”, funded by the Spanish Government. Chibuto is the first out of four municipalities in Mozambique targeted in this UN-HABITAT programme.

This programme has been set up, because it is increasingly acknowledged that the quality of urban governance is an essential factor in eradicating poverty, achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and creating a sustainable urban environment. Therefore, the programme primarily focuses on building and strengthening the institutional capacity of key actors in urban governance, such as local councillors, municipal staff, NGOs and CBOs and local training institutions, in the areas of participatory planning and budgeting, gender mainstreaming, local leadership skills (including good governance), governance monitoring and woman local-to-local dialogues. The programme thus includes many target groups, as well as women and youth, so that they too can fully participate in urban governance processes and voice their priorities.

The research, on which this thesis is based, was conducted in order to better prepare this capacity building programme. As will become clearer later on, the research consisted of an analysis of Chibuto’s municipal capacity for urban service delivery and the extent to which the urban governance system is inclusive, i.e. whether local government adopts participatory and gender mainstreaming approaches.

However, the research was also conducted to complement another programme, namely UN-HABITAT’s “Municipal Capacity Building Programme for the Implementation of a Simplified Land Registration System” in the peripheral areas of Chibuto. Both of these programmes are in fact integrated into the UN Joint Programme Support to Decentralization and Integrated Local Development (SDILD).

The objective of this second capacity building programme is to contribute to the improvement of urban service delivery in informal and peri-urban settlement areas, i.e. to improve the Municipality's capacity to intervene in peripheral areas, through the implementation of adequate and efficient urban land management mechanisms. As discussed in the previous chapter, land registration can be beneficial to both citizens and government, depending on how it is implemented. However, there is almost a total lack of means or instruments for land management in Chibuto municipality. Therefore, in order to better prepare this second programme, this research was conducted, with an additional focus on the perception of the local population regarding this urban management tool. Understanding their position will facilitate targeting the programmes towards the poor.

### **3.5 Conclusion**

In this chapter it became clear that Mozambique has undergone important reforms in the past couple of decades, such as political and administrative decentralisation, as a response to devastating wars, economic crisis, increasing urban poverty and inefficient governing structures. It was argued that stronger and more autonomous local governments were needed to fight poverty at the lowest possible level. However, local governments are still struggling to deal with urban problems, such as the delivery of pro-poor services. Thus, the widespread decentralisation reforms have not yet been completed. In fact, local governments still depend on higher levels of government; not only because of a lack of financial resources, but also due to the fact that a legal uncertainty exists regarding the actual responsibilities of the municipalities and central government. To support local governments in their decentralisation processes, UN-HABITAT has developed several programmes, which ultimately have the goal of improving service delivery and making it more accessible to the urban poor. The following chapter will further elaborate on how this research was carried out to better prepare the previously mentioned UN-HABITAT programmes.

## **4. Methodological framework**

### **4.1 Introduction**

In this chapter it will become clear by which means the research has been conducted. First the (central) research question(s) and objectives will be presented, which point to the exact aim and direction of the research. Next to that, this chapter contains a schematic overview of the main elements that play a role in the research, i.e. of those elements that determine the municipal capacity for inclusive and gender-sensitive service delivery (which, to some extent, have already been discussed in the thematic-theoretical framework). The elements in this scheme are also further explained and defined. Furthermore, an overview will be given on what methods have been used to carry out the research, which include desk research, semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, a structured household questionnaire (with a stratified random sample) and observations. Some logistical issues will also be clarified, such as the choice to go on several field visits to Chibuto, the use of an interpreter, the selection of services and neighbourhoods and the analysis of the results. Last but not least, some comments will be made about the reliability of the research and what the general limitations were during the whole process.

### **4.2 Research questions and objectives**

The main research question of this study has been set up in collaboration with UN-HABITAT Mozambique, with the aim of contributing to the preparation of two of its recently launched programmes, i.e. the Capacity Building for Local Participatory Planning, Budgeting and Gender Mainstreaming Programme and the Municipal Capacity Building Programme for the Implementation of a Simplified Land Registration System in the peripheral areas of Chibuto. It is a rather exploratory research question, given the fact that the capacity building programmes were only entering its initial phases. The main research question is as follows:

*To what extent is Chibuto municipality adopting participatory and gender mainstreaming approaches in its urban governance?*

The question aims at investigating whether Chibuto municipality is implementing any kind of mechanisms that encourage the local population of Chibuto, including women and other marginalised groups, to participate in local decision-making processes concerning service delivery (from planning, to budgeting and implementing the services), in order for these services to be targeted towards the needs and wishes of the local population. Not only does it aim at looking whether women and other marginalised groups can participate in these processes, but if the municipality adopts a gender focus at all in its operations. In the end, this exploratory research question will shed light onto possible bottlenecks or challenges that might occur with respect to pro-poor, inclusive and gender sensitive service delivery. By means of these challenges possible recommendations will be derived, which can consequently be tackled in the capacity-building programmes developed by UN-HABITAT.

In order to arrive at a comprehensive answer to the main question of this research, the following sub questions have been set up, which include a focus on two municipal services, e.g. land registration and water provision, so that the outcomes of the research become more concrete.

1) *According to existing legislation for local authorities in Mozambique, what urban services should be provided by Chibuto municipality, i.e. what is their local mandate? Furthermore, what services are currently being provided?*

This question aims at gaining insight into the local government's responsibilities with regard to service delivery and thus to what extent decentralisation reforms should be operational. By comparing the information that is taken up in existing legislation and what is occurring in practice in Chibuto municipality, possible gaps can be identified, which might consequently provide further insights into the current functioning of the service delivery process in Chibuto.

2) *How are the municipal services of land registration and water provision implemented and what are the constraints?*

This question aims at providing a general overview of how the two selected services in this research function within their town councils and what actors are involved in the provision/distribution of these services among Chibuto's population. However, it must be mentioned that these services are not of the same kind. While water is a service that people desperately need, most people are not desperate to get their plots of land registered – on the contrary. Land registration is rather a tool used by the Municipal Council in its urban management. Nevertheless, both land registration and water provision are responsibilities of the Municipal Council and people can make some sort of use of it. Consequently, for the sake of convenience, both land registration and water provision will be referred to as services hereafter. Thus, this question aims to study the performance of the Municipal Council with respect to the “delivery” of both these services. Furthermore, a brief reference will be made to the general limitations of these service delivery processes. This way a situational analysis is obtained with respect to service delivery in Chibuto.

3) *To what extent does the Municipal Council make these municipal services (e.g. land registration and water provision) accessible to the local population, in particular to the low-income households?*

This question aims at delineating to what extent the local citizens have the opportunity to make use of the services provided by the municipality, should they feel the need to do so. This can be either in a spatial or social way. For instance, does the water supply system extend all the way up until the city's boundaries, i.e. do people in peripheral neighbourhoods have access to water? Furthermore, do the most marginalised, excluded poor people (i.e. women, the elderly, those lower-income groups that earn their income from the informal sector, etc.) have access to water? And do they have the opportunity to register their land plots, i.e. are their rights recorded in the land registration system?

4) *How does the local population perceive the quality of the two urban services (e.g. land registration and water provision) and what is their expectancy?*

This question is a kind of opinion-poll or measurement of user satisfaction concerning service delivery. It will point out whether Chibuto municipality is providing accessible services and whether it is being responsive towards the needs and priorities of the local population, i.e. whether their interests are being represented.

5) *To what extent is the local population involved in decision-making processes on the provision of urban services, especially with respect to water provision? (More specifically, is the local population involved in planning and budgeting processes with regard to urban services?)*

This question is somewhat more directly related to the central question in that it will investigate whether the local population has a say in planning and budgeting processes of the municipality concerning service delivery, by means of existing participatory mechanisms. In this sub question the focus does not so much lie on land registration, since people generally do not participate in the planning and budgeting process of this service. People can be involved as witnesses in the process of recognizing somebody's land ownership. Furthermore they can be consulted about land use planning, but their active participation in land issues will not go any further than that.

6) *What is the role of women in decision-making processes, especially with respect to the planning processes of these services?*

This question focuses specifically on women's position in Chibuto society and how this position allows them (or not) to participate in municipal decision-making processes concerning service delivery.

The central and sub questions of this research have been set up to serve a couple of objectives. Two main objectives have been formulated, namely:

1) *To assess the quality of the urban governance system of Chibuto municipality in providing urban services while also involving the local population in its decision-making processes, especially women.*

2) *To identify possible constraints or weaknesses within the urban governance system of Chibuto municipality, which could consequently be tackled in the framework of the two capacity building programmes of UN-HABITAT.*

Some secondary objectives are:

3) *To promote gender equality in local participatory governance and service delivery.*

4) *To contribute to the improvement of the local urban governance system and sustainability of urban interventions in Chibuto municipality, so that poverty can more easily be eradicated.*

### **4.3 Conceptual model**

Based on the information that has been discussed in the thematic-theoretical framework, a schematic overview has been set up of the main elements that play a role in the research, i.e. of those elements that determine the municipal capacity for inclusive and gender-sensitive service delivery. See figure 4.1. The different elements within this conceptual model have also been made operational. Appendix 10.2 contains a list with definitions of all these elements and their subsequent indicators, so that the elements become measurable and, thus, workable in the field. As Harpham & Boateng (1997) stress, it is vital to first clarify definitions and dimensions of urban governance, before engaging in further analysis and



action. The thematic-theoretical framework, the conceptual model and its operationalisation can thus be considered as the pillars on which this research has been based. However, this operationalisation of the different variables can be repetitive, since some elements have already been discussed in the thematic-theoretical framework, and also due to the fact that all the variables are so interrelated.

Central to the model is the quality of the urban governance structure of Chibuto municipality. The quality of the urban governance system is made up of several key issues that are all interrelated and mutually reinforcing, as has already been explained in the thematic-theoretical framework. The overall functioning of the governance system will ultimately determine to what extent certain policies can be implemented successfully, in an inclusive, gender-sensitive and effective way, such as policies regarding service delivery. In the framework of this research, the quality of Chibuto's urban governance system will determine the performance of the municipality with respect to land registration and water delivery; it will determine whether the municipal services are accessible to the local population, i.e. whether their needs and priorities are taken into account.

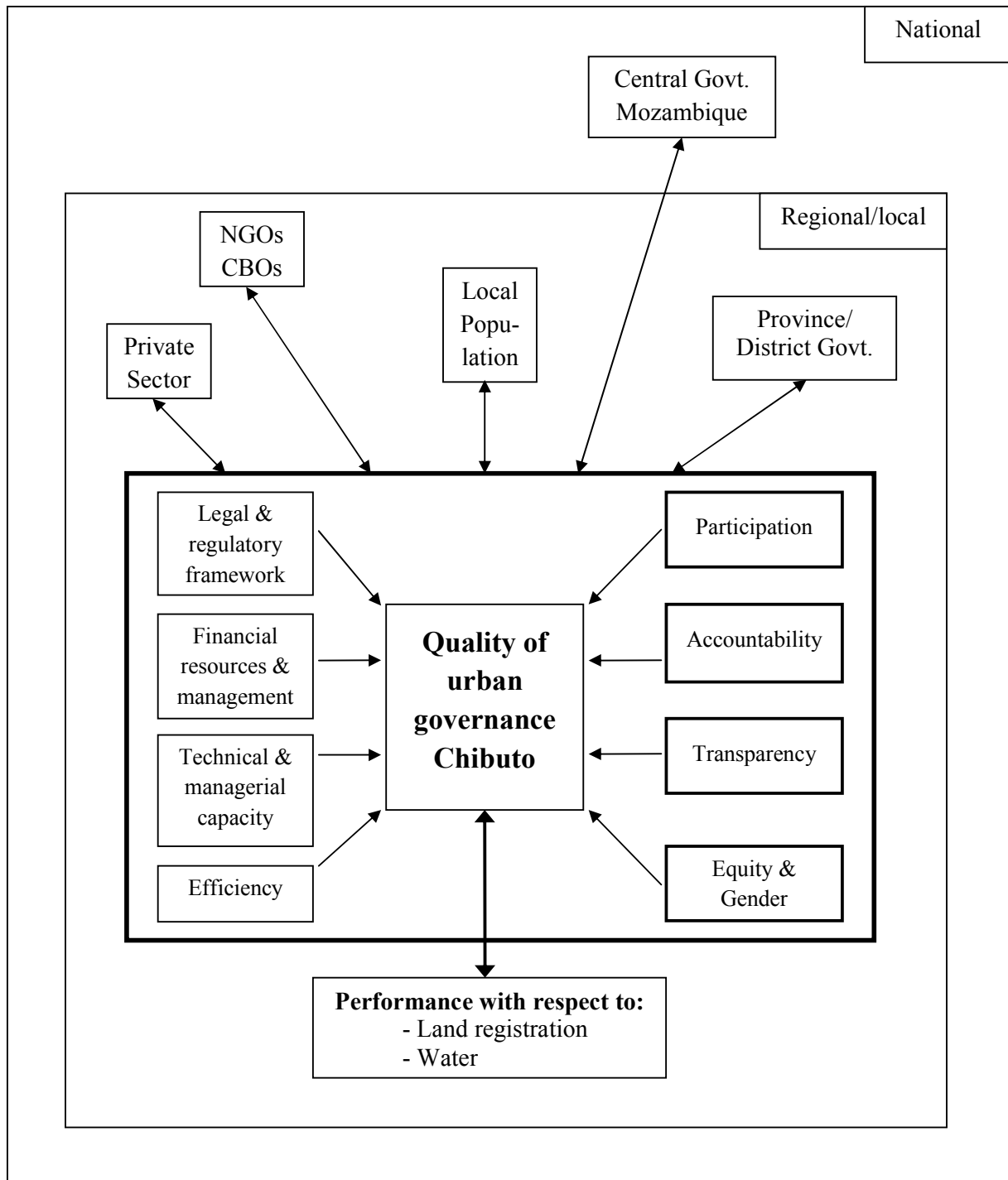
Certain key elements have been highlighted in the model, such as participation, accountability, transparency and equity & gender, since these elements are essential to target the services towards the poor and vulnerable citizens. However, the other components need to be considered as well, since they mutually reinforce each other. For instance, it could be the case that participatory mechanisms have been institutionalized, but that there are no sufficient financial and/or human resources available. This entails that the local population can voice their needs, but that there will not be any funds and capacity for the Municipal Council to address these needs.

Furthermore, the model demonstrates the fact that local urban governance is about the interaction between different stakeholders. First of all, local government is accountable to the local population, i.e. it is responsible for delivering the right services to its citizens, according to their needs and priorities. The local population should, in turn, express these needs and priorities by means of their active participation in local decision-making processes. Thus, while it is the duty of the local government to deliver pro-poor services, the local population has the right to claim these services, by means of their active participation.

But then again local government is also accountable to central government and provincial or districts governments. Together they set up the legal and regulatory framework and local government also receives funds (state-transfers) from higher levels of government. As mentioned by Mehrotra (2006), the relationships between the three levels (central government, local government and the local citizens) are crucial to achieve effective service delivery. However, the relationship with central government can also work in detriment of the quality of the urban governance system, for instance, when central government retains too much control over financial resources, etc.

Next to that, local government should also cooperate and coordinate its activities concerning service delivery with other actors, such as the private sector, NGOs, CBOs, etc., given their limited amount of resources. Civil society can also play an important role in influencing policy agendas of the local government and by holding them to account in addressing the needs of the poor.

**Figure 4.1** Conceptual model



#### **4.4 Methods used**

Several methods were used to carry out this research on local urban governance and service delivery, such as qualitative, quantitative and participatory methods. An integrated methodology has thus been used. This combination is said to bring together the best of all methods, because by integrating them, one method's weakness can be compensated by the other one's strength. Moreover, by combining quantitative and qualitative methods, information can be cross-checked/triangulated, bias can be avoided and the representativeness of the research can be enhanced (Mayoux, 2006, p. 123; van Oosten, 2009). Before entering into detail about these several methods, some logistical issues will be clarified, such as the choice to go on several field visits to Chibuto, the use of an interpreter and the selection of services and neighbourhoods.

##### **Field visits & interpreter**

In consultation with the UN-HABITAT staff, the decision was made to carry out the research by travelling back and forth between Chibuto and Maputo. The rationale behind this is that the facilities in Chibuto municipality are rather limited. Moreover, this way I could consult my colleagues in Maputo and better prepare the interviews/surveys in between the visits. After a first short two-day introductory visit to Chibuto municipality, together with some of the UN-HABITAT staff, I embarked upon several other field visits, i.e. five more visits, of which the last one was a two-day closure visit to hand in the final report. The second visit took four days; the third and the fourth visit took a week and the fifth visit took four weeks due to the fact that the household surveys were conducted in that period. All in all, half of the research time was spent in Chibuto and half of the time in Maputo. The periods in Maputo were not only used to prepare the visits to Chibuto, but also to conduct interviews with key-persons at certain national and international organisations.

Another practicality was to arrange an interpreter, that could assist me during my research. While most public officials speak Portuguese, the majority of the local population in Chibuto speaks Changane, the local language. Therefore it was essential to have an interpreter. The councillor of Social Action, Planning, Transport and Communication, helped me out in that respect. He introduced me to his sister of 27 years old, who has lived in both Chibuto and Maputo. It was important to know that she is familiar with the reality of Chibuto, but also aware of what is going on outside of this small municipality. I immediately informed her about my research and gave her a copy of the question lists, which we went through together. After having consulted several professionals, I decided to pay her 30 MZN per hour for her work, which roughly corresponds to 0,80 Euros.

##### **Selection of services and neighbourhoods**

Upon arrival in Maputo, it was not yet clear what services were going to be studied and in what neighbourhoods the research was going to be carried out. However, soon the decision was made to focus on the municipal service of land registration. First of all, this decision was made, because UN-HABITAT had just launched a programme focussing on this issue. Next to that, land registration is a direct responsibility of the municipality and can strongly be linked with gender issues. However, since land registration cannot be linked that much with the participation theme, I decided to include the water provision service as well, after having been to Chibuto on an introductory two-day visit. From that visit it became clear that Chibuto is dealing with a serious water problem, which made it interesting and challenging to study this service. Next to that, water is a more physical service, which makes it possible to involve

people in decision-making processes concerning its delivery. Gender also plays an important role in this service.

Moreover, two neighbourhoods (out of 14 neighbourhoods in total) were chosen to carry out the research: 25 de Junho and Bairro 3 da cidade. 25 de Junho was indicated by the municipality itself; the Mayor wished for the Capacity Building Programme for the Implementation of a Simplified Land Registration System to be executed in the oldest (and also largest) neighbourhood of the municipality. This way it could serve as an example for the other neighbourhoods. 25 de Junho can be considered as a rather peripheral neighbourhood with a strong rural character. Consequently, Bairro 3 da cidade was chosen by myself after consultation with some key persons. This neighbourhood is a lot smaller, situated closer to the city centre and apparently contains a lot of female headed households, which makes it interesting to study it, given the gender component of the research. Refer to appendix 10.3, that contains a rather rudimentary map of Chibuto municipality with an indication of the two research neighbourhoods (highlighted in yellow). The squares in the middle of the map represent the centre of Chibuto, i.e. the “Bairro de Cimento” (the cement neighbourhood).

## **Methods**

The methods used in this research are the following: desk research, semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, a structured household questionnaire (with a stratified random sample) and observations. In the following paragraphs each method will be discussed, stressing for what purpose it was used.

### *Desk research*

Upon arrival in Maputo, the capital of Mozambique, first some desk research was done at the office of UN-HABITAT on the national legislation for municipalities/local governments to obtain a broader picture of the decentralisation process in Mozambique and what implications this has for service delivery by local authorities. I also informed myself more thoroughly on UN-HABITAT’s Capacity Building Programme for the Implementation of a Simplified Land Registration System in the peripheral areas of Chibuto. Furthermore, I consulted a news-sheet on Mozambique’s municipalities, which included some information on Chibuto. Unfortunately there was not much other up to date information available on the research area. Along the research, some more documents were consulted with respect to municipal development, land issues and gender. This desk research was mostly used to answer sub-question 1 and to complement findings on the other research questions.

### *Semi-structured interviews*

The first couple of field visits to Chibuto municipality consisted of conducting semi-structured interviews with key-persons at the Municipal Council (with the Mayor and some councillors), at some public institutions and NGOs and with the local neighbourhood leaders. These initial semi-structured interviews with key-persons were conducted with the aim of obtaining general information on the research themes and getting acquainted with the functioning of the Municipal Council, i.e. what actors are involved in the urban governance system; what challenges the municipality faces, etc. The first part of the research thus mainly consisted of a situational/stakeholder analysis, so to speak, and covered practically all research questions.

During the first couple of visits to Chibuto some more semi-structured interviews were carried out at the household level (a total of 14 interviews), both in Bairro 3 da cidade and 25 de Junho, to get a feeling of how the people would respond to the questions. This way the household survey, that was going to be conducted at a later stage, could be better prepared. In addition, some semi-structured interviews were carried out with key persons at institutions in Maputo, such as with a researcher from the NGO “Women and Law in Southern Africa” (WLSA), the governance programme officer of the Swiss Development Agency and the Head of the Department of Gender and Development of the Ministry of Women and Coordination of Social Action. These interviews also had the aim of discussing the central research themes. Moreover, I tried to discuss my findings thus far with these key persons. This way I could make my findings more comprehensive (see appendix 10.5 for a list of interviewed key persons). More of such interviews were planned, such as with someone from the headquarters of the “Organização da Mulher Moçambicana” (OMM), and from the Ministry of State Administration. However, this did not appear feasible. In this final stage of the research I conducted some more semi-structured interviews with key persons at the Municipal Council, with the local neighbourhood leaders and some other people of interest to the research, to obtain the last pieces of missing information and to clarify some more preliminary findings.

#### *Focus group discussions*

The choice was made to carry out a couple of focus group discussions, before conducting the main structured household questionnaires, because they are an efficient means to explore some central issues before refining the questions more and focusing on the real key issues. Thus, this way a good sense could be obtained of the relevant issues that play a role in Chibuto society concerning service delivery, participation and gender. Again, all research themes were briefly covered during these focus group discussions.

These focus group discussions were also used to jointly conduct a stakeholder and institutional analysis with the local citizens, so that they, themselves, could identify who the relevant actors are in local urban governance and service delivery and consequently assign a level of importance to these different actors and/or institutions. They could then also state what their perceptions are concerning the “performance” of these actors in local governance. By conducting a participatory stakeholder and institutional analysis, a better understanding can be obtained of complex processes; the relationships between the different stakeholders and potential stakeholder conflicts can be identified; the functioning of different institutions and the interdependency between them can be identified, etc. (van Oosten, 2009).

Given the limited time-frame of this research, it was agreed upon with the local neighbourhood leaders that they would arrange groups of both women and men separately. This is essential in order for gender differences to be expressed openly (Momsen, 2006, p. 48). The plan was to have both a men and a women’s focus group in each neighbourhood, but unfortunately only three of them took place due to some difficulties in the planning and people not showing up (one men’s focus group did not take place, in 25 de Junho). The focus groups were held outside at the central meeting places of the neighbourhoods and recorded with a digital voice recorder (upon consent from all participants). Each time, around 10 participants were present and the focus groups had an approximate duration of two hours. After completion, the focus groups were transcribed with the help my interpreter. However, during the focus groups she already tried to translate some of the answers of the participants. However, sometimes this hindered the group dynamics.

### *Structured household questionnaire – stratified random sample*

While qualitative methods are useful to gain a holistic understanding of complex processes, quantitative/numerical data provides the opportunity to make research outcomes more concrete, i.e. one can find out how much certain things are happening to how many people (Mayoux, 2006, p. 117). With quantitative research it is possible to gain insight into certain distributions and one can draw representative, objective (and thus unbiased) conclusions. However, it is necessary to conduct a household survey among a considerable amount of people.

Before spending four weeks in Chibuto to conduct the household survey, two weeks were spent in Maputo to design the survey and to decide on which sampling technique to adopt. After several consultations with the UN-HABITAT staff and my supervisor, the decision was made to do a random stratified sample. Urban areas are rather complex and diverse, in terms of population density, for instance. One neighbourhood can consist of both densely populated areas and more sparsely populated areas. To capture this diversity and to get a representative sample that covers the whole neighbourhood, it is important to draw a random sample in each of these different population categories/strata.

As such, two Google Earth maps were printed out in size A0 - one for each neighbourhood - so that the neighbourhood blocks and houses became clearly visible. All the blocks of the neighbourhoods were circled manually on the maps and then the neighbourhoods were divided up into three areas, by their level of population/house density. In each neighbourhood an area of high, medium and low population density was thus identified. However, some of these areas were larger than others. Next, all the blocks per area were numbered so that a couple of blocks could randomly be drawn per area. Whenever a certain area was larger than another one, more blocks were drawn in that area. The random samples were thus drawn in proportion to the size of the area. See appendix 10.4 for an aerial photograph of 25 de Junho, as it has been used to draw the sample on (but then in smaller format)<sup>7</sup>.

Subsequently every household within the drawn block was interviewed. A total of 6 blocks were interviewed in 25 de Junho (3 in the high density area, 2 in the medium density area and 1 in the low density area) and 5 blocks in Bairro 3 da cidade (2 in the high density area, 2 in the medium density area and 1 in the low density area), which mounts up to a total of 11 blocks and 86 households (of which 45 households belong to 25 de Junho and 41 to Bairro 3 da cidade).

Moreover, there were 8 non-response cases in 25 de Junho and 4 in Bairro 3 da cidade (mounting up to a total of 12 non-response cases). Sometimes people were not at home or in other cases land plots were deserted or with houses under construction, etc. There was only one lady that simply refused to participate<sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately I could not get a hold of a small aerial photograph of Bairro 3 da cidade. During the research I encountered a lot of technical problems to arrange good maps of the research areas.

<sup>8</sup> It is actually interesting to mention why she refused to participate in the household survey. It seems that she thought we were members of some political party other than the FRELIMO (at that time elections were on its way and campaigns had started). Being a supporter of the FRELIMO party, she refused to welcome us and was even a bit rude to us, saying that she had enough of being fooled with ideas and promises and that she would stay true to the FRELIMO because she had always done so.

Initially, the plan was to conduct more household surveys in 25 de Junho than in Bairro 3 da cidade, given the considerable difference in size between the two neighbourhoods. However, this was not possible due to time constraints.

The household survey itself was based upon previous research, some existing questionnaires and the information obtained thus far during the field visits to Chibuto (it was carried out towards the end period of the research). It consisted of 54 questions and a small observation sheet. The questions covered the following topics: general information about the respondent and his/her household; land plot; water; responsibilities within the household; level of social organization and participation. The questionnaire was designed in such a way that each section contained at least some question to gain insight into gender equality issues. In fact, the section on “responsibilities within the household” was designed only for that purpose<sup>9</sup>. See appendix 10.6 for a copy of the household survey. It must be said that the survey contained quite a lot of the open questions, since it was difficult to come up with predetermined answer categories. The answers were thus categorized at a larger stage (upon arrival in the Netherlands).

Before conducting the household survey my interpreter was thoroughly trained. I explained the questions to her and the fact that it is imperative to pose the questions in the same way to every respondent. I also stressed that she literally had to translate every single response back to me. We practiced the translation of the survey from Portuguese into Changane a couple of times in order for her to be well prepared. However, first a pilot survey was conducted to test the questions (four pilot surveys were carried out in total). Subsequently a couple of questions were adapted.

On average, between six to seven interviews were conducted a day. Given the large amount of questions in the survey, the interviews were quite extensive. First they were conducted in 25 de Junho and then in Bairro 3 da cidade. The head of household would always be the one responding to the questions. If both husband and wife were at home, I would ask the husband. However, most of the times, the women were the ones at home. When nobody would be at home, we arranged to come back another time.

#### *Observations*

During this research a couple of observations were made, such as of a session of the Municipal Assembly, when the 5-year plan of the Municipal Council was presented. Moreover, a meeting of the Organização da Mulher Moçambicana (OMM) was attended to observe what topics they usually address. The plan was to also attend and observe a popular neighbourhood meeting, since this is an important “participation mechanism”. However, despite various attempts, this did not appear feasible. Moreover, some water sights (public stand posts, wells and holes) were visited to observe under what conditions people have to fetch water.

During the field visits I had the chance to be present at two more occasions, namely the celebration of the National Women’s Day and the visit of President Guebuza to Chibuto municipality, in view of his election campaign. The two events were interesting to observe in terms of population dynamics. Although I could not assist popular neighbourhood meetings,

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<sup>9</sup> It was thought that the decision making power at home could be of influence on the level of active participation at popular meetings.

these two events also involved a lot of people gathered together. Therefore, I could still obtain an idea of how people interact when gathered together in large numbers.

### **Analysis / presentation of results**

The last two weeks of the research consisted of writing a final, although preliminary, report and presenting the findings to the UN-HABITAT staff. Subsequently, their comments were incorporated in the report, upon which two copies were handed over to the Municipal Council of Chibuto. Unfortunately no presentation could be given in Chibuto itself, because the last visit coincided with the arrival of the President.

It must be mentioned that the preliminary report did not contain any statistical analysis yet, due to the fact that the statistical SPSS programme was not to my disposal at that time. Tables with distributions of the findings were presented by using Excel. Only upon arrival back in the Netherlands was the data from the surveys analysed with the statistical SPSS programme. Moreover, all interviews were already transcribed while carrying out the research in Mozambique.

### **4.5 Limitations and reliability**

Although an integrated methodology was used to enhance the quality and representativeness of the research findings, every research deals with its own challenges, which subsequently can have an impact on the reliability of the outcomes of the research. A couple of these limitations will be presented in this last section.

First of all, due to the limited time-frame of this research, only a restricted number of household surveys has been conducted. According to Baarda & De Goede (2006), ideally one should interview 100 cases to be able to perform statistical tests and draw representative conclusions (assuming that subgroups need to be compared, such as men and women). In this research only 86 households were interviewed. As such, now and then it proved to be difficult to carry out statistical analyses, because some response categories only had a few cases.

Moreover, the household survey has only been carried out in two of Chibuto's 14 neighbourhoods. Therefore the results are only valid for the neighbourhoods in which the surveys have been conducted and not for the whole municipality. However, given the exploratory nature of the research - with the aim of identifying certain trends - it is not necessary to make statements about the whole municipality. This can be done at a later stage, in which the identified trends are studied more in-depth.

Another limitation of the research, that can influence the reliability of the results, is the fact that more women were interviewed than men. Women were often at home, while their husbands were out working (in South Africa, etc.). In addition, a lot of female headed-households are living in Chibuto. Thus, although one of the aims of this research was to study gender equality issues, it is difficult to draw pertinent conclusions when only a limited amount of male respondents is available (22 in total, out of the 86 respondents). Studying gender issues does not only involve women; one must look at the differences in power relations between men and women.

Another issue that challenges the reliability of the research is that of power relations. Power relations exist between all kinds of members of society, but also between the researcher itself



and the researched. The researcher might come across as dominant or superior, which can lead to biased research outcomes; the respondents might just give desirable answers to the questions. When talking to the locals during the research, I experienced that few of them really made critical comments. They all were surprisingly positive about the overall performance of the Municipal Council. This could be an indication of giving “desirable answers”.

There could also be a power related bias in the outcomes of the focus group discussions, since they were organized by the local neighbourhood leaders. It is possible that these leaders have chosen respondents that are most likely to give favourable answers. In fact, the one men’s focus group only consisted of local neighbourhood leaders, such as block leaders and quarter leaders, whilst I had specifically asked for “citizens” as participants. Nevertheless, I decided to carry on with the focus group and I have the feeling that the participants, despite being local leaders, gave sincere answers.

Not being able to understand the local language and depending on an interpreter can also influence the validity of the outcomes. Especially since the research topics are quite complex. It is already challenging to talk about certain themes in Portuguese, let alone in a local language. Some words are, for instance, difficult to translate because they do not exist in the vocabulary of the local language. Moreover, the interpreter is not as familiar with the research themes as the proper researcher. Therefore, the findings can be biased, because my assistant could have transmitted certain questions wrongfully or interpreted the answers in her own way. To enhance my control over the outcomes of the surveys, I tried to prepare and train my interpreter as well as possible.

Last but not least, some small difficulties, that I believe are inherent to every research, made the research a little more challenging at times. However, these difficulties do not necessarily influence the reliability of the outcomes of the research. These general limitations include the difficulty of making appointments with the interviewees, since people generally do not make use of agendas, or do not show up because of the rain, etc. Moreover, some logistical problems hindered the research at times. Due to some technical problems with the sampling method and maps, I spent more time in Maputo than planned. Furthermore, due to a lack of transportation and assistants at the research site, I could only carry out a limited amount of surveys per day. However, it was agreed upon that working with one assistant would be best, to enhance the control over the answers of the surveys. With only one assistant I could always be present while the questionnaires were being conducted and at least observe the body language of the respondents. With more assistants it would be more likely to get biased outcomes, since they would have to work independently, without supervision.

## **5. The neighbourhoods and the research population**

### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter will provide some general information on the research population and the two neighbourhoods in which they live, to get a sense of the socioeconomic and geographical setting in which the research took place.

First, a small section has been included that specifically focuses on the two researched neighbourhoods. It will demonstrate in what ways they differ from each other, covering the following topics: population size; surface; land plot organisation; origin of the population; location of the neighbourhood and presence of services.

Second, the information on the research population will try to portray a picture of how and with what means the households are living. It is split up into several themes, such as “general information”, which refers to the language spoken by the interviewees and gender distribution. Next comes the theme “household composition”, which addresses the average number of household members. It also contains information on the extent to which the respondents are heads of household (or not) and the marital status of the respondents. The “education, profession and income” section obviously contains information on these topics, but specifically refers to the education levels that the respondent and his/her partner have attended, the activity that they are enrolled in, the profession they are exercising, if applicable, and what income they earn on average per month. The section on “coping strategies” addresses whether the households rely on any other sources of income besides the incomes of the respondent and his/her partner, if applicable. Reference will also be made to the average household income. Finally, the section “living situation” contains information on certain items that the households do or do not possess (energy, radio, bicycle, etc.). Furthermore, it looks into land plot uses, i.e. if the households use their land plot for other means besides housing. This section also studies in which type of housing the households live and in what state the houses are.

An attempt has been made to disaggregate most findings by sex, since it is part of the focus of this research, but also because it is a cross-cutting issue that should be incorporated in every research. Wherever there are noteworthy differences in population characteristics between the two studied neighbourhoods, these will also be mentioned.

### **5.2 The neighbourhoods**

25 de Junho is one of Chibuto municipality’s largest neighbourhoods in terms of population size. According to an information sheet at the Municipal Council, published on July 14, 2008, the neighbourhood has 14.200 inhabitants. However, according to the local neighbourhood leader, it has around 17.000 inhabitants. He referred to the number of 14.200 as being an estimate based on censuses and claimed that his information was more accurate. It must be said that the neighbourhood is also large in terms of surface. In fact, the neighbourhood is so big that it has been split up into 4 sub-neighbourhoods, or units, i.e. Bairro 1, 2, 3 and 4 of 25 de Junho. Each sub-neighbourhood has its own neighbourhood leader and corresponding local structure, but there is one overarching neighbourhood leader that is responsible for the whole neighbourhood. The neighbourhood is so big, that it even portrays characteristics of an administrative post (while Chibuto municipality itself is actually an administrative post).

Bairro 3 da cidade is a lot smaller than 25 de Junho in terms of population size and surface. It has 8.588 inhabitants according to the municipal information sheet, but according to the neighbourhood leader, around 6.700 people are living in his neighbourhood. Next to that, Bairro 3 da cidade only consists of one area with one neighbourhood leader (there are no subdivisions like in 25 de Junho).

Despite its big size, 25 de Junho is a very well organised neighbourhood in terms of land plots and blocks. Bairro 3 da cidade, on the other hand, shows more disorder in its streets and land plot/block organisation. The explanation for this is that 25 de Junho is a very old neighbourhood, whereas Bairro 3 da cidade is more recent, and thus portrays more “spontaneous” urbanisation features.

25 de Junho can be characterised as a neighbourhood with inhabitants that originate from the valley, i.e. the lower region near the Limpopo river. With the floods of 1977, the inhabitants of this region had to flee and move to the more mountainous area (where nowadays Chibuto municipality is situated). A communal village was created, which later became part of the municipality of Chibuto in 1998. 25 de Junho thus houses emigrants from the lower region. The population of Bairro 3 da cidade originates from the higher mountainous area, i.e. from Chibuto itself. However, a lot of people from outside the region were placed in both neighbourhoods during the civil war, because of the fact that Chibuto was considered to be a safe location. It can thus be said that a mixture of origins exist in both neighbourhoods.

Furthermore, another difference between the two neighbourhoods is that 25 de Junho is a more peripheral neighbourhood, with many of large land plots. Bairro 3 da cidade is located a lot closer to the city centre and in this neighbourhood small land plots dominate. The fact that 25 de Junho has bigger land plots also entails that more people have little gardens on them to grow crops for subsistence farming. In Bairro 3 da cidade only a fairly little percentage of the interviewed people grows crops on their land plots. As such, one can verify that profession wise, there are more farmers/land labourers living in 25 de Junho than in Bairro 3 da cidade. The farming mentality from the lower Limpopo region has migrated with the people towards Chibuto’s hills. Although they have moved to Chibuto municipality, a lot of them still have their farms in the valley and spend a few days a week working there.

With respect to the presence of services in each neighbourhood (delivered by the municipality), 25 de Junho has four public stand posts (one in each sub-neighbourhood) and Bairro 3 da cidade has three. This slight variation is rather striking given the difference in size of the neighbourhoods; one would expect more stand posts in 25 de Junho than there currently are. However, not all stand posts are working adequately, but this topic will be addressed in the next chapter.

Regarding electricity, not the whole of 25 de Junho and Bairro 3 are electrified. In fact, the people that do have electricity, have solicited this themselves. However, the quality of the energy is rather limited, because the electricity network has never been expanded. The electricity thus has to be tapped from some main electricity posts. The neighbourhood leader of 25 de Junho explained that only now the municipality will be responding to the needs of the whole community.

Furthermore, according to the neighbourhood leader, there is no waste collection service in 25 de Junho; people have to dig holes themselves to burn their trash in. The same counts for Bairro 3 da cidade, but the neighbourhood leader did say that one can pay to have his/her trash collected.

Each sub-neighbourhood of 25 de Junho has a primary school and there is even a secondary school in unit 1 of the neighbourhood. The neighbourhood also has two football fields. Bairro 3 da cidade only has one primary school and no sports fields. With respect to health, both neighbourhoods do not possess health posts/centres. While Bairro 3 da cidade is situated near two central health centres, 25 de Junho is not.

Finally, while 25 de Junho possesses a market, Bairro 3 da cidade does not. This is because Bairro 3 da cidade is situated right next to the central market of Chibuto municipality.

### 5.3 General information on research population

The first information that became apparent while conducting the household questionnaires, was the language that the interviewees spoke. Out of the 86 conducted questionnaires, only 27,9% spoke Portuguese and 72,1% spoke Changane, the local language<sup>10</sup>. Chibuto's District Profile from 2005 provides information that points towards the same direction. It states that 37,1% speaks Portuguese and 62,9% does not. However, these numbers apply to the district level. Few people thus speak Portuguese or only understand/speak it a little.

However, when disaggregating the spoken language by sex of the interviewees, it appears that men relatively speak more Portuguese than women, i.e. 50,0% of men speak Portuguese and 50,0% speak Changane, in comparison to the interviewed women, where only 20,3% speak Portuguese and 79,7% speak Changane<sup>11</sup>. See table 5.1. This clearly points to a prevailing gender inequality situation.

**Table 5.1** Language spoken according to the sex of the respondents

Language	Sex of the respondent				Total	
	Feminine		Masculine			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Changane	51	79,7	11	50,0	62	72,1
Portuguese	13	20,3	11	50,0	24	27,9
<b>Total</b>	64	100,0	22	100,0	86	100,0

Furthermore, quite a big difference can be found in the spoken language between the two neighbourhoods. Significantly more people in Bairro 3 da cidade seem to speak Portuguese than in 25 de Junho, i.e. 41,5% vs. 15,6%<sup>12</sup>. See appendix 10.7, table 2. This could, perhaps, be explained by the fact that Bairro 3 da cidade is situated closer to the city centre, where all

<sup>10</sup> It could be that the people speaking Changane had some basic knowledge of Portuguese, but it was not good enough to subsequently also conduct the questionnaire in Portuguese.

<sup>11</sup> Results from the statistical Chi-square test point out that there is a statistically significant relation between the variables "spoken language" and "gender". However, the relation is weak, given the Cramer's V of 0,289. See appendix 10.7 table 1.

<sup>12</sup> Results from the statistical Chi-square test point out that there is a statistically significant relation between the variables "spoken language" and "neighbourhood". However, the relation is weak, given the Cramer's V of 0,288. See appendix 10.7, table 3.

the formal government institutions are, where the main market is, etc. 25 de Junho, on the other hand, is a bit more rural than Bairro 3 da cidade, and more people are working in subsistence farming etc. This occupation does not necessarily require people to speak Portuguese. In Bairro 3 da cidade, it resulted that the interviewees have more diversified jobs, in the formal sector. Here it is more likely for people to speak Portuguese.

Another rather straightforward figure that can be deducted from the household surveys is the distribution of sexes, i.e. of men vs. women. From the 86 conducted questionnaires, 64 (74,4%) were conducted amongst women and 22 (25,6%) amongst men. See table 5.1 above. Chibuto's District Profile from 2005 confirms this difference in male and female population. It states that from a total of 63.668 inhabitants living in Chibuto municipality in 2005, 36.863 (57,9%) are female and 26.805 (42,1%) male. However, this difference is not as drastic as the one found during this research. These numbers can be explained by the fact that a lot of widowed women are living in Chibuto municipality. In addition, quite a few husbands are working outside of Chibuto, for instance as mineworkers in South Africa, or in Maputo, the capital. This, in turn, can be explained by the limited job opportunities that are available in Chibuto municipality (and not only in Chibuto, but in the whole country). The community leader of Bairro 25 de Junho explained that so many men are abroad because of the absence of a factory in Chibuto municipality. Next to that, he said that a lot of lives have been lost because of the war and the floods. Thus, while conducting the questionnaires, often only female heads of household were found at home.

#### **5.4 Household composition**

The average household of the research population consists of 6 members. However, larger and also much smaller families exist. The range of household members varies between 1 and 14 members. Moreover, the average age of the interviewee is 40 years old, with ages ranging between 18 and 75 years old.

Next to that, the majority of the interviewees (70,9%) is head of household (see the totals of table 5.2). When disaggregating this statistic by gender, it becomes apparent that, despite the fact that more women were interviewed than men, men are almost always heads of household (in 90,9% of the cases) and they are never in a secondary position, such as "the husband of the head of household". Women are also often heads of household (in 64,1% of the cases), but they are also often considered as wives of the heads of household (in 32,8% of the cases). See table 5.2. A lot of women in Chibuto are heads of household, because they consider themselves to be so, often together with their husbands. Since a lot of husbands are away most of the time, working in South Africa, and only return a couple of times a year to the home front, the women take on the responsibility for the household. Next to that, a lot of female single-headed households exist in Chibuto, which explains the high percentage of females that are heads of the household.

**Table 5.2** Position within household according to the sex of the respondents

Position within household	Sex of the respondent				Total	
	Feminine		Masculine			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Head of household	41	64,1	20	90,9	61	70,9
(Husband)/wife of head of household	21	32,8	0	0,0	21	24,4
Other	2	3,1	2	9,1	4	4,7
<b>Total</b>	64	100,0	22	100,0	86	100,0

With respect to the marital status of the interviewees, it can be said that the majority of the research population is living together with a partner, whether they are living in “union” (i.e. married according to traditional customs, which includes a dowry), officially married or single, but cohabiting. Summing up all these percentages (including the “other” category, which consists of a man that is officially single, but he has a partner that is living outside of Chibuto), it comes down to 62% of the research population. It must be said that most partners do not get married officially; they live in union together or are single and cohabiting. The remainder 38% of the interviewees are thus single headed households, which includes a high percentage of widowed people. See the totals of table 5.3.

The single-headed households are mostly headed by women, when disaggregating the statistic by sex. Within the women’s category, 42% is single (when summing up the separated, widowed and single categories). Within the men’s category, this percentage is lower, i.e. 27%. There are relatively more married men or men that are united with their spouses according traditional customs than women, i.e. respectively 73% vs. 58%.

**Table 5.3** Marital status according to the sex of the respondents

Marital status	Sex of the respondent				Total	
	Feminine		Masculine			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Married	3	4,7	2	9,1	5	5,8
Union	19	29,7	12	54,5	31	36,0
Separated	2	3,1	1	4,5	3	3,5
Widowed	18	28,1	1	4,5	19	22,1
Single	7	10,9	4	18,2	11	12,8
Single / cohabiting	15	23,4	1	4,5	16	18,6
Other	0	0,0	1	4,5	1	1,2
<b>Total</b>	64	100,0	22	100,0	86	100,0

## 5.5 Education, profession & income

### Education

In the Chibuto household survey, a few questions were asked on the completed level of education of both the respondent, as well as his/her partner, if applicable. Another question was posed on whether some other member within the household possessed a higher completed level of education than the respondent or his/her partner. One would assume that the higher a person’s education is, the better work opportunities he/she will have and the better he/she will be able to take care of his/her household. In the framework of this study, one could also assume that, the higher a person’s education, the more likely it is that this person will participate actively in local decision-making processes or that he/she will at least be more

aware about the importance of his/her participation in local decision-making processes and thus interested in participating.

Explicit reference has been made to whether the completed level of education took place in the current National Education System (Sistema Nacional de Educação or SNE) or in the colonial education system, because the amount of classes that the primary and secondary are comprised of differs considerably between these two systems. See Box 5.1.

**Box 5.1 The old and the current Mozambican education system**

Since today’s National Education System (NES) differs from the education system of the colonial period, I decided to specifically make reference to the fact whether the level of education of the respondent or his/her partner was completed in the colonial or the present education system.

For instance, having completed the 3<sup>rd</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> class of the primary school during the colonial period would be considered as a great accomplishment and thus weigh more than today’s 3<sup>rd</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> class of the primary school. This is because the primary school of the colonial period only consisted of four classes and today’s primary school consists of seven classes, which is almost double the amount of classes. See figure 5.1 for an overview of the different education systems.

Moreover, although the question was posed in a detailed way in the field - up to the “completed class” of the respondent - in this thesis only reference has been made to the “attended level” of education, because otherwise there would be too many categories and the presentation of results would become rather disorganised. When talking about the attended level of education, this does not necessarily mean that the level (primary, secondary, etc.) was completed. It is a pity to lose detailed information, but also sometimes unavoidable when carrying out research.

**Fig. 5.1** The old and the current education system

<b>The old colonial education system</b>			
<b>Primary</b>	<b>Secondary</b>		<b>Pre-University</b>
1-4	5-9		10-11
<b>The current National Education System</b>			
<b>Primary</b>		<b>Secondary</b>	
1 <sup>st</sup> degree	2 <sup>nd</sup> degree	1 <sup>st</sup> cycle	2 <sup>nd</sup> cycle
1-5	6-7	8-10	11-12

The results that can be drawn from the household survey are as follows. It is striking that quite a large percentage of the population is uneducated, i.e. illiterate: 22,1%. Next to that, when looking at those who studied, most interviewees have studied until somewhere in the primary of the old, colonial system (26,7%) or until somewhere in the first degree of the current education system (16,3%). It is clear that only a small percentage of the research population has reached a higher level of education: 2,3% has made it as far as the 2nd cycle of the current system (the final years of secondary school), 1,2% has reached the pre-university level of the old system and 1,2% has completed his/her higher education degree (see the totals of table 5.4). This can be explained by the fact that primary school in Mozambique is for free for everybody. One only has to start paying fees from secondary school onwards.

When disaggregating these findings by sex, it becomes apparent that relatively more women are illiterate than men (25,0% vs. 13,6%) and that women are more likely to have attended lower levels of education than men. For instance, within today's primary school, more women have attended the 1<sup>st</sup> degree of the NES than men (17,2% vs. 13,6%). However, and again within today's primary school, considerably more men have attended the 2<sup>nd</sup> degree of the NES than women (18,2% vs. 4,7%). The same kind of trend holds for today's secondary school. While relatively more women have attended the 1<sup>st</sup> cycle of the NES, more men, on the other hand have attended the 2<sup>nd</sup> cycle. However, in general, little respondents have studied this "long", as mentioned above. When studying the colonial education system, the same remarks apply. See table 5.4. This difference in attended education levels can be explained by the fact that women generally still are in charge of the daily household chores and, thus, do not have time to go to school. This again points to a situation of gender inequality.

**Table 5.4** Attended level of education according to the sex of the respondents

Level of education	Sex of the respondent				Total	
	Feminine		Masculine		Count	%
	Count	%	Count	%		
Without education/illiterate	13	25,0	3	13,6	19	22,1
1 <sup>st</sup> degree of NES	11	17,2	3	13,6	14	16,3
2 <sup>nd</sup> degree of NES	3	4,7	4	18,2	7	8,1
1 <sup>st</sup> cycle of NES	9	14,1	2	9,1	11	12,8
2 <sup>nd</sup> cycle of NES	1	1,6	1	4,5	2	2,3
Primary old system	18	28,1	5	22,7	23	26,7
Secondary old system	5	7,8	3	13,6	8	9,3
Pre-University old system	1	1,6	0	0,0	1	1,2
Higher education completed	0	0,0	1	4,5	1	1,2
<b>Total</b>	64	100,0	22	100,0	86	100,0

It is quite striking that there are differences in attended education levels between the two studied neighbourhoods. First, there are more illiterate people in 25 de Junho than in Bairro 3 da cidade (28,9% vs. 14,6%). Furthermore, more people in 25 de Junho have attended lower levels of education, such as the 1<sup>st</sup> degree of the NES and the primary of the old system, while in Bairro 3 da cidade, more people have attended higher levels of education, such as the 1<sup>st</sup> cycle of the NES and the secondary of the old system. See appendix 10.7, table 4. This information matches the fact that less people speak Portuguese in 25 de Junho than in Bairro 3 da cidade and could be related to the more rural vs. urban mentality prevailing in both neighbourhoods.



When studying the level of education of the partners of the respondents, it prevails that most of them have attended the primary of the old system (37,7%) or 2<sup>nd</sup> degree of the NES (17,0%), i.e. the last stage of the primary of the current education system. Few partners have achieved higher levels of education: only 3,8% has attended the 2<sup>nd</sup> cycle of the NES, 9,4% attended the secondary of the old system and 1,3% did some form of higher education, but did not complete it. Furthermore 9,4% of the partners is illiterate. See table 5.5. Again, the same explanation for these trends prevails for the partners of the respondents as for the respondents themselves. Since Mozambican primary education is free of charge, more people are likely to attend this school level than secondary school or higher.

Moreover, these findings are confirmed in Chibuto's District Profile from 2005. The profile states that out of all the people that studied, the majority completed primary school, of which most are male. Furthermore, the profile contains some explanatory factors for the current situation of school attendance levels. Beside socio-economic factors, it states that the school network is not extensive enough and the number of teachers is inadequate, although it has been rising. No explanations are given for gender differences.

**Table 5.5** Attended level of education of the partners

	Frequency	%
Without education/illiterate	5	9,4
1 <sup>st</sup> degree of NES	7	13,2
2 <sup>nd</sup> degree of NES	9	17,0
1 <sup>st</sup> cycle of NES	4	7,5
2 <sup>nd</sup> cycle of NES	2	3,8
Primary old system	20	37,7
Secondary old system	5	9,4
Incomplete higher education	1	1,9
<b>Total</b>	53	100,0

Next to the level of education of the head of household (and his/her partner if applicable), it is interesting to see whether other household members hold a higher education degree, so that a comprehensive picture can be obtained of how well trained/schooled the whole household is. This in turn reflects the kind of livelihood strategies the household can build upon.

From the household questionnaires, it becomes clear that within 53,5% of all households, another member besides the head of household (and his/her partner) holds a higher degree of education. Those respondents that have attended the "primary of the old system" or are "illiterate" are more likely to have higher degree holders within their households. The person that mostly holds this higher degree is the son or daughter of the respondent. Other less widespread options are the nephew or the niece; the grandson or daughter; the brother or sister; and the brother- or sister-in-law. Moreover, the average age of this higher education degree holder is 20 years old. What concerns the sex of the highest education degree holder, there is not much difference between men and women: 47,8% are women and 52,2% are men.

### **Profession & income**

When analysing the activity that the interviewees are currently engaged in, it can be said that the majority of them (76,7%) are economically active. However, slightly more men are working than women (86,4% vs. 73,4%). Then again more women are housewives or still studying. On the other hand, there are slightly more men unemployed than women (13,6% vs. 9,4%). See table 5.6.

**Table 5.6** Activity according to the sex of the respondents

Activity of the respondent	Sex of the respondent				Total	
	Feminine		Masculine			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Economically active	47	73,4	19	86,4	66	76,7
Unemployed	6	9,4	3	13,6	9	10,5
Housewife	7	10,9	0	0,0	7	8,1
Student	4	6,3	0	0,0	4	4,7
<b>Total</b>	64	100,0	22	100,0	86	100,0

From the economically active people, the large majority is working in agriculture, more specifically in subsistence agriculture. When comparing the professions between men and women, women mostly tend to be farmers (80,9%), and some are service providers, administrative staff or merchants/salespersons (all three categories consist of 6,4% of women). Men, on the other hand, tend to have a wider variety of professions. As such, only 21,1% is a farmer/land labourer. Other categories in which men are employed include construction worker, service provider; craftsman/factory labourer and miner. See table 5.7. This difference in variety of employment between men and women illustrates yet again a situation of gender inequality.

**Table 5.7** Occupation according to the sex of the respondents

Occupation of the respondent	Sex of the respondent				Total	
	Feminine		Masculine			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Farmer/land labourer	38	80,9	4	21,1	42	63,6
Service provider	3	6,4	3	15,8	6	9,1
Administrative staff	3	6,4	1	5,3	4	6,1
Merchant/salesperson	3	6,4	1	5,3	4	6,1
Construction worker	0	0,0	5	26,3	5	7,6
Craftsman/factory labourer	0	0,0	2	10,5	2	3,0
Miner	0	0,0	2	10,5	2	3,0
Government employee	0	0,0	1	5,3	1	1,5
<b>Total</b>	47	100,0	19	100,0	66	100,0

When looking at differences between the two studied neighbourhoods, slightly more respondents are economically active in 25 de Junho than in Bairro 3 da cidade (84,4% vs. 68,3%). In Bairro 3 da cidade more respondents are housewives or studying. See appendix 10.7, table 5. As regards occupation, more respondents in 25 de Junho are working in (subsistence) agriculture than in Bairro 3 da cidade (71,1% vs. 53,6%). This can be explained by the more rural vs. urban mentality that prevails in the studied neighbourhoods. However, the majority of the respondents in both neighbourhoods still works in the rural sector. See appendix 10.7, table 6.

Another important piece of information that resulted from the household survey, is that out of all the working people, 19,7% is working in the formal sector and 80,3% is working informally (meaning they are self-employed and unregistered). These numbers underline the fact that there are few official job opportunities for Mozambicans in general. Therefore, they have to find other ways of earning a living, i.e. resort to their own coping strategies.

However, again there is a gender difference within this statistic. More women work in the informal sector than men. While 89,4% of women work in the informal sector, only 57,9% of the men work in the informal sector (see appendix 10.7, table 7). There are still some differences between the two studied neighbourhoods: slightly more people in 25 de Junho are working in the informal sector than Bairro 3 da cidade (84,2% vs. 75,0%). See appendix 10.7, table 8.

The income situation of the households portrays a more detailed picture of their general living conditions. On average, the respondents of the surveys are earning 2.034 MZN per month, which roughly corresponds with 53 Euros<sup>13</sup>. However, this average stands for 40 respondents out of the 66 working respondents. This means that quite a few respondents, 26 to be exact (40%), do not earn any money with their jobs. These are farmers/land labourers that are working in subsistence farming.

When disaggregating this statistic by sex, a large difference in income becomes apparent. Women, on average, earn 949 MZN a month, or 25 Euros<sup>14</sup>, while men, on average, earn 3.991 MZN a month, or 104 Euros. Again, gender inequality seems to be intrinsic.

Furthermore, there are also differences in average monthly income between the respondents of 25 de Junho and Bairro 3 da cidade: while those in 25 de Junho earn an average income of 1.476 MZN (39 Euros), the respondents in Bairro 3 da cidade earn an average income of 2.403 MZN (63 Euros)<sup>15</sup>. This difference in income can be explained by the fact that less people in Bairro 3 da cidade are employed as farmers than in 25 de Junho, which is a rather poorly remunerated occupation.

The income of a household is of course also comprised of the income of other members, such as the partners of the respondents, another household member or even somebody that simply supports the household in one way or another, without being a direct member of the household. When analysing the activity that the partners are engaged in, it can be said that, out of the 53 respondents (62%) that have partners, 79,2% of these partners is working; 3,8% is unemployed; 13,2% is a housewife; 1,9% is a student and 1,9% is doing something else (in fact, this person is in jail). When looking further into the occupations of the working partners, it can be said that the majority (28,6%) is a farmer/land labourer and thus working in (subsistence) agriculture. However, the categories of service provider, merchant/salesperson, construction worker and miner are also quite large. See table 5.8.

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<sup>13</sup> To convert the Mozambique New Metical (MZN) to Euros, the following currency website was used: <http://www.oanda.com/convert/classic>. The rate of September 1st, 2009 was used, 1 Euro being equivalent to 38,76 MZN.

Moreover, it must be said that it was not always easy to obtain the exact monthly salary of the respondents, because their incomes are often very uncertain and variable, due to the informal character of their jobs. Through estimates and calculations of some weekly incomes, an attempt was made to obtain as accurate figures as possible.

Also worth mentioning is that, due to the large range of monthly salaries (from 12,50 MZN to 9.500 MZN) and the fact that the distribution of incomes contains some outliers with high values (this is shown by a positive skewness of 1,37, it was better to look at the 5% trimmed mean (instead of the normal mean), which leaves out the 5% highest and lowest observations, and is thus a more realistic number.

<sup>14</sup> Again, due to the fact that there are a few extremes in the women's category, the 5% trimmed mean has been used for women's income per month, which is thus 949 MZN, or 25 Euros, as opposed to 1.059 MZN or 28 Euros without this correction.

<sup>15</sup> The 5% trimmed mean has been used again to correct the average incomes for outliers.

**Table 5.8** Profession of the partner of the respondent

	Frequency	%
Farmer/land labourer	12	28,6
Service provider	7	16,2
Administrative staff	1	2,4
Merchant/salesperson	5	11,9
Construction worker	6	14,3
Craftsman/factory labourer	3	7,1
Miner	5	11,9
Driver	2	4,8
Unknown	1	2,4
<b>Total</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100,0</b>

Another interesting piece of information, which is actually something typical of Southern Mozambique, is that 35,7% out of all the partners is working in South Africa. Due to the scarce job offers in Mozambique, a lot of people tend to look for opportunities across the borders and this is often in the mining sector. This subsequently translates itself into higher salaries: the partners of the respondents earn an average income of 3.232 MZN per month, or approximately 84 Euros<sup>16</sup> (in comparison to the average income of 2.034 MZN or 53 Euros per month of the respondents). However, more partners in 25 de Junho are working in South Africa than in Bairro 3 da cidade (42,3% vs. 21,4%). See appendix 10.7, table 9. Interesting to note is that the average monthly salaries of the partners working in 25 de Junho are also higher than those in Bairro 3 da cidade, i.e. 4.145 MZN (108 Euros) vs. 2.338 MZN (61 Euros).

## 5.6 Coping strategies

After having looked at the income profile of both the respondent and his/her partner, when applicable, it is necessary to study whether the households depend on any other sources of income. As such, the household survey portrays that 38,4% of the households have another source of income and 61,6% do not. Thus, most households do not receive any assistance from others beyond their own sources of income. The households that do receive help, mostly receive help from a son or daughter, brother or sister or brother- or sister-in-law.

There is, however, a difference between the two studied neighbourhoods: in 25 de Junho more households receive a monthly contribution from another person than in Bairro 3 da cidade, i.e. 46,7% vs. 29,3%. See appendix 10.7, table 10. This can be related with the lower average monthly income that the respondents of 25 de Junho earn in comparison with the respondents of Bairro 3 da cidade. However, then again the partners of the respondents in 25 de Junho earn a higher average monthly income than the partners of Bairro 3 da cidade.

The role of the people that provide these extra sources of income is vital in the sense that they are probably helping out a/their household that does not get around easily without their help. Therefore it is important to look at the types of jobs that these people have to be able to sustain a (whole) household. The profession category that stands out is merchant/salesperson

<sup>16</sup> Due to the fact that there are a few outliers or even extremes in the data-set (the range of salaries of the partners varies between 100 MZN to 56.700 MZN), the 5% trimmed mean has been used, which is 3.232 MZN or 84 Euros. Without using the 5% trimmed mean, the average income per month of the partner would be substantially higher, i.e. 4.967 MZN per month or 130 Euros.

However, this figure stands for 31 partners, because, again, there are some missing values (11); not all the partners earn money with their jobs or maybe in one or two cases it is unknown what they earn.

with 37,9%. Other people are employed as miners, construction workers, etc. It is obvious that the people in this “supporting” function are not working as farmers, since this is often not a well-remunerated job. See appendix 10.7, table 11.

Moreover, sometimes the source of income comes from a household member that lives directly within the household and works in Chibuto, but often it comes in the form of “remittances”, from South Africa for instance. As such, 41,4% of the people that provide an extra source of income to the surveyed households is working in South Africa and another 24,1% is working in another place outside of Chibuto (mostly Maputo and in one case in Swaziland). The remaining 34,5% is working in Chibuto municipality itself or in the region surrounding Chibuto. The majority of these people (67%) thus works outside of Chibuto municipality and helps their household or a close family member by sending money and/or other items, such as food. This proves yet again that the better employment possibilities are to be found elsewhere, primarily in South Africa. The average monthly contribution of this extra source of income is of 861 MZN or 22 Euros<sup>17</sup>.

However, relatively more households from 25 de Junho than from Bairro 3 da cidade receive this extra contribution from somebody working in South Africa, i.e. 57,9% vs. 10,0%. See appendix 10.7, table 12. Striking is that the households from 25 de Junho receive a lower monthly contribution than the households from Bairro 3 da cidade, i.e. 639 MZN (17 Euros) vs. 1.531 MZN (40 Euros)<sup>18</sup>. One would not expect this, giving the fact that the salaries in South Africa are higher than in Mozambique itself.

When taking all these sources of income together, one reaches the average household income per month, which comes down to 2.589 MZN or 68 Euros per household<sup>19</sup>. This average household income differs slightly between the two research neighbourhoods: while in 25 de Junho the average monthly household income is 2.486 MZN (65 Euros), in Bairro 3 da cidade it is higher, namely 2.797 MZN (73 Euros).

See table 5.9 for an overview of the distribution of average monthly household incomes. Although the average monthly household income is 2.589 MZN, one fifth of the research population only generates 500 MZN (13 Euros) or less a month. Around 9% of the research population does not see any form of money and only depends on subsistence agriculture. Furthermore, the distribution is quite scattered. While some households generate quite a lot of income, i.e. between 5.000 MZN (130 Euros) and 10.000 MZN (260 Euros), others only generate between 500 MZN (13 Euros) and 1.000 MZN (26 Euros).

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<sup>17</sup> Due to an extreme value in the dataset that influences the outcomes, the 5% trimmed mean has been used, otherwise the average income would have been substantially higher, i.e. 1211 MZN or 32 Euros (instead of 861 MZN or 22 Euros). It must also be said that this average monthly contribution is valid for 21 out of 29 cases, because some values are missing: not all contributions are in money; some relatives help out with food, clothes, etc.

<sup>18</sup> The 5% trimmed mean has been used again to correct the average incomes for outliers.

<sup>19</sup> This amount corresponds with the 5% trimmed mean, given the wide range of values in the data-set. Without this “correction”, the average household income per month would be substantially higher, i.e. 3.536 MZN or 92 Euros.

**Table 5.9** Distribution of average monthly household incomes

	Frequency	%
Less than 500 MZN	18	20,9
Between 500 and 1.000 MZN	13	15,1
Between 1.000 and 1.500 MZN	6	7,0
Between 1.500 and 2.000 MZN	7	8,1
Between 2.000 and 2.500 MZN	4	4,7
Between 2.500 and 5.000 MZN	12	14,0
Between 5.000 and 10.000 MZN	14	16,3
More than 10.000 MZN	4	4,7
N/A	8	9,3
<b>Total</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>100,0</b>

## 5.7 Living situation

Besides the above portrayed education, profession and income profiles of the surveyed households, some other features can help depict the living situation of the surveyed inhabitants of two of Chibuto's neighbourhoods. As such, a question was posed on whether the households possessed the following items: energy, a radio, a TV, a mobile phone, a bicycle, a car/motorcycle and livestock. The results to this question are as follows: for energy, TV and livestock, there are more or less the same amount of households that do and do not possess these items. Furthermore, there are quite a few people that possess radios and mobile phones. However, the possession of a bicycle, motorcycle or car is not at all widespread yet. See table 5.10.

**Table 5.10** Items possessed by the various households

Items	Yes		No		Total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Energy	44	51,2	42	58,8	86	100,0
Radio	57	66,3	29	33,7	86	100,0
TV	41	47,7	45	52,3	86	100,0
Mobile phone	56	65,1	30	34,9	86	100,0
Bicycle	10	11,6	76	88,4	86	100,0
Motorcycle/car	14	16,3	72	83,7	86	100,0
Livestock	38	44,2	48	55,8	86	100,0

When looking at the differences between the two studied neighbourhoods, the following stands out: in Bairro 3 da cidade, slightly more interviewed households have energy than in 25 de Junho (58,5% vs. 44,4%) and in 25 de Junho more people keep livestock than in Bairro 3 da cidade (55,6% vs. 31,7%).

Another piece of information that helps to depict the living situation of the surveyed households in Chibuto is whether the households use their plot of land for anything else besides housing/living, such as: having a small garden to grow crops on; fruit trees, or a small business. These activities can contribute to the improvement of the livelihoods of the households. As such, 91,9% of the interviewed households use their land plots for other means than housing/living (and 8,1% do not).

For instance, almost all households make use of the fruit trees that are on their land plots. However, slightly more people in 25 de Junho have fruit trees than in Bairro 3 da cidade. Next to that, half of the surveyed households has a small garden on their land plot to cultivate

crops for subsistence farming. However, the majority of these people live in 25 de Junho (82,2% of the researched households in 25 de Junho have a little garden whereas only 14,6% of households in Bairro 3 da cidade have a little garden). This can be explained by the fact that there are more farmers living in 25 de Junho. Next to that, their land plots are also larger. Furthermore, a few families have a small business on their land plot, which can range from selling primary products such as bread, vegetables, oil, firewood etc. to having a little café on it. More households in Bairro 3 da cidade seem to have such a business than is the case in 25 de Junho (i.e. 29,3% vs. 8,9%).

**Table 5.11** Land plot uses besides housing

Land plot use	Yes		No		Total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Garden	43	50,0	43	50,0	86	100,0
Fruit trees	75	87,2	11	12,8	86	100,0
Business	16	18,6	70	81,4	86	100,0

When talking about land plots and their different uses or the activities that are being exercised on them, it is also important to know how big these land plots are. While the majority of the research population lives on a medium sized land plot, a significant difference in size of land plots can be found between the two neighbourhoods. More researched households in 25 de Junho live on large land plots than in Bairro 3 da cidade. In the latter neighbourhood more people live on small land plots<sup>20</sup>. Next to that, on average, the land plots have about 3 constructions on them. However, some households have more constructions than others (the amount of constructions ranged between 1 and 8). The kind of constructions that the households have, vary between a brick house, a house of wood and zinc, a hut and a precarious house. However, most households had precarious houses on their land plots. Other quite common constructions were brick houses and huts. The least common construction is the house of wood and zinc. See table 5.12.

**Table 5.12** Types of housing possessed by the households

Types of housing	Yes		No		Total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Brick house	34	39,5	52	60,5	86	100,0
House of wood & zinc	2	2,3	84	97,7	86	100,0
Hut	33	38,4	53	61,6	86	100,0
Precarious house	69	80,2	17	19,8	86	100,0

The state of these constructions can still differ from household to household. As such, it was observed that 58,1% of the constructions had a medium state, 22,1% had a good state and 19,8% had a bad state. However, this does not mean that all the constructions on a land plot were in the same state. Most of the times, at least one or more of the other constructions on the land plot was to be found in a rather precarious state.

<sup>20</sup> Results from the statistical Chi-square test point out that there is a statistically significant relation between the variables “size of land plot” and “neighbourhood”. The relation is moderately strong, given the Cramer’s V of 0,452. See appendix 10.7, table 13.

## 5.8 Conclusion

A lot of themes and characteristics have been presented in this rather general and descriptive chapter to get an idea of how and with what means the researched households are living in two distinct neighbourhoods of Chibuto municipality. However, a few of these elements jump out.

Chibuto municipality has a large female population; a lot of female-headed households reside there, given the high percentage of widows and men working abroad in the mining industry. As resulted from the household survey, these women have low levels of education in comparison to men. They also speak less Portuguese than men. However, it can be said that the research population is lowly skilled in general. Most people hardly study beyond primary school, because of financial restrictions.

Next to that, the majority of the research population works in (subsistence) farming and thus in the informal sector. However, more women work in this sector than men, who have more diversified jobs. This stresses the prevailing situation of gender inequality. In addition, more people from 25 de Junho work in subsistence farming than in Bairro 3 da cidade. The neighbourhood of 25 de Junho can also be characterised by larger land plots than Bairro 3 da cidade. Households in 25 de Junho tend to have small gardens and keep livestock on their land plots. This can be explained by the fact that 25 de Junho's inhabitants migrated from the valley to the hillside of Chibuto municipality and brought their rural mentality with them. The inhabitants of Bairro 3 da cidade, on the other hand, might be considered as more "urban": they live closer to the city centre, on smaller land plots and are employed in more diversified (and formal) jobs than is the case in 25 de Junho. Furthermore, this diversification in jobs translates itself into higher monthly average incomes in Bairro 3 da cidade, in comparison to 25 de Junho. The people from Bairro 3 da cidade are also more highly skilled than those of 25 de Junho.

Another characteristic feature that can be derived from the household survey is that a lot of partners of the respondents are working in South Africa, given the few existing job opportunities for Mozambicans. Those people working in South Africa also earn a higher income than the people working in Chibuto itself. Moreover, the researched households tend to receive some sort of remittances from relatives that are working in South Africa. However, this is more prevalent in 25 de Junho than in Bairro 3 da cidade. Some households thus rely on the contribution of a third party to make ends meet. In fact, it can be seen as an important coping strategy. However, most households only rely on one or two sources of income, while their composition on average is quite large (6 members).

In sum, Chibuto's population and neighbourhoods have quite some specific characteristics. While the neighbourhoods and people have a predominantly rural lifestyle, some urban tendencies can be observed. Moreover, gender differences are prevailing, pointing to a situation of gender inequality. This information will serve as a basis for the following chapters.



## 6. Service delivery: land registration and water

### 6.1 Introduction

In this chapter Chibuto municipality's capacity for service delivery will be studied, with a focus on certain municipal services, namely land registration and water provision. A description will be given on how these particular services function within the local governance structure, what actors are involved in their functioning and what the possible constraints are. The chapter also contains information on the extent to which the Municipal Council makes these municipal services accessible to the local population. Furthermore, it will become clear how the local population perceives the quality of the two urban services. This chapter will thus provide the answers to sub questions two, three and four<sup>21</sup>.

When talking about land, it must be said that it is not as much a service, as it is a good that belongs to the Mozambican State; the State is in charge of distributing land to its people. However, land becomes a service in the sense that people expect the government to provide them with good land and to protect them while living on that piece of land. In order to live safely on a plot of land, it must be registered and this can be considered as an important service. It is not so much a physical service, but rather something intangible that has to do with a process. The more efficient this process is, the more people will use it and start benefitting from it (and the benefits are not only for the people but also for the State). Even though land registration is not a physical service, such as water delivery, still it is an important, inherent service of municipal governments, which will lead to the security of a good and thus also to the security of the livelihoods of the people. This service of land registration will be placed in the wider context of the urbanization and spatial planning sector.

Next, the water delivery service will be addressed, which actually speaks for itself. As will become clear, Chibuto municipality has been struggling with water provision over the years. Despite the vital importance of this service, the supply system has degraded and it is unsure who's responsibility it is to resolve the problem. This chapter will bring more insight into the challenges that this sector is facing and how it affects Chibuto's population.

Again, in this chapter, whenever there are interesting gender differences, the findings will be disaggregated by sex. However, when this is not the case, no reference will be made to gender. For instance, in the section on water, not much reference is made to gender differences, since the water fetching process is mostly done by women and children. Whenever there are noteworthy differences between the two research neighbourhoods, these will also be mentioned.

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<sup>21</sup> These sub questions are:

- 2) How are the municipal services of land registration and water provision implemented and what are the constraints?
- 3) To what extent does the Municipal Council make these municipal services (e.g. land registration and water provision) accessible to the local population, in particular to the low-income households?
- 4) How does the local population perceive the quality of the two urban services (e.g. land registration and water provision) and what is their expectancy?

## 6.2 Land registration

### 6.2.1 Functioning and actors

Several interviews with, for instance, the councillor for Urbanization, Construction and Environment, a technician from the same town council, and a member of the Assembly who is also head of the working commission on Urbanization, Construction and Environment, have demonstrated that the sector in which they work, dealing with land issues, is coping with several problems.

First of all, whenever there are urbanization plans for a certain neighbourhood of Chibuto municipality, the designated town council has to place a public tender in order for some enterprise from outside to implement the neighbourhood project. The proper Urbanization town council cannot carry out these kinds of tasks, because it is dealing with a serious lack of human resources, i.e. of qualified technicians, and of cartographic materials. The town council only possesses an old urbanization plan that covers the Bairro de Cimento (literally the “cement neighbourhood”). The department tries to draw the urbanization plans of the other neighbourhoods by hand, without using aerial photographs, but this is not an optimal way; it does not eliminate the problem. This lack of neighbourhood plans is quite alarming, because they are very much needed to determine the street division and the land plot division of the neighbourhoods. According to the neighbourhood leader of 25 de Junho this cannot simply be done verbally; it has to be secured on paper.

When a new urbanization project has to be implemented, both the local neighbourhood structure, as the Municipal Council indicate the most appropriate place for the project to be carried out, as confirmed by the local neighbourhood leader of 25 de Junho. However, he also affirms that the community is consulted when determining how a piece of land has to be used. He stresses the importance of spreading information about municipal projects, that have to do with land use, and gaining insight into the local population’s opinion with regard to these projects, so as to avoid inconveniences. Only then the entity from outside (which can also be some Ministry) can execute the projects.

The fact that the municipality is always in need/dependent on partnerships, does not mean that they are easy to establish; on the contrary. If they are established at all, they are most likely to be established with the private sector<sup>22</sup>. According to the councillor of Urbanization, it seems rather difficult to establish partnerships with NGOs, because they operate in distinctive areas, especially in rural areas. Their scope of activities does not reach out to the whole city. They do not operate as much in the urban areas, because here supposedly the government has capacity to attend/operate, whereas in the rural areas city governments are less active.

Hence, the Urbanization town council needs more materials and reinforcement of human resources so that it does not need to rely as much on help from “outside”. One of the technicians even referred to the fact that the current staff could receive some kind of internal training in order for the town council to function better. However, another problem, is the lack of financial resources.

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<sup>22</sup> In the prior municipal mandate some classrooms were built and a football field was rehabilitated in cooperation with the mining company “Corridor Sands”. Another field was rehabilitated in a partnership with Mcel, a telecommunications company.

These inherent problems of the Urbanization town council reflect themselves into all of its operations, such as in the land registration process. As such, there are only two technicians available to go into the neighbourhoods and demarcate the land plots, while the neighbourhoods are rather large. Furthermore, given the fact that the Municipal Council does not possess its own means of transport, the technicians have to do their work by foot and often only get to work on two land plots a day. Also, there are no computers to facilitate the land registration process; there is no large drawing table to design projects on, etc. In fact, the urbanization sector has never been complete in terms of technicians, topographers and civil engineers since the colonial period. For a detailed description on how the land registration process is implemented, refer to Box 6.1.

Since the Urbanization town council is one of the few town councils that brings in revenues, it is imperative for it to operate efficiently. To make sure that the citizens register their land plots, the councillors of the Municipal Council and the members of the Assembly's working commission on Urbanization, Construction and Environment regularly try to raise awareness/sensitize about land registration. They especially try to inform those people that are wanting to build houses, to avoid the disordering of the city. However, this awareness raising also aims to prevent people from not being compensated should the municipality get involved into some land project. Thus, for both parties (the Municipal Council and the citizens) land registration is beneficial: by controlling the land, the municipality can better organise its neighbourhoods and the source of revenue can be used for the development of the municipality. The citizens, in return, will live securely on their land plots and will be helped out by the municipality in case of land conflicts, but they will also live in neighbourhoods that are well organised and developed. Next to that, with a registered land plot, they can apply for loans at the bank, etc.

Not only the above mentioned individuals, but also the local neighbourhood leaders of 25 de Junho and Bairro 3 confirmed that they sensitize their local population about land registration, addressing the following topics: its advantages; the necessary requirements; the costs of the process and the possibility to pay in terms; the fact that women also have the right to register, etc.

From the above mentioned information, it can be derived that the land registration process is quite transparent, and involving the landholders and neighbours in the process (as witnesses). However, the process seems rather rudimentary, especially what concerns the availability of technicians and materials, as well as the archiving process. The question is whether people really make use of this service and if it equitable, i.e. if it targets gender issues.

### **Box 6.1 The land registration process**

Bearing in mind the above mentioned constraints in the urbanization sector, one can describe the functioning of the land registration process as follows. At first, the citizen has to request a declaration from the local neighbourhood structure, which is signed by the leader of the blocks, the leader of the quarters, the local neighbourhood leader and the community leader. Subsequently, the citizen has to take this declaration to the Municipal Council so that he/she can apply for the "land title". The application is a hand written document addressed to the Mayor. Moreover, the citizen has to pay some fees to get these documents done (i.e. the declaration and the application). Next, the document is handed over to the technicians, who will then move to the location to make a map. They also elaborate an information sheet that indicates the exact taxes that are to be paid by the citizen. Moreover, they have to enquire the neighbours of the citizen, as witnesses, to check if the land plot really belongs to the citizen. However, the declaration from the local neighbourhood structure also serves as a "witness" and forms part of the whole approval process. Eventually the Mayor has the final say. After the citizen has paid the taxes, the process is submitted to the dispatch. In the end, the citizen has to photocopy the whole process and gets to keep the original documents, while the copies are archived at the Urbanization town council. It must be said that the archive is organized rather poorly. The processes are organized according to neighbourhood, but without any alphabetical or numerical order to them. There is also no system of registration to facilitate the control over the processes, so whenever a process gets lost, the archive administrator can take hours to find it back. Moreover, the archive does not possess a fire extinguisher.

With respect to the payment of the land registration process, there is a fixed price and one that is variable according to the size of the land plot, its location and the type of land use (housing; revenue, etc.). As such, the application fee, as mentioned above, is 20 MZN (around 50 Eurocents). Then, one has to pay 350 MZN (around 9 Euros) for the recognition of the land plot and another 350 MZN as procedure costs. To this amount, one must add 2 MZN (around 5 Eurocents) per m<sup>2</sup>. All in all, the price will not be less than 720 MZN (around 18,50 Euros), which are fixed costs. Something quite striking is that the citizens are also allowed to pay in terms.

### **6.2.2 Accessibility of the service**

The fact that awareness raising is being practiced, does not necessarily mean that the whole population of Chibuto knows about land registration and has actually registered their plots of land. As such, from the household survey it can be derived that the majority of the research population says that they in fact receive information from the Municipal Council on land registration, i.e. 62,8%, whereas 14,0% of the research population says they do not receive information on this topic and 23,3% does not know.

However, it is rather striking that the majority of the research population did not yet register their land plots, i.e. 54,7%. Only 37,2% of the research population registered their land plots and 8,1% does not know if their household possesses a land registration document. More people have not registered in 25 de Junho than in Bairro 3 da cidade, but the difference is not

very big (60,0% vs. 48,8%). See appendix 10.7, table 14. This could be related with the fact that also more people have informal jobs in 25 de Junho than in Bairro 3, as revealed in the previous chapter.

The most common reason for not possessing a land registration document is the lack of money to pay for it (59,6%). See table 6.1. This finding has been confirmed by the technician from the Urbanization town council, who stated that most land registration processes come from the miners that work in South Africa. As has become clear in the previous chapter, people that work in South Africa have a considerably higher income than the inhabitants of Chibuto itself. Nevertheless, most respondents did not even know how much money it cost to register their land plot. There are also no noteworthy differences to be found in household income and whether the household possesses a land registration document or not. Thus, it seems that a lack of knowledge exists on certain aspects of land registration, such as its cost.

**Table 6.1** Reasons for not possessing a land registration document

	Frequency	%
Unknown	4	8,5
Lack of money	28	59,6
Someone else already possesses the document	5	10,6
Lack of knowledge	4	8,5
Land conflict	3	6,4
Other	3	6,4
<b>Total</b>	47	100,0

On the other hand, most respondents (77,9%) do know what the advantages are of registering their land plot, while 22,1% of the respondents does not. To be the owner of the land plot and to live in a peaceful and secure manner is the most common advantage amongst the answers of the respondents. Other people refer to the fact that when registering their land plots, this will be a guarantee for their children to live well and safely in the future. See table 6.2 for the other advantages mentioned by the people. However, there are also people that merely register without knowing what the advantages are; they might register because they saw their neighbours or other people registering. It is striking that nobody amongst the population mentioned the advantage of gaining access to bank loans with a registered land plot. It could be that they use other loan sources.

**Table 6.2** Advantages of registering a land plot according to the respondents

	Frequency	%
To become the “owner” of the land plot and to live in a peaceful and secure way	49	73,1
To have the guarantee that his/her children will live well and safely	11	16,4
To be known at the Municipal Council	6	9,0
To have the possibility to pass the land plot on to someone else, as a heritage	1	1,5
<b>Total</b>	67	100,0

With respect to the question whether the respondents saw any disadvantages in registering their plot of land, the majority (83,7%) said no. Furthermore 11,6% does not know and only 4,7% said yes. These few people said that their lands could still be occupied when possessing a land registration document and that they still have to pay an annual fee, when possessing the document (which people not possessing this document also have to pay).

Referring back to the reason why so many respondents did not yet register their land plots, it might be related with a lack of money and/or a lack of knowledge on certain land registration aspects, but also with something else, namely how secure the people of Chibuto feel on their land plots, having or not having registered. One could think that the more secure they feel, the less likely they will register their land plots. And, as has become clear in the theoretical chapter, the feeling of security is not always directly related with holding a formal land title. This depends on the local circumstances.

As such, in the household survey a question was posed on whether the respondents thought that the State or the Municipal Council could take away their land plots. When cross tabulating these findings with the possession or non-possession of a land registration document, the following conclusions can be drawn on the sense of security of the respondents while living on their land plots.

Most of the respondents that do possess a land registration document do not think the State or the Municipal Council can take away their land plot (50,0%). However, a considerably high percentage does not know if the State or the Municipal Council can take their land plot away (31,3%). 18,8% of the respondents that possess a land registration document does believe that the State or the Municipal Council can take their land plot away. See table 6.3. Thus, although people predominantly feel secure on their land plots with their registration documents, there are also some doubts or feelings of insecurity amongst the research population.

When studying those people that have not registered yet, quite a high percentage (40,4%) believes that the State or the Municipal Council can take away their land plot. However, the percentage of people that do not think the State or the Municipal Council can take away their land plot is also quite high (34,0%). Furthermore, 25,5% of them do not know whether government can do this. As such, it seems that possessing a land registration document does not provide that big of a sense of security, because a considerably amount of people that do not possess it, also do not think government can take their land away.

As for the people that do not know if they possess a land registration document, the majority (42,9%) also does not know whether the State or the Municipal Council can take away their land plot. Furthermore, there is no difference between the amount of people thinking that government can take away their land plot and the amount of people thinking that government cannot take away their land plot (both 28,6%). In short, the opinions are quite mixed within this category of people that do not know if they registered or not.

However, since, in general, quite a lot of people have answered that they do not know whether the State or the Municipal Council can take away their land plot (almost 1/3, i.e. 29,1%, when looking at the totals of table 6.3), it is more likely that people have not registered because of a lack of money and information on the topic, than a general feeling of security.

**Table 6.3** Opinion of the respondent on whether the State or the Municipal Council can take away his/her land plot, according to possession of a land registration document

Take away land plot	Registered land plot						Total	
	Unknown		Yes		No		Count	%
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%		
Unknown	3	42,9	10	31,3	12	25,5	25	29,1
Yes	2	28,6	6	18,8	19	40,4	27	31,4
No	2	28,6	16	50,0	16	34,0	34	39,5
<b>Total</b>	7	100,0	32	100,0	47	100,0	86	100,0

Another reason that might explain why so many households have not yet registered their land plots is because the majority has never been in a land conflict yet. To be exact, 87,2% of the respondents have never been involved in a land conflict and only 12,8% has. Furthermore, relatively few respondents know of other land conflicts around them: only 24,4% of the respondents have heard about some land conflict and 75,6% have not.

Perhaps, since so little people have been in land conflicts or know about them, a general feeling of security prevails after all, and people do not see the need to register. This is then probably reinforced by the fact that a lot of people do not possess the money for it and also do not know that much about it. They generally know what it is, but they do not know that there are more advantages to it, than the feeling of ownership and security.

Given the large amount of unregistered land plots and the presumption that, in general, the population feels rather secure on their land plots, one might wonder how the respondents would then prove that their land plots belong to them, should they ever get involved in a land conflict. Consequently, from the household survey it results that those that have not registered their land plots, mostly tend to go to the local neighbourhood structure to prove that their land plot is theirs. Others will explain that they have already lived there for a very long time or get in touch with the real owner of the land plot<sup>23</sup>. Some people will simply deny access to the people that claim the land plot is theirs and others does not know what to do. See table 6.4. All in all, the respondents that have not (yet) registered their land plot, tend to rely on witnesses, i.e. on people that have also lived there already for a long time and have accompanied them while moving there.

It is obvious that most people that have registered their land plots, will simply exhibit their documents. Most people that do not know if their land plot is registered will go to the official land plot owner, but also quite a large percentage does not know what to do. See table 6.4.

<sup>23</sup> However, it is questionable what the respondent will do when it is the real owner that claims his/her land plot back.

**Table 6.4** Means to prove ownership of land plot according to possession of land registration document

Means to prove ownership of land plot	Registered land plot						Total	
	Unknown		Yes		No			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Unknown	2	28,6	2	6,3	6	12,8	10	11,6
Show the document	0	0,0	22	68,8	0	0,0	22	25,6
Explain that he/she and his/her family already live there for a long time	0	0,0	2	6,3	8	17,0	10	11,6
Go to the local neighbourhood structure	0	0,0	0	0,0	16	34,0	16	18,6
Go to the “official” land plot owner	3	42,9	3	9,4	8	17,0	14	16,3
Simply deny access to the people that claim the land plot is theirs	1	14,3	2	6,3	6	12,8	9	10,5
Other	1	14,3	1	3,1	3	6,4	5	5,8
<b>Total</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>100,0</b>

The following table 6.5 demonstrates what names appear on the land registration documents, cross tabulated with the sex of the respondent. This information serves to get some insight into the gender equality dimensions of the land registration service and will thus point out whether the rights of women are recorded in this service.

When studying the table, one can say that 26,7% of the respondents registered in their own name, of which half are male and half are female. However, relatively this would mean that there is a larger percentage of male within “the respondent itself” category, because overall less men were interviewed than women (this larger percentage is 57,1% for the male vs. 17,4% for the female). Furthermore, 30% of the respondents answered that their husband or wife’s name appears on the land registration document. However, all of these respondents are female, which means that the names on those documents are of male. Next, 13,3% of the respondents (all female) said to have registered jointly, i.e. in both their name and the name of the husband. Finally, 3,3% of the respondents answered that the land was registered in the name of their parents (his mother); another 3,3% of the respondents said it was registered in the name of their children (her son); 6,7% of the respondents did not know in what name the land was registered and 16,7% of the respondents (all of them female) answered something outside the categories, but in any case, the names were always of some male relatives.

All in all, it appears that most land registration documents are registered in men’s names. Out of the 30 respondents owning a land registration document, 19 (63,3%) are registered in men’s names, 4 (13,3%) in both men and women’s names and 5 (16,7%) in women’s names<sup>24</sup>. Two (6,7%) of the 30 cases remain unknown. One of the technicians at the Urbanization town council confirms these numbers and the shortage of female registrations. He explains that out of 100 processes, maybe seven to ten are cases where women register in their own names. Furthermore, he says that it is very rare for a couple to register in both names; a year could pass by without this occurring. Women only seem to register when they are single or widowed, if they register at all.

<sup>24</sup> There are only 30 cases instead of 32, because two of the total of 32 cases that possess some kind of document related to their house or land plot are rather vague/unknown documents: one was submitted by the neighbourhood leader and the other is a declaration of selling/purchase. It was unknown to me if a name appears on these documents.



**Table 6.5** Name on the document according to the sex of the respondents

Name on the document	Sex of the respondent				Total	
	Feminine		Masculine			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Unknown	0	0,0	2	28,6	2	6,7
Respondent	4	17,4	4	57,1	8	26,7
Husband/wife	9	39,1	0	0,0	9	30,0
Parents	0	0,0	1	14,3	1	3,3
Children	1	4,3	0	0,0	1	3,3
Respondent + wife/husband	4	17,4	0	0,0	4	13,3
Other	5	21,7	0	0,0	5	16,7
<b>Total</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100,0</b>

These numbers prove that male dominance still prevails in Chibuto society, despite the fact that people say that there is “gender equality” and that women have the same rights as men. It is still a tradition for the husband/man to be the land owner. Even the Municipal Council itself acknowledges that the reality of Chibuto is that when a woman gets married, the land will go in the name of the husband. The Municipal Council accepts this and does not necessarily put more effort into promoting land registration for women, besides perhaps mentioning a few words during popular meetings.

Despite the fact that women do not register land plots as much as men do, most respondents know about the possibility of women registering (in her name but also in joint name with her husband). In fact, the majority (61,6%) of the research population knows about this possibility and 34,9% does not know about it. The remaining 3,5% only knows about one of the options, i.e. that women can register (they did not know about the joint option).

With regard to the opinions of the respondents about the possibility of women registering, the majority thinks of it as good or very good. Few people think of it as bad or acceptable. However, when disaggregating these numbers by sex, it becomes apparent that while almost all the female respondents are entirely positive about this possibility, more men see it as a bad possibility. See table 6.6. However, overall, it can be said that both sexes are predominantly positive about this possibility.

**Table 6.6** Opinion about the possibility of women registering land plots according to the sex of the respondents

Opinion about possibility	Sex of the respondent				Total	
	Feminine		Masculine			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Very good	14	21,9	4	18,2	18	20,9
Good	47	73,4	13	59,1	60	69,8
Acceptable	1	1,6	1	4,5	2	2,3
Bad	2	3,1	3	13,6	5	5,8
Unknown	0	0,0	1	4,5	1	1,2
<b>Total</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>100,0</b>

Some of the reasons for being positive are as follows:

- Because this way (registering jointly), if either one of the husband or wife dies, the other one will get to stay on the land plot without any other person disturbing him/her.
- Because women are also heads of household; a home is made out of two people that in the end form one person.
- Registering in the name of the woman will make her feel more of an owner and she will also be able to make decisions regarding the land and the home.

-Because in case of conflicts, the woman can also prove that the land plot belongs to her, that she has the right to it.

Some reasons for being negative are:

-When registering jointly, women can expel men from their land plots whenever they have disagreements.

-When registering jointly, the husband will not feel as much as the owner of the land plot; he will feel as if he would be living in favour of his wife.

### 6.2.3 Evaluation and expectancy

A couple of questions were posed in the household survey to be able to study how the research population evaluates the municipal service of land registration. However, since relatively few people have registered, also few people have answered these questions.

A first question was simply on whether the respondent could describe the land registration process, with the result that 73,3% of the respondents said yes and 26,7% said no. Of this 73,3%, the majority subsequently described the process as easy. Furthermore some still thought the process was difficult, and others thought it was slow. See table 6.7. The difficult processes had to do with: the fact that a wall construction on the land plot was not approved by the Municipal Council; the delay of the approval of the documents and two cases where the respondents were involved in some land conflict, that prevented them from registering. Furthermore, one respondent that described the process as slow, said that this was because of the frequent absence of the Urbanization technicians to come and place the boundaries on the land plot. One case was somewhat different than the other descriptions: the local neighbourhood leader, for some reason, refused to stamp the declaration of the citizen. However, overall one can conclude that the respondents were content about the way the process went.

**Table 6.7** Evaluation of the land registration process

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>%</b>
Easy	15	68,2
Difficult	4	18,2
Slow	2	9,1
Other	1	4,5
<b>Total</b>	22	100,0

When asked about whether the land registration process should have occurred differently, only 27,3% said yes and the majority (72,7%) said no. Most people that wanted to see it differently said that they wanted the process to be faster. Another person mentioned that there should be no corruption and that the people should work according to the law. He explained that he should not have to negotiate about the price and pay more than the normal taxes.

With respect to the evaluation of this service by the Municipal Council itself, it has already become clear that the staff of the Council acknowledges that there are major problems that prevent the Urbanization town council from functioning optimally, such as a lack of human resources, materials and, all in all, a lack of funds. Next to that, the proper Municipal Council recognizes that more land plots should be legalized. More land plots should be under the control of the Municipal Council, but this is not as easy: not only because of a lack of certain

means, but also because the Land Law defends the citizens<sup>25</sup>. As a result, people tend to not feel the need to legalize their land plots. In fact, a culture of non-land-formalisation exists according to the head of the “Women and Social Action” department of the District Direction on Health, Women and Social Action (DDSMAS). Land is often only registered when a citizen wants to build a house on his/her land plot.

The head of the working commission on Urbanization, Construction and Environment (and also member of the Assembly) stresses that the only thing they can do at this point is to continue with the sensitizations on the importance of land registration, because not everybody is aware of its advantages. However, there does not seem to be a clear plan of action. According to one of the technicians of the Urbanization town council, the number of land registrations will rise due to the fact that people exchange information between them. Thus, this does not involve any extra effort from the Municipal Council. Then again, the technician also referred to a lack of funds.

Next to that, according to the head of programmes of the civil society organization Conselho Cristão de Moçambique (CCM), land registration is something emanating from the West/Occident and it will thus take time to mainstream it; it is still an ongoing process. Nevertheless, he stresses the importance of land registration with respect to land conflicts and the organization of the neighbourhoods, which, in turn, is important to foment other activities such as recreation, economic activities, etc.

#### **6.2.4 Conclusion**

In conclusion it can be said that the Urbanization sector is coping with quite some problems. Due to a great lack of means (financial and material, but also in terms of human resources), it is dependent on other actors for urbanization plans. These problems also reflect themselves in the land registration process: there are little means, materials and technicians to carry out the process. However, it can be said that the process is transparent, in that the Municipal Council informs and sensitizes the population about the process. Moreover, the community is also involved in the process as witnesses, which turns the process fair.

Striking is that, although the municipality sensitizes about the benefits of land registration, most people do not register. They say that they do not have the money for it, but subsequently they do not know how much it is. Thus, although they are informed, some information is also lacking. It could also be that people do not register because they feel quite secure as they live. People generally are not involved in land conflicts, and the Land Law seems to protect the citizens. However, people are still doubtful about whether the Municipality/State can take away their land plot.

The people that have registered their land plots have mostly done so because this way they become the “owner” of the land plot and can live in a peaceful and secure manner. However, most land plots are registered in men’s names. Women hardly register in their name or jointly with their husbands, although almost everybody knows about this possibility and thinks positively about it. However, the Urbanization sector does not seem to put extra effort into promoting land registration for women; they acknowledge that land goes in the name of

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<sup>25</sup> The 1997 Mozambican Land Law legally protects customary land users and those people that have occupied land in good faith and used it productively for more than 10 years (UN-HABITAT, 2008, p. 27).

husbands. Thus, at the moment the land registration service is not being offered in an equitable manner. Women do not have easy access to it, because of prevailing cultural traditions that enforce gender inequality. The process should thus be reformed and clearly include a gender component.

All in all, the people that have registered evaluate the service as “easy”. However, with more funds, materials, human resources and attention to gender equality issues and cost-efficiency, the process could be even more efficient and accessible to people. People might not feel insecure the way they are living now, but land registration brings in funds and helps in the organization and development of the neighbourhoods (if the money is well spent). Thus, in the end, both the municipality as the citizens will benefit from it.

## 6.3 Water

### 6.3.1 Functioning and actors

The water service is currently being provided by the Municipal Council of Chibuto. However, in a lot of Mozambican urban areas there exists a lack of certainty about whom is responsible for this service and what the exact role of local authorities is, as has become clear in the regional framework. This lack of certainty also exists in Chibuto, especially now that water provision is one of the biggest challenges that the municipality is facing.

However, this water problem did not suddenly appear out of the blue. In fact, it started when the civil war hit the District of Chibuto and the population from the countryside agglomerated in the safer city. Thus, the capacity of the water supply system, that was installed in the colonial era, slowly started to weaken. Over the years the system was never rehabilitated, mainly because of a lack of funds. The system thus degraded, because it constantly had to cope with breakdowns. At one point, the engines no longer had the power to pump the water all the way to the city and in 1998, the system just stopped functioning overall.

In their search to overcome the problem, Chibuto municipality was helped out by the mining company Corridor Sands (which in the meantime had to close down their business). They offered some tubes so that old ones could be substituted. However, unfortunately there has also been some sabotage to these reparation attempts.

Recently, the Municipal Council has sought for solutions at the central level. As a result, central government carried out a study on the viability to install a new system, which was subsequently approved. A public tender is planned (the project will be executed by contractors) which deals with the replacement of the entire system and its consequent expansion (also to new neighbourhoods). It seems that the works are planned for October 2009. After the system has been substituted, central government foresees to sell it to an enterprise. FIPAG (Fundo de Investimento e Património de Água), a state enterprise, could be one of the candidates to purchase the system, since it has done so in other parts of the country. However, this is not mandatory. In any case, experts from FIPAG are often hired for the installation of water systems. In the meantime, the Municipal Council has set up a project to ease the situation, namely the construction of another cistern in the neighbourhood of Chimundo.

The biggest constraint to make the water supply system of Chibuto work efficiently, covering the whole city and providing water of good quality, has been the lack of funds, as has already become clear in the previous paragraphs on land registration. The Municipal Council does not have a good revenue and mainly depends on funds from central government. This, in part, has to do with tax collection difficulties; according to the councillor of water and sanitation, a culture of tax evasion exists in Chibuto. It seems that the Municipal Council is planning on introducing a tax alteration plan, but it still has to be approved by the Municipal Assembly<sup>26</sup>.

Thus, the same applies for the water sector as for the urbanization sector: due to a general lack of means, projects (in this case the replacement of the entire water supply system) have to be

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<sup>26</sup> While I was in Chibuto, this plan still had to be approved. It could be that in the meantime this has been done already.

outsourced and often take a long while before they can get realised, if they get realised at all. Furthermore, with respect to the involvement of other stakeholders in the water delivery process, the local population is not as much consulted as is the case with land use. They are informed about ongoing processes, but they do not have an active say in it. The councillor of the Water and Sanitation town council explains that the local population does not participate in decision making processes concerning water delivery, because, according to him, they do not have the capacity for this yet. He believes that this lack of capacity is related to the low levels of education and high rates of illiteracy.

However, the future take-over of the water supply system by central government and subsequently a(n) (state) enterprise, is promising in that it will improve the coverage of the system and thus also the access of the local people to water. However, it remains to be seen whether the future actors involved will be as accountable to each other as stated to be needed in the thematic-theoretical framework to make the system work in favour of the poor.

### **6.3.2 Distribution and access to the service**

With respect to the distribution of water in Chibuto, it can be said that the current system reaches about 2000 people, by means of 27 public stand posts which are spread out over 10 of Chibuto's neighbourhoods (out of the 14 in total). However, around 80.000 people are living in Chibuto municipality. This entails that, at this point, Chibuto's water supply system does not cover the entire city: not even half of Chibuto's population can obtain water from it. Next to that, it appears that only about 12 of those public stand posts are functioning "well" at the moment.

In the studied neighbourhood 25 de Junho, there are a total of four public stand posts and in Bairro 3 da cidade a total of three. This is quite striking when comparing the size of the two neighbourhoods. 25 de Junho is almost twice as large in number of inhabitants as Bairro 3 da cidade (relying on the numbers of the municipal factsheet), but only has one more public stand post than the other neighbourhood. Next to that, in Bairro 3 da cidade the three existing stand posts are situated quite close to one another. Thus, it can be said that the distribution of stand posts is limited and somewhat unequal.

However, more water resources exist besides the public stand posts. From the household survey, it appears that the majority of the research population actually gets their water from another source, i.e. from a water well or hole. After these sources, the mostly used source is the public stand post. Still some people get their water from a river or lake, others have a tap of water on their land plot and 1,2% has piped water inside the house. The councillor of Water and Sanitation confirmed this finding when he said that only 1% has tap water in the city (1044 domestic canalisations for around 81.000 inhabitants). However, this does not mean that they all function properly. The category "other" includes, for instance, somebody that buys water from people passing on the street with their jerry cans; somebody that hires another person to get water and somebody that uses water from his neighbours. In short, these people do not get their water themselves. See the totals of table 6.8.

When comparing the use of water sources between the two studied neighbourhoods, it is striking that in 25 de Junho more people make use of water wells or holes than in Bairro 3 da cidade. On the other hand, in Bairro 3 da cidade, slightly more people tend to use the water tap on their land plot, whereas in 25 de Junho nobody uses this option. A possible explanation

for these trends is the fact that the population of 25 de Junho originates from the localities where there water wells and holes are located. Furthermore, more or less the same percentage of people make use of public stand posts in both neighbourhoods. See table 6.8. Another question was posed on the specific location of the water sources in the two neighbourhoods. See appendix 10.7, table 15 for this extra information.

**Table 6.8** Used water source according to neighbourhood

Used water source	Neighbourhood				Total	
	Bairro 3		25 de Junho			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Tap water inside the house	0	0,0	1	2,2	1	1,2
Tap water outside the house	3	7,3	0	0,0	3	3,5
Public stand post	15	36,6	15	33,3	30	34,9
Well or hole	19	46,3	27	60,0	46	53,5
River or lake	1	2,4	2	4,4	3	3,5
Other	3	7,3	0	0,0	3	3,5
<b>Total</b>	41	100,0	45	100,0	86	100,0

The majority of the research population thus gets their water from a source that does not belong to the water supply system of the Municipal Council. Some of these water wells and holes are private-owned and some have even been constructed a long time ago. Next to that, some of these wells and holes are situated within the city and others outside. The private water holes usually charge a slightly higher price than the Municipal Council, but the wells, on the other hand, tend to be free of charge. All in all, this means that, besides the Municipal Council, other important water distributors exist in Chibuto, which are the so-called “independent providers” as referred to in the thematic-theoretical framework.

According to the councilor of water and sanitation, people go to these water wells and holes because of various reasons: the queues at the public stand posts; the fact that water is not coming out of the stand posts; the distance to the stand posts (sometimes a water well can be closer to home than a stand post) and the fact that the water coming out of the wells and holes could be of better quality than the one coming out of the stand posts.

The proper Municipal Council does not own wells, but it has mobilized the population to open up water wells that they can manage themselves (community management). With respect to private water holes, the municipality does not impede them from operating; those that have sufficient capacity, can provide water, as long as it is suitable for consumption. However, the councillor of Water and Sanitation stresses the importance of examining this water. As such, he wants to implement the rule that, whenever somebody wants to open a water hole, that person has to apply for it at the health sector.

It is of crucial importance that these independent providers exist and are also accepted and even encouraged by the Municipal Council, since the local population of Chibuto highly depends on these “alternative” water sources. However, even these sources are not sufficient, as will become clearer at a later stage.

Next to studying the situation of water distribution and access, one can also look further into the water fetching process. Consequently, the person that most often fetches water is the housewife. Then come the children and the remaining categories do not contain such high percentages. For instance, only very few men go and get water. See table 6.9. This situation underlines the fact that women carry a heavy work burden. Next to their farming activities, they are in charge of all the household chores, such as fetching water, which is not an easy task in the current troubling water situation.

**Table 6.9** Who fetches the water?

	Frequency	%
The woman/housewife	45	54,9
The children	14	17,1
The daughter(s)-in-law	5	6,1
The man/husband	5	6,1
A "hired" person	4	4,9
Other	9	11,0
<b>Total</b> <sup>27</sup>	82	100,0

Furthermore, when looking at the means by which the studied population fetches water, one can say that the majority gets water by foot. Next to that some people use a kind of cart or wheelbarrow and even fewer people use their car. See the totals of table 6.10.

Interesting to note is that a slight difference exists between the two studied neighbourhoods. While the majority still fetches water by foot in both neighbourhoods, there are more people going by foot in the neighbourhood of 25 de Junho than in Bairro 3 da cidade (93,2% vs. 71,1%). In Bairro 3 da cidade, more people tend to use the cart or wheelbarrow and the car to fetch water. But this does not mean that they fetch the water inside that same neighbourhood. Often these means are used to fetch water at the local Mosque, which lies outside the neighbourhood, or to fetch water from a river or water well or hole that lies outside the neighbourhood. An explanation could be that 25 de Junho offers closer water source alternatives (besides the mal-functioning stand posts) that allow people to go by foot than Bairro 3 da cidade.

**Table 6.10** Means to fetch water according to neighbourhood

Means to fetch water	Neighbourhood				Total	
	Bairro 3		25 de Junho		Count	%
	Count	%	Count	%		
By foot	27	71,1	41	93,2	68	82,9
By car	4	10,5	1	2,3	5	6,1
By cart/wheelbarrow	7	18,4	2	4,5	9	11,0
<b>Total</b> <sup>28</sup>	38	100,0	44	100,0	82	100,0

With respect to the length of the whole water fetching process, it can be said that the people that get their water at a public stand post spend a considerable amount of hours fetching water, i.e. up to eight hours or more. Moreover, a considerable amount takes between two to six hours. Only 10,7% takes zero to two hours to fetch water at a public stand post. See table 6.11. However, when comparing the two research neighbourhoods, it becomes apparent that the water fetching process takes longer in 25 de Junho than in Bairro 3 da cidade for those people going to the municipal stand posts; in 25 de Junho 40,0% of the research population takes

<sup>27</sup> There 4 cases missing because these include the people that have tap-water.

<sup>28</sup> Ibidem.



eight hours or more to fetch water, while in Bairro 3 da cidade this percentage mounts up to 23,1% (see appendix 10.7, table 16). This could be explained by the larger distances that have to be covered in 25 de Junho and the “number of public stand posts vs. number of inhabitants” ratio in the neighbourhood. People have to wait longer at the public stand posts because there are too little of them, which makes the whole process last longer.

Next, it seems that, in general, people take less time fetching water at a water well or hole than is the case with the public stand posts. The majority of the research population spends zero to two hours fetching water at a well or hole, which is of course still a long time. However, some people even take more time than that. See table 6.11. When comparing the two researched neighbourhoods, it seems that fetching water at a water well or hole occupies less time in 25 de Junho than is the case at Bairro 3 da cidade: while in 25 de Junho the majority of the research population (55,6%) takes between zero to two hours to fetch water at a water well or hole, in Bairro 3 da cidade more people take between four to six hours or even six to eight hours to fetch the water (see appendix 10.7, table 16). This difference could be explained by the fact that there are more water wells or holes that the population of 25 de Junho can go to than is the case in Bairro 3 da cidade, where people mostly fetch water at the water hole of the local Mosque. The more alternatives there are to fetch water, the less likely it is that a lot of people will accumulate at one spot and that the process will thus take long.

**Table 6.11** Length of water fetching process according to used water source

Length of water fetching process	Used water source								Total	
	Public stand post		Well or hole		River or lake		Other		Count	%
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%		
0-2 hours	3	10,7	19	43,2	1	33,3	0	0,0	23	30,3
2-4 hours	8	28,6	11	25,0	1	33,3	0	0,0	20	26,3
4-6 hours	8	28,6	7	15,9	1	33,3	0	0,0	16	21,2
6-8 hours	0	0,0	6	13,6	0	0,0	0	0,0	6	7,9
8 hours or more	9	32,1	1	2,3	0	0,0	1	100,0	11	14,5
<b>Total<sup>29</sup></b>	28	100,0	44	100,0	3	100,0	1	100,0	76	100,0

The hours spent by the few people fetching water at a lake or river are rather divided. See table 6.11. Not much can be said about it, because of the limited amount of cases.

The above delineated situation of water distribution and access can be explained by the fact that Chibuto municipality is currently coping with serious water problems. Since there is a lack of water, people cover large distances and wait for long hours in queues to, one way or another, get water. In the end, the whole research population has access to water, but the conditions under which they have to get it are terrible. At dawn, women and children go to the different water sources, so that they can get a good place in line, but these journeys do not come without risk. Women can get violated during the night; people might quarrel while standing in line, etc. Moreover, the long hours that are spent in line are no guarantee that the women and children return home with water. The access to water is thus very limited. If people have water, it is because of their own persistence and effort. In the following section, it will become clear how the research population evaluates the water sources they use.

<sup>29</sup> There are 10 cases missing, because 4 people did not know how long the whole process took and another 4 people have tap water and 2 other cases did not answer the question because they do not fetch water themselves.

### 6.3.3 Evaluation and expectancy

Several questions were posed in the household survey to measure the level of satisfaction of the respondents on the quality of the water supply system. This evaluation includes the water sources that are not under the direct responsibility of the Municipal Council. The opinions/views of the respondents were asked on the following topics to get an overall evaluation of this service: distance to the water source; line to the water source; the quality of the water and the price of the water. A question was also included on whether the respondent wished for any changes in the water supply system.

#### Distance to the water source

The distance to the water sources has been reviewed as follows. The people that usually get their water at the public stand post mostly think of it as close by, but then again, quite some people also think the stand posts are far away. Still some believe the distance to the stand post is reasonable. Thus, the views are quite divided of those fetching water at the public stand posts. See table 6.12.

Furthermore, those that get their water at a well or hole, mostly think of them as being far away. Some have also answered that the distance is reasonable and a few think of it as close by. See table 6.12. Most people are thus rather pessimistic about the distance to the water wells or holes in comparison to the public stand posts. However, there is a slight difference between the two studied neighbourhoods: more people in 25 de Junho view the water wells or holes as being far away than in Bairro 3 da cidade (i.e. 66,7% vs. 47,4%). See appendix 10.7, table 17. An explanation for this slight divergence in answers between the two neighbourhoods could be the following. The water wells and holes that the people of bairro 25 de Junho go to are in fact quite far away and situated in the valley. To get there they have to descend to the valley and use unpaved ways. Therefore they might see it as far away. The people of Bairro 3 da cidade mostly go to the water hole of the local Mosque and this one is not that far away from the neighbourhood and more accessible in terms of road surface.

**Table 6.12** Evaluation of the distance to the water source according to used water source

Evaluation of distance to water source	Used water source								Total	
	Public stand post		Well or hole		River or lake		Other		Count	%
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%		
Unknown	1	3,3	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	1	1,3
Far	10	33,3	27	58,7	1	33,3	1	100,0	39	48,8
Reasonable	7	23,3	13	28,3	1	33,3	0	0,0	21	26,3
Close	12	40,0	6	13,0	1	33,3	0	0,0	19	23,8
<b>Total<sup>30</sup></b>	30	100,0	46	100,0	3	100,0	1	100,0	80	100,0

Given the fact that there are a limited amount of people that get their water at a river or lake, not much can be said about it.

Thus, concerning the distance to the water sources, one could say that the public stand posts get a better review than the water wells and holes. Furthermore, the water wells and holes get a slightly worse review in 25 de Junho than in Bairro 3 da cidade.

<sup>30</sup> There are 6 cases missing, due to the 4 people that have tap water and 2 other cases where the respondents did not answer the question because they do not fetch water themselves.

### Line to the water source

With respect to the evaluation of the line to the water source it can be said that, in general, the lines to every water source are reviewed as slow, especially the lines to the stand posts. The water wells and holes have also received a pessimistic review in terms of waiting in line, but a considerable amount of people is more positive in that it thinks that the lines are short. Not much can be said about the lines to the river or lake, given the small amount of cases. See table 6.13.

When comparing the two researched neighbourhoods, one can say that, with respect to the public stand posts, relatively more people in 25 de Junho are of the opinion that the lines are slow than in Bairro 3 da cidade (respectively 93,3% vs. 73,3%). See appendix 10.7, table 18. This difference in opinions could be explained by the fact that there are too little stand posts in relation to the amount of people living in 25 de Junho (when compared to the smaller Bairro 3 da cidade, with only one stand post less than 25 de Junho).

The lines to the water wells and holes are viewed more positively in 25 de Junho than in Bairro 3 da cidade, because, while the majority still thinks the lines are long, a considerably high percentage also thinks the lines to the water wells and holes are short<sup>31</sup>. In Bairro 3 da cidade, the large majority of the research population thinks of the lines as long. See appendix 10.7, table 18. This difference in opinion between the two neighbourhoods can be explained by the fact that there are more water wells or holes that the population of 25 de Junho can go to than in Bairro 3 da cidade, although they are situated farther away. As such, with a variety of options in 25 de Junho, it could be possible that lines are less likely to form. The population of Bairro 3 da cidade mostly fetches water at the water hole of the local Mosque. Thus, if people tend to go to that one location, it is more likely for a line to be formed.

**Table 6.13** Evaluation of the line to the water source according to the used water source

Evaluation of the line to water source	Used water source								Total	
	Public stand post		Well or hole		River or lake		Other			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Unknown	1	3,3	0	0,0	1	50,0	0	0,0	2	2,6
Slow	25	83,3	28	65,1	1	50,0	1	100,0	55	72,4
Reasonable	3	10,0	1	2,3	0	0,0	0	0,0	4	5,3
Short	1	3,3	14	32,6	0	0,0	0	0,0	15	19,7
<b>Total<sup>32</sup></b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>100,0</b>

Not much can be said about people fetching water at a river or lake, because there are only two cases.

<sup>31</sup> It must be said that the people that usually fetch their water at the water well of “Matchai” (most of them originating from 25 de Junho) often did not as much refer to the length of the line as being long, but to the water fetching process itself. At the well of Matchai, people tend to gather around the well and then everyone is assigned to themselves. It is quite hard to literally throw a jerry can into the well, with so much people around it, trying to do the same thing. This makes the whole water fetching process long, without there being a real line. The line is more scattered around the well.

<sup>32</sup> There are more cases missing besides the 6 that have already been mentioned above (the 4 people that have tap water and 2 respondents that did not answer the questions because they do not fetch water themselves), because at some water sources there were no lines. The question was thus not applicable in those cases.

Thus, concerning the lines to the water sources, one could say that the stand posts get a slightly worse review than the water wells and holes, although in Bairro 25 de Junho this review is worse than in Bairro 3 da cidade.

### Quality of the water source

The quality of the water has been measured along three criteria: whether the water smells, has colour and (bad) taste. With respect to the smell of the water, the majority of the people that have tap water in- or outside their house, think it smells. This can be explained by the bad quality of the pipelines. However, it is difficult to draw pertinent conclusions based on this small number of cases. See table 6.14.

Moving on to the stand posts: the majority of the research population does not think the water has a smell. See table 6.14. However, when looking at the two researched neighbourhoods, it seems that relatively more people in 25 de Junho think the water of the municipal stand posts has a smell than in Bairro 3 da cidade (respectively 26,7% vs. 13,3%). See appendix 10.7, table 19.

With respect to the water wells and holes, even more people believe that the water does not have a smell than is the case with the public stand posts. It is striking that in Bairro 3 da cidade, the respondents have unanimously said that the water does not have a smell, while in 25 de Junho a few people have said that the water does smell. This could perhaps be explained by the fact that the water hole that is mostly used by the inhabitants of Bairro 3 da cidade, i.e. the one at the Mosque, is of extreme good quality in comparison to the water holes/wells used by the inhabitants of 25 de Junho.

Although only three people get their water at a river or lake, most of them believe the water does not smell. See table 6.14.

**Table 6.14** Opinion of the respondent on whether the water smells, according to the used water source

Does the water have a smell	Used water source										Total	
	Tap water in or outside the house		Public stand post		Well or hole		River or lake		Other		Count	%
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%		
Yes	2	50,0	6	20,0	2	4,3	1	33,3	0	0,0	11	12,8
No	1	25,0	22	73,3	43	93,5	2	66,7	3	100,0	71	82,6
Sometimes	1	25,0	2	6,7	1	2,2	0	0,0	0	0,0	4	4,7
<b>Total</b>	4	100,0	30	100,0	46	100,0	3	100,0	3	100,0	86	100,0

In general one could thus say that most people believe the water sources do not have a smell, but that some people of 25 de Junho tend to view the water of the stand posts and of some wells/holes more smelly than in Bairro 3 da cidade.

With respect to the colour of the water, the majority of people with tap water inside and outside the house believe that the water has a colour to it (see table 6.15). This could, again, be explained by the bad state of the pipelines.

The water of the stand posts is reviewed by most people as colourless, although some people say it does have colour. When comparing the two researched neighbourhoods, the people in 25 de Junho review the colour of the water of the stand posts in a slightly better way than in Bairro 3 da cidade; in 25 de Junho 60% says the water has no colour and in Bairro 3 da cidade 46,7% says the water has no colour. Thus, in Bairro 3 da cidade, more people believe the water of the stand posts has colour or sometimes has colour. See appendix 10.7, table 20. It could be that the people of Bairro 3 da cidade are accustomed to better water, such as that from the local Mosque, while in 25 de Junho the water of the community owned wells and holes is not treated. Thus, the standard of evaluation of the people in 25 de Junho might be lower than in Bairro 3 da cidade.

The same counts for the water wells and holes: the majority does not believe the water has a colour to it, but some say it does. When comparing the water wells and holes between the neighbourhoods, one can say that they are reviewed in a slightly better way in Bairro 3 da cidade than in 25 de Junho. In 25 de Junho more people have answered that the water of the wells and holes have colour, i.e. 33,3% vs. 15,8% in Bairro 3 da cidade. See appendix 10.7, table 20. This difference can be explained by the fact that the water hole that is often referred to in Bairro 3, is the one at the local Mosque, which is privately owned. One could imagine that this one gets good care. The water wells used by the people of 25 de Junho are under the control of the community itself and one could imagine that they get less care than needed (such as some kind of treatment), which makes the water dirty. For example, one interviewed lady from 25 de Junho mentioned that she is suffering a lot from the water problem and that she has to resort to the water from “down there” (i.e. the valley), which is dirty water.

**Table 6.15** Opinion of the respondent on whether the water has a colour, according to the used water source

Does the water have a colour	Used water source										Total	
	Tap water in or outside the house		Public stand post		Well or hole		River or lake		Other		Count	%
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%		
Yes	3	75,0	9	30,0	12	26,1	0	0,0	1	33,3	25	29,1
No	1	25,0	16	53,3	31	67,4	3	100,0	2	66,7	53	61,6
Sometimes	0	0,0	5	16,7	3	6,5	0	0,0	0	0,0	8	9,3
<b>Total</b>	4	100,0	30	100,0	46	100,0	3	100,0	3	100,0	86	100,0

The people that fetch water at a river or lake do not believe the water has a colour.

Thus, generally all water sources are reviewed as having no colour to them, except for the tap water option. However, a considerable amount of people still believe that the water of the stand posts and water wells/holes has colour. The stand posts get a slightly better review in 25 de Junho and the water wells/holes get a better review in Bairro 3 da cidade.

With respect to the taste of the water, it first has to be mentioned that the outcomes of this question could be biased in the sense that some people might have interpreted the question wrongly. Some people thought that “to have taste” referred to a good taste, while the purpose was to ask if the water had a bad taste or not. I only realised this after some interviews. However, in general, all water sources have been mostly reviewed as not having a taste to

them. While the people with tap water mostly think the water has no taste, only one person thinks it has taste.

Furthermore, more or less the same percentage of people (around 60%) that go to stand posts, water wells or holes and lakes or rivers, think that the water has no taste. Around 30% of the people that go to these same water sources think the water does have a taste. See table 6.16.

When comparing the two neighbourhoods, it is quite striking that a lot more people of 25 de Junho than Bairro 3 da cidade think the water of public stand posts has taste, i.e. respectively 60,0% vs. 13,3%. This is probably a mistake, since the people of 25 de Junho were the first ones to be interviewed, when the question was still interpreted wrongfully. The same counts for the water wells and holes: more people of 25 de Junho think this water has a taste than Bairro 3 da cidade, i.e. 48,1% vs. 5.3%. See appendix 10.7, table 21. All in all, it can be said that the water is reviewed as not having too much taste to it, which is a good thing.

**Table 6.16** Opinion of the respondent on whether the water has a taste, according to the used water source

Does the water have a taste	Used water source										Total	
	Tap water in or outside the house		Public stand post		Well or hole		River or lake		Other		Count	%
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%		
Yes	1	25,0	11	36,7	14	30,4	1	33,3	0	0,0	27	31,4
No	3	75,0	18	60,0	32	69,6	2	66,7	3	100,0	58	67,4
Sometimes	0	0,0	1	3,3	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	1	1,2
<b>Total</b>	4	100,0	30	100,0	46	100,0	3	100,0	3	100,0	86	100,0

### Price of the water source

The next evaluation criterion is the water price. But before entering into detail about the evaluation, an overview will be given on how much money the research population is paying for their water. There are 34 cases missing (which comes down to 39,5% of the research population), because these people do not pay for their water, since they fetch their water at a well or hole that is free of charge.

The majority of the research population that does pay, pays 0,33 MZN<sup>33</sup> per jerry can, which is the normal price to pay at the municipal stand posts (see table 6.17). This money is collected by fiscals that stand at the stand posts from 05.00 a.m. to 03.30 p.m. Next, quite some people pay 0,50 MZN (0,01 Euros) for their water, which is the price of the Mosque water hole and apparently also of some municipal stand posts in Bairro 3 da cidade<sup>34</sup>. Subsequently 7,7% pays 1 MZN (0,03 Euros) per jerry can, which is the price of some wells and water holes (such as the one at the secondary school) and somebody even pays this price

<sup>33</sup> This corresponds with 0,008 Euros. It must be said that the respondents kept on referring to the fact that they pay 1 MZN (or 0,03 Euros) per 3 jerry cans. But to get a price per water unit, I calculated the prices per single jerry can. However, one respondent even said that if you only get one jerry can of water at a stand post, you do not need to pay for it. Unfortunately, I did not get to confirm this finding with higher officials.

<sup>34</sup> I do not know why some stand posts are more expensive than others.

for a municipal stand post. Another 7,7% pay between 5 and 6 MZN (around 0,10 Euros) for some well or hole or even at a river. This higher price often involves the fee to hire somebody to go and get the water and deliver it at the home of the respondent. 7,7% pays 15 MZN (0,40 Euros) per m<sup>3</sup>, which obviously involves the people with tap water. See table 6.17.

**Table 6.17** Price per unit of water

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>%</b>
Unknown	1	1,9
0,33 MZN per jerry can	23	44,2
0,50 MZN per jerry can	14	26,9
1 MZN per jerry can	4	7,7
Between 5 and 6 MZN per jerry can	4	7,7
15 MZN per cubical meter	4	7,7
Other	2	3,8
<b>Total</b>	52	100,0

When cross tabulating these findings with the opinions of the respondents, the following conclusions can be drawn. The people that pay 0,33 MZN mostly evaluate this price as good or reasonable. The same applies for the price of 0,50 MZN: most people evaluate this price as good or reasonable. However, some more people also review it as bad. Next comes the evaluation for the price of 1 MZN per jerry can. This price receives a less favourable evaluation in the sense that half of the people paying this price think of it as bad. Moreover, some think it is reasonable and some think of it as good. The price of 5 to 6 MZN per jerry is mostly reviewed as bad. The four people that pay 15 MZN per m<sup>3</sup> all review the price as reasonable. See table 6.18.

It can thus be said that, in general, the prices paid for the public stand posts and some wells/water holes, i.e. 0,33 MZN and 0,50 MZN, get a favourable review. Every price above that does not get such a favourable review. The water sources that get the least favourable review in terms of price, are the ones that lie outside the control of the Municipal Council. Given the current water crisis, some people do not even have a choice and have to pay for it, or else deal with the worse conditions of getting water at other sources. However, all in all, the majority of the research population reviews the current water prices as favourable.

**Table 6.18** Evaluation of the water price, according to the price per unit of water

Evaluation of the water price	Price per unit of water												Total	
	0,33 MZN per jerry can		0,50 MZN per jerry can		1 MZN per jerry can		Between 5 and 6 MZN per jerry can		15 MZN per m <sup>3</sup>		Other		Ct	%
	Ct	%	Ct	%	Ct	%	Ct	%	Ct	%	Ct	%		
Unknown	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	1	50,0	1	2,0
Good	13	56,5	8	57,1	1	25,0	1	25,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	23	45,1
Reasonable	9	39,1	3	21,4	1	25,0	0	0,0	4	100,0	0	0,0	17	33,3
Bad	1	4,3	3	21,4	2	50,0	3	75,0	0	0,0	1	50,0	10	19,6
<b>Total<sup>35</sup></b>	23	100,0	14	100,0	4	100,0	4	100,0	4	100,0	2	100,0	51	100,0

The fact that a lot of people go to alternative water sources where they do not have to pay for the water they fetch, does not necessarily have to do with supposedly “high water prices”, but rather with the water crisis that Chibuto is currently facing (although this could be a legitimate reason for low-income households). Water happens to be continuously available at these alternative water wells and holes; therefore people go and fetch their water there. At least then they have some sort of guarantee to return home with water, while at the public stand posts the water does not run freely all the time, i.e. on the contrary.

Last but not least, an open question was posed on what kind of changes the respondents wished for in the water supply system. The answers are as follows. The majority of the research population would like to have tap water, with constant running water. This wish is the same for both researched neighbourhoods. Next, the research population would like to have more stand posts near their houses. However, this wish is slightly different for both neighbourhoods. In 25 de Junho relatively more people wish for this change than in Bairro 3 da cidade, respectively 31,1% vs. 7,1%. This could have to do with the size of the two neighbourhoods. Since Bairro 3 da cidade is smaller than 25 de Junho, people do not have to cover such large distances to get to a stand post. The following biggest wish is to have more water holes near the houses. However, again relatively more people of 25 de Junho wish for this change than Bairro 3 da cidade, respectively 22,2% vs. 9,8%. Again, this could be explained by the difference in size of the two neighbourhoods. Then comes the wish for water to come out of the (existing) water taps at all times. However, it is the next biggest wish of the people of Bairro 3 da cidade, besides having tap water (22,0% of the researched population of Bairro 3 da cidade wishes for this). In 25 de Junho only 2,2% of the researched population wishes for this change. The people that have taps in their homes have different kinds of wishes; they would like to have clean and well treated water. A person that fetches water at a stand post also wished for this. However in total this wish accounts for 3,5% of the research population. Therefore it is difficult to draw pertinent conclusions on this and make comparisons between the two neighbourhoods. Furthermore 2,3% of the research population did not know what to wish for and another 2,3% wished for something totally different (single responses). See table 6.19.

<sup>35</sup> There is one case missing (there are 51 cases instead of 52), because with the question on what price the respondent paid for the water, he/she did not know how much he/she paid, so then he/she could not evaluate it.



The general difference between the two neighbourhoods is thus that the people of 25 de Junho simply want more water sources, closer to home, and the people of Bairro 3 would like the existing water sources to simply function. However, ideally, all of them would like to see taps in their homes/on their land plots. In the end, people just want to have water in abundance so that they do not have to queue in lines at the stand posts, where at this point, a lot of people accumulate themselves.

**Table 6.19** Wishes for change in the water supply system, according to neighbourhood

Wishes for change in the water supply system	Neighbourhood				Total	
	Bairro 3		25 de Junho			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Unknown	2	4,9	0	0,0	2	2,3
To have tap water on their land plots, that runs constantly	20	48,8	18	40,0	38	44,2
To have more public stand posts near the houses	3	7,3	14	31,1	17	19,8
To have more water holes near the houses	4	9,8	10	22,2	14	16,3
That the water would come out of the existing taps at all times	9	22,0	1	2,2	10	11,6
To have clean and well treated water	1	2,4	2	4,4	3	3,5
Other	2	4,9	0	0,0	2	2,3
<b>Total</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>100,0</b>

### 6.3.4 Conclusion

Just as the Urbanization sector, the Water and Sanitation sector is coping with problems. The water supply system is seriously outdated and has not been rehabilitated since its installation in the colonial period, due to a lack of financial resources. However, in the meantime, the population of Chibuto has kept on growing. At one point, the system could not take this pressure anymore and stalled.

This current crisis situation calls for reform, because a lot of people are having severe difficulties in accessing water. Therefore central state is going to replace the system and subsequently sell it to some state or private enterprise, which will hopefully increase the coverage of the system and the efficiency of the water delivery process. However, again a certain pattern of dependency on help from “outside” can be delineated. Despite the widespread decentralization process in Mozambique, Chibuto municipality is not autonomous yet in its operations. It highly depends on funds from the State, which makes it difficult to target immediate needs on the ground.

Since the current water supply system (composed of several public stand posts) does not function optimally, the people are forced to get water from other independent providers, such as privately/community-owned water wells and holes. Nevertheless these alternatives are not optimal either. Overall, people have to cover large distances, wait in lines, use water that is not of the best quality etc.

There are some differences in evaluation between the different water sources though. The stand posts receive a better review than water wells and holes in terms of distance to them (they are situated in the neighbourhoods themselves). However, in terms of duration of the whole water fetching process, fetching water at a water well/hole takes less time than at a

stand post. There are also some differences in evaluation of the water sources between the two neighbourhoods, which mostly have to do with the size of the neighbourhoods and the amount of stand posts there are in relation to this size, or with the number of alternative water resources in the proximity of the neighbourhood, etc.

Moreover, mostly women and children have to cope with these difficult water fetching conditions. They spend hours by foot collecting water, which subsequently also reduces the time they have for other (household) chores or school, etc.

In sum, it can be said that the water problem is very serious. Due to the fact that the municipality is coping with too many challenges, it cannot make the service accessible to its people. The evaluations and wishes for change of the people reflect the seriousness of the situation. It is all people talk about or actually do not even want to talk about anymore, because so little has changed over the past years.

However, one might question if these concerns of the people are taken up by the Municipal Council. For instance, at this point the local population is not being consulted in decision-making processes concerning water delivery. It remains to be seen whether the local population will have a say in the planning processes now that the water supply system is going to be reformed. Can they, and especially women (since they are the main actors in the water fetching process), influence decision-making processes? The following chapter will focus more on the possibilities of citizens, including the most vulnerable, such as women, to actively influence local decision-making processes of the municipality.

## **7. Participation and gender mainstreaming mechanisms**

### **7.1 Introduction**

This chapter will study to what extent the Municipal Council of Chibuto adopts certain mechanisms that promote the active participation of its citizens in its decision making processes concerning service delivery. In other words, it will explore whether mechanisms exist that make it possible for the municipal services to be targeted towards the local population's needs and wishes, i.e. mechanisms through which the local population can express their opinion on important issues concerning the development of the municipality. This chapter will also highlight to what extent the local population of Chibuto is interested in participating in local development issues and to what extent the Municipal Council is transparent and accountable to its citizen, since these aspects are intrinsically related. This first section of chapter seven will thus provide the answer to sub question five of this research, i.e. to what extent the local population is involved in decision-making processes on the provision of urban services (especially with respect to water provision).

Moreover, the chapter will also look at whether these mechanisms are gender oriented, i.e. whether the needs of both men and women are actively and equally taken into consideration. In fact, one must have a look at whether gender mainstreaming measures exist at all in Chibuto's urban management, since the theoretical-thematic framework has illustrated that this is a rather complex issue that does not only involve augmenting the number of women within the institutions. Not only will the Municipal Council be analysed on these issues; an overall impression of Chibuto society will also be given on the same topics. For instance, do any other organisations or institutions have initiatives that promote gender equality and how is gender equality reflected in day-to-day life? In the end urban governance does not only deal with the "performance" and engagement of one actor (e.g. the Municipal Council), but of several actors that interact continuously and on the same level. This information together will provide the answer to sub question six, i.e. what the role of women is in decision-making processes, especially with respect to the planning processes of services.

### **7.2 Participation mechanisms**

Chibuto municipality is no stranger to the participation of its citizens in decision making processes on local development issues. Chibuto even administers the city under the slogan of "open and participatory governance". This principle is not new; in fact it has been a guiding principle of the FRELIMO party for 10 years, with the aim of involving the people through relevant and meaningful popular hearings. This "open and participatory governance" operates through various mechanisms and these will be enumerated in the following paragraphs: popular meetings; the Municipal Assembly; the local neighbourhood structure; the suggestions box and audiences. Given the fact that the popular meetings can be considered as the most important mechanism, they will receive more emphasis.

#### **7.2.1 Popular meetings**

The most important mechanism that makes Chibuto's "open and participatory governance" operational are the popular meetings that occur every 15 days or monthly in every neighbourhood. The purpose of these meetings is to hear what the local population has to say, i.e. to ask for their opinions, because their contribution is very important. Only by listening to

them can the Municipal Council respond to their concerns and needs. The mayor of Chibuto even stresses that “if we do not hear what the people have to say, the actions of the Municipal Council will not have an impact”.

Unfortunately, it did not work out to assist and observe these popular meetings during the research, in spite of having shown my interest in doing so to the local neighbourhood leaders. Therefore, it is difficult to really study this mechanism thoroughly. However, the fact that the Municipal Council has only installed itself recently also impedes a thorough analysis of these popular meetings and, in fact, of any action taken up by the Municipal Council. No real progress can be measured yet, which might sometimes keep the analysis/discussion rather theoretical. However, by talking to different public functionaries and on the basis of the household survey, it is still possible to elaborate on these popular meetings.

The popular meetings can be headed by various people, either by the local neighbourhood leader, which is the representative of the Municipal Council at the local level, by one of the councillors of the Municipal Council (every councillor has two to three neighbourhoods under his/her responsibility<sup>36</sup>) or even by the Mayor himself. Before every meeting, the local population is notified about it by the local neighbourhood structure. Apparently this occurs by means of a whistle.

Concerning the interaction at these popular meetings, technically everybody has the opportunity to talk after the central topics of the meeting have been presented. See box 7.1 for a description on the kind of topics that are usually addressed. Some government officials have mentioned that even women are very active speakers. According to the neighbourhood leader of Bairro 3 da cidade, one cannot see the local neighbourhood structure or other leaders at these popular meetings; what one sees are the lives of the local people. The comments that have been brought up during these meetings are then transmitted back to the Municipal Council.

The importance of this participation mechanism can be confirmed by the fact that 91,9% of the respondents attend the popular meetings and only 8,1% do not. Moreover, on average, the researched population of both neighbourhoods tends to go to these meeting twice a month. This means that they go as often as they are intended to occur.

The reasons for attending these meetings are as follows: the majority simply wants to hear what the local leaders have to say. Thus, they have a rather wait-and-see attitude. Other people go to the popular meetings to learn more about what is happening in the neighbourhood, city or even country. Still others specifically want to hear about “the laws”, on how to live in the neighbourhood or the country. However, a few people also go because the local leaders say it is obligatory. Very few people go there to educate themselves and to contribute pro-actively. See table 7.1 below, also for the remainder answers.

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<sup>36</sup> Whenever the councillors head a popular meeting, they gather the (monthly) monitoring reports of every town council so that they can inform the population about all the achievements from period X to Y (usually within one month). Next to that, they listen to what the local population has to say, i.e. to their ideas, concerns, opinions and perspectives.

**Table 7.1** Reasons for attending the popular meetings

	Frequency	%
To hear what the local leaders have to say	35	44,3
To learn about what is happening in the neighbourhood/city/country	14	17,7
To hear about the “laws”, i.e. on how to live	12	15,2
Because it is obligatory, according to the local leaders	6	7,6
Because they are citizens of the municipality	3	3,8
To obtain information and educate him/herself	3	3,8
To hear what the local leaders have to say and contribute actively	2	2,5
Other	4	5,1
<b>Total</b>	79	100,0

**Box 7.1 Topics addressed during popular meetings**

The meetings are initiated with an introduction by the person that calls the meeting and then the agenda is presented. The following topics are usually addressed: the governmental plan of action (e.g. what is in the manifest) and deliberations of the Assembly; the ongoing activities, day-to-day problems and perspectives. The community leader of 25 de Junho extensively talked about the kind of topics that are often addressed at these popular meetings: the organization of the neighbourhood (e.g. where to hold meetings); agricultural produce (e.g. measures on how to enhance production, how to sell, etc.); the opening and cleaning of the public stand posts; health issues (e.g. mothers are encouraged to go to the hospital and not to the traditional healer); education (e.g. parents are encouraged to send their children to school), etc. The interviewed households referred to the popular meetings as covering “the laws”, how one should live, etc.

Subsequently, those that want to share their opinion about certain issues may do so; they may comment on the things that have been said or even bring up other topics that they think are important. The neighbourhood leader of Bairro 3 da cidade mentioned that criticism and auto criticism are the driving forces of the popular meetings. He said that “criticism is a way of organizing those things that are not working well”.

Out of the 86 interviewed people, only seven people never go to the meetings. The most common reason for not going, mentioned by 42,9% of these respondents, is either because the person has a physical problem, which prevents him/her from moving him/herself to the location of the meeting, or because the person does not have time for it, due to work, school, etc. (the same percentage of people, i.e. 42,9%, has given this answer). Then there is one more person, accounting for 14,3% of the research population, that does not go, because someone else goes instead.

With respect to the active participation of the population at these popular meetings, it can be said that only 26,6% has ever participated actively by raising their voice. The majority (73,4%) has thus never participated at the meetings. While most people attend the meetings, they just go there to listen passively. When looking at gender differences, it seems that relatively more men raise their voice than women do, i.e. 45,0% vs. 20,3%. There is in fact a statistical relation between the variables “active participation” and “gender”<sup>37</sup>. This is quite striking and

<sup>37</sup> However, the relation is a weak, judging by the association measure Cramer’s V of 0,243. See appendix 10.7, table 22.

underlines the fact that gender inequality is still prevailing in Mozambican society. Although the local neighbourhood leaders say that women are free to talk whenever they want, in practice they do not seem to exercise this freedom of expression. See appendix 10.7, table 22.

Furthermore, when cross tabulating the “active participation” variable with the average monthly household income, one can observe that the people with an income between 5.000 and 10.000 MZN tend to participate more actively than the remainder people. However, the people generating an income of 1.000 to 1.500 MZN also participate rather actively. See appendix 10.7, table 23.

When cross tabulating the “active participation” variable with the attended education level of the respondent, one can observe that people that have attended the 2<sup>nd</sup> degree of the NES (i.e. the final stage of today’s secondary school), and people that have attended the secondary school of the colonial system participate more actively during popular meetings than people that have attended lower levels of education. See appendix 10.7, table 24.

Given the fact that so little people participate actively, it would be interesting to study why they do not participate. It could have to do with the level of income or education of the respondents, as the abovementioned information would suggest. However, the household survey points to the following reasons for not participating actively at popular meetings. Most respondents are shy to talk in front of a lot of people (25,9%). Another common answer is that *other* people often already talk about the same issues the respondent has on his/her mind (22,4%). Furthermore, people have said that they do not raise their voice, because often the “big people” already talk, such as the local leaders or some elderly (15,5%). Hence, these people then give their contribution and sometimes, in the case of the local leaders, they do not even let others speak; the others just have to listen. One woman of 23 years old clearly explained this situation in the following sentence: “they - the leaders - are the ones that participate and they do not give word to everybody of the population...I can see that I have no right; the “big ones” do the talking”.

Furthermore, another rather striking reason for not participating, is that people are afraid to be seen in a bad light and to say the wrong things (10,3%). Although Mozambique is a democracy, the ruling party, FRELIMO, is very controlling and still holding on to old traditional values. For a long time, the FRELIMO was the only party that controlled and distributed everything (wealth, resources, etc.), given the low level of development in the country. In view of this “father-like” figure of the State, people refrain from offending it, according to the governance programme officer of the Swiss Development Agency. People tend to believe that if they make a critical comment, other people might see them as being against the FRELIMO party and, for instance, belonging to the opposition RENAMO party. During a semi-structured interview, a woman said to know about the right to participate, but she did not make use of this right, because of a fear of the Government. She is afraid that if she tells the truth, she will be marked (seen in a bad light) and consequently not be able to get things done, such taking care of documents and other things that have to do with the Government, etc.

Another 10,3% of the respondents said that they do not participate, because they simply do not know what to say. People in general are probably not stimulated to think about certain things and to formulate their own opinion, given the controlling nature of the State/Party. It seems that there is no such thing as a culture of rights and of “freedom of expression” yet,

because people are not so much aware about what the right of participation can bring to them. A mentality of passiveness and expectancy prevails, of when the State used to support the people and give hand-outs. People have not acquired a sense of citizenship yet, of taking individual and/or collective action to help themselves and/or the country. Then again, it could also have to do with illiteracy rates and low education levels.

The “other” category is rather large, but consists of single answers. However, one of those answers is rather striking. One lady said that she was part of the “Organização da Mulher Moçambicana” (OMM), i.e. the National Women’s Organization, created by the FRELIMO party, and therefore she did not have the right to make any critical remarks. Otherwise, she would stimulate criticism amongst the population and that would not be well received by the “body”, as she called it (i.e. the ruling party). This answer stresses the fact that the ruling party is very dominant and that a culture of non-expression, passiveness and acceptance of the order of the day exists.

In the thematic-theoretical chapter reference was made to the fact that it also matters in what way the local population is organised, because this will determine how any participation mechanism is actually used. From the household survey it resulted that very little people are involved in some kind of civil society organisation. Next to that, it seems that people are not very aware of the existence of civil society organisations, such as NGOs, etc. When asked upon what kind of organisations the respondents knew, the most common answers were the OMM and “some organisation that gives money and food to vulnerable people, such as women, children and the elderly”. However, these people did not know the name of this kind of organisation. Sometimes somebody managed to name an organisation such as UNICEF, Save the Children, World Vision, some local organisation, religious group, dance group, or activist group, but these answers were often single answers.

However, this does not mean that the local population of Chibuto is not engaged in any kind of “social” activity. At the neighbourhood level, people tend to engage a lot in festivities, ceremonies, etc. Moreover, they also get together to clean and maintain the neighbourhood or form (religious) support groups when a neighbour is having problems. Thus, although people are not estranged from getting together and doing something for the community, their engagement in civil society is still minimal. This can subsequently be of influence on their level of active participation at popular meetings and in other contexts.

For those that have participated actively, it is interesting to study what kind of topics they have raised. The most talked about topics seem to be the water problem and the robbery and safety problem in the neighbourhoods. Next comes the improvement of certain services. Some respondents remember to have raised something, but they do not exactly know what. Then, a rather large percentage of respondents have answered entirely different things, which have been categorized as “other”. See table 7.2 below.

**Table 7.2** Topics raised by the respondents during popular meetings

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>%</b>
The robbery and safety problem in the neighbourhood	6	28,6
The water problem	6	28,6
The improvement of services	2	9,5
Forgotten topic	2	9,5
Other	5	23,8
<b>Total</b>	21	100,0

When looking at gender differences, it is striking that more men have participated actively about the robbery and safety situation in their neighbourhood than women have, i.e. 44,4% vs. 16,7%. Women, on the other hand, seem to talk more about the water problem than men, i.e. 41,7% vs. 11,1%. See appendix 10.7, table 25.

When comparing the two studied neighbourhoods, there are also some differences that become apparent: in 25 de Junho more people talk about the robbery and safety situation than in Bairro 3 da cidade, i.e. 35,7% vs. 14,3%. On the other hand, in Bairro 3 da cidade, considerably more people talk about the water problem than in 25 de Junho, i.e. 57,1% vs. 14,3%. See appendix 10.7, table 26. It could be that 25 de Junho has to cope with more robberies than in Bairro 3 da cidade. Next to that, maybe more people in Bairro 3 complain about the water problem because there are not as many alternatives to fetch water as in 25 de Junho.

The household survey also contained a question to somehow measure whether the popular meetings are an effective mechanism, namely if the comment made by the respondent during the popular meeting was taken into account. Almost all of the 21 people that participated actively answered yes or partially. However, when I asked the respondents to justify their answers, it became clear that the people mostly got a direct response to their comment at the popular meeting itself and that the concrete actions to resolve their concerns took a while. It thus seems difficult for the Municipal Council to respond to the concerns of the people according to their very wishes, especially in relation to the water problem. The leaders always promise to take care of the issues that were raised, but then the promises are left to be met. This does not necessarily mean that the popular meeting mechanism is ineffective; this situation rather refers to an incapacity of the Municipal Council to manage enough financial resources to resolve the problems. Interesting to note is that no single respondent has given the answer “no” to this question. This could entail that the respondents are afraid to talk badly about the Municipal Council, as has already become clear in the previous paragraphs.

### **7.2.2 The Municipal Assembly**

The Municipal Assembly is another important mechanism in the functioning of Chibuto’s open and participatory governance. It is the fiscal/inspectoral and deliberative body of the municipality, representing the local population. The Assembly represents the population because it is composed out of 17 members and seven substitutes (a total of 24 members) that are all elected by the local population. Next to that, besides the fact that all members are part of the FRELIMO party; they also belong to different social strata of society. The members represent civil society in the sense that some are members of religious confessions; the OMM; the Organização da Juventude Moçambicana (OJM), i.e. the National Youth Organization; the association of the old combatants; the Organização Nacional de Professores (ONP), i.e. the National Teachers Organization; etc.

The Assembly is organized as follows: all members have the power to deliberate and to vote. This deliberating and voting is done on, for instance, the municipal 5-year plan and the annual plans of action. In fact, everything the executive body, i.e. the Municipal Council, wants to do has to pass through the Assembly. The Assembly also deliberates and votes on topics that were submitted by the proper Assembly. Furthermore, out of the 17 members, 14 are organized into six working commissions, that correspond with the town councils of the Municipal Council. The three remaining members make up the Board of the Assembly, i.e.



the President, vice-president and secretary. They have an executive function in that they organize and lead the sessions. It must be said that approximately 40% of the members of the Assembly are women; six women out of the 24 members are permanent members and three are substitutes.

The working commissions have a very important role, because they are the link between the community and the Municipal Council. The working commissions work to serve the citizens through auscultations at the popular meetings. They can, thus, also lead popular meetings to find out how the municipal plans are welcomed by the local population, i.e. to hear what they have to say about them and what their concerns are. Next to that, they have to check if the plans of the Municipal Council are being executed/have been achieved. Every working commission has to check whether the “promises” of the Mayor are being met, according to his manifest, but also whether the topics/decisions that were deliberated during the sessions are being executed and if they represent the local people. This is not only done by means of the popular meetings, but also through so-called field visits, for instance, to the market, the hospital, etc. The members thus ensure the functioning of the different municipal sectors; they try to see whether everything is going alright and whether there are problems, while at the same time defending the interests of the citizens of Chibuto.

Subsequently, the members of the Assembly transmit the opinions/reactions of the local population to the town councils, but these are also “presented” during the ordinary sessions of the Assembly. Based upon these opinions/reactions, the Municipal Council might have to adapt its plans in order for them to match up with the ideas of the citizens. Then, through a final communiqué, the working commissions inform the population about the (new) perspectives at the popular meetings.

Also worth mentioning is that the Municipal Assembly has ordinary sessions every 45 days and that these are public. The citizens are thus allowed to assist the sessions, but they have no voting power; they can only communicate their concerns to the members. The members have a direct interaction with the community and as the concerns are taken up by the members, the working plans are also adjusted. The comments of the population are valid by their incidence, i.e. those comments that affect a large number of people are taken into account.

### **7.2.3 The local neighbourhood structure**

As described above, Chibuto’s local population can communicate their concerns/interests to the members of the Municipal Assembly, so that, subsequently, these are represented at the Assembly’s sessions. However, when a resident has a problem or is concerned about a certain issue, he or she can also go see his/her leader of the blocks who will subsequently try and resolve the issue. If the leader of the blocks cannot resolve it, the issue will be passed on to a higher level until resolved. It could eventually reach the neighbourhood leader, who will then communicate it to the Municipal Council. The issue thus moves its way upward, so to speak. In the end, the local neighbourhood structure also serves as a link between the citizens and the Municipal Council. It is not as much a direct way of influencing local decision making processes, but if a considerable amount of people have the same preoccupation, then this preoccupation will have to be addressed at a higher level. Moreover, this means of communication might be more viable for people that are afraid or shy to talk in front of a big group of people, as is the case at popular meetings.

The household survey studied whether the respondents ever made any comments by other means, such as through the local block leader, quarter leader or even neighbourhood leader. The results are that 33,7% of the research population has indeed made a comment by other means and 66,3% has not. It thus seems that this “mechanism” is used more frequently by the research population to communicate some concern than the popular meetings, where only 26,6% of the research population participates actively. All in all, one can still say that a culture of freedom of expression is not widespread yet.

Those that have made a comment by other means, have mostly done so through the leader of the quarter (51,7%). Subsequently 27,6% of the research population has talked to the neighbourhood leader and 20,7% to the leader of the blocks. The topics that are mostly mentioned by the local population to the different leaders of the local neighbourhood structure are, initially, social problems that often occur between neighbours. Next comes the topic of robbery. However, some people also approach the local leaders to warn them about some upcoming event, such as the visit of someone or the occurrence of a ceremony (e.g. a funeral). In this case, it is not so much a concern that is communicated, but rather a notification about something, so that the local leader becomes aware of it. Then comes the topic of land conflicts, etc. See table 7.3.

The topics that are addressed by the population through the local structure are thus slightly different than is the case at the popular meetings. People also talk about the water and robbery problem to their local leaders, but to a lesser extent than is the case at popular meetings. The problems that are raised have a more personal character, whereas during the popular meetings the problems raised affect more people from the community. However, the robbery problem can be related both to the person and the community.

**Table 7.3** Topics raised by the respondents to the local neighbourhood structure

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>%</b>
Social problems	11	37,9
Robbery	4	13,8
Land conflicts	3	10,3
The water problem	2	6,9
Obtainment of a declaration	2	6,9
Warning about event	4	13,8
Other	3	10,3
<b>Total</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>100,0</b>

Besides the fact that in both studied neighbourhoods the people mostly talk about social problems to their local leaders, there are also some differences. For instance, the people of 25 de Junho tend to talk more about the robbery issue than in Bairro 3 da cidade, as has already become clear earlier on. Furthermore, in Bairro 3 da cidade more people talk about land conflicts than in 25 de Junho. See appendix 10.7, table 27.

Besides the fact that both men and women more or less equally raise their voice about social problems and robberies, the difference between them is that women talk more about land conflicts and the water problem than men to their local structure. In fact men do not raise their voice about these topics at all to their local leaders; they rather approach them to obtain a declaration or about the “other” topics. See appendix 10.7, table 28.

## **7.2.4 The suggestions box**

Another means through which citizens can express themselves about their interests and priorities is the suggestions box that is located at the entrance of the Municipal Council. This option is also more viable for people that are afraid to express themselves in front of a whole crowd. Moreover, people can express themselves anonymously.

However, a lot of people in Chibuto are illiterate (more than 1/5<sup>th</sup> of the research population) and the majority has only attended primary school, which means that they cannot write down their comments that well; they would have to find someone else to do it for them. Next to that, from the household survey, it becomes clear that a relatively large percentage of the research population has never set foot at the Municipal Council before in their lives, i.e. 45,3% (vs. 54,7% of the research population that has indeed been there). When comparing these results for gender differences, it becomes clear that considerably more women have never been to the Municipal Council than men, i.e. 50,0% vs. 31,8% (see appendix 10.7, table 29). This can be explained by the fact that women are mostly in charge of all the heavy household chores and do not have time to go to the Municipal Council.

The people that never went to the Municipal Council indicated as the most common reason that they do not have anything to take care of there (64,1%). Furthermore, others said that somebody else instead of them goes to the Municipal Council when necessary (33,3%) and 2,6% does not know why they have never been. When looking at gender differences, it seems that the few men that do not go to the Municipal Council only do not go for the reason that they do not have anything to take care of there, while women do not go because of the same reason and because someone else goes instead (such as the husband). This stresses the inferior position of the women, that often stay at home and take care of the household chores, while the men take care of other business.

It thus seems that the suggestions box is not that accessible to the people of Chibuto. Some officials of the Municipal Council also confirm this; the box is not often used. An option would be to place such a box at the level of the neighbourhoods to reduce the distance between the citizen and the Municipal Council, but this does not take away the illiteracy problem. Next to that, this means of communication is also rather indirect; the citizen cannot influence local decision-making processes in a direct way. If the comment/suggestion placed in the suggestion box is shared by many people, it might be taken into consideration. However, it also always depends on whether there are financial means available and if the comments are prioritized by the Municipal Council in the same as by the population.

## **7.2.5 Audiences**

Last but not least, the Chibuto citizens can also complain or raise some issue by making an appointment for an audience/hearing at the Municipal Council, with the Mayor or the councillors. However, it is rather difficult to say something about the way this mechanism is used. In fact, only one of the surveyed respondents said to have gone to the Municipal Council for a hearing, because he wanted to obtain information about job vacancies. Thus, it seems that this mechanism is not used much either, such as is the case with the suggestions box. An explanation for this could be that, whenever a citizen has a problem or preoccupation, he or she is advised to go to someone of the local neighbourhood structure, starting with the block leader. Next to that, since the audiences take place at the Municipal Council, they might

not be so accessible to the local people, especially if the citizens live far away from the city centre.

It thus seems that a certain distance exists between the citizens and the Municipal Council. The communication between both parties occurs in a rather indirect manner, within the neighbourhoods of the municipality. This is not necessarily ineffective (and rather very decentralised). Although it might take a while before the comments make their way to the deliberative and executive bodies, on the other hand, more concerns and comments can be raised at the same time. One might question whether the Municipal Council then prioritizes these comments the same way as the local population does.

### **7.2.6 Interest of the population in participating**

Besides studying whether the Municipal Council is adopting participatory mechanisms in its urban management, it is also important to look into the interest of the population in participating in the decision-making processes of the Municipal Council, especially what concerns water delivery and land use / neighbourhood organization (since one cannot really participate in land registration)<sup>38</sup>.

With respect to the interest of the studied population to participate in decision-making processes concerning water management, it can be said that 69,8% is indeed interested, 24,4% is not interested and 5,8% does not know whether they are interested. Thus, the majority of the research population would like to be involved in the decision-making processes of the Municipal Council concerning water management.

When studying for what reasons these people wish to participate, the most common one is that people think it is good to exchange ideas and experiences, because this way a useful idea might arise that will then benefit a lot of people. Another reason that was mentioned, is that the people themselves see the suffering in their neighbourhoods and therefore, by participating, the service can be better improved according to their needs. Furthermore, the contribution of the citizen might simply be of use and change things. See table 7.4 for an overview of all the different reasons. One person (within the “other” category) had a totally different reason than the rest, which is, nevertheless, worthwhile mentioning. This person said that with the pressure of the population, the Municipal Council will have to take care of things faster. The Municipal Council could also take care of things without the participation of the population, but *with* their participation, it would have to start doing things at *that* very moment.

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<sup>38</sup> In the household survey I referred to this as “the process of organizing the neighbourhoods”, i.e. to participate in decision-making processes on the use of land: whether a piece of land should be used to make a park out of it, a market, etc.

**Table 7.4** Reasons for wanting to participate in water management

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>%</b>
Unknown	3	5,0
It is useful to exchange ideas; this will benefit a lot of people	22	36,7
By participating, the service can be better improved according to the needs of the people, since they see the suffering	10	16,7
The contribution might be of use and change things	10	16,7
The respondent lives there as a citizen and will benefit from participating	5	8,3
By participating there will be water in the neighbourhoods	4	6,7
The respondent is as much a person as those from the Municipal Council; he/she thus has the right to participate	2	3,3
To know/learn more and also make decisions	3	5,0
Other	1	1,7
<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100,0</b>

It must be said that it was rather difficult to obtain answers to this question (it was posed as an open question, after which the answers were categorized). The respondents often had to be helped out a little, because they probably have never thought of the possibility of participating actively in local decision-making processes before, and why this could be useful. Moreover, a lot of respondents afterwards said that, even if they *would* participate, their contributions might not be valid. Their contributions might lead to change, but it does not necessarily have to be that way. Their ideas could also *not* be taken into consideration, i.e. leading to nothing. When trying to find out more about the respondents' positive opinion, some even said that the Municipal Council can also take decisions without them, if they have the capacity for it. This is also a way of development. Consequently, their participation is not necessarily seen as a must.

The affirmative answers of the respondents thus seem rather doubtful. They agree to the idea of participating, but their justifications were difficult to obtain and sometimes rather vague and hesitant. This insecurity could have to do with the respondent itself, in the sense that he or she does not feel confident or capable enough to make a useful comment in the context of local decision-making processes. However, this insecurity could also have to do with a lack of confidence in the Municipal Council itself, in the sense that the respondents have often complained about certain things, but without any concrete follow-up actions of the Municipal Council.

When looking at the reasons for not wanting to participate in water management, the following conclusions can be drawn: the majority said no, because their participation will probably not lead to anything and be a waste of their time. This reason is in line with the sense of insecurity of the respondents that answered yes, as mentioned above. Given the fact that the water problem has existed for so long and the government is having trouble resolving it, some people, in a way, have lost faith/confidence in the government (concerning this topic). Therefore participating is seen as being of no use. See table 7.5 for the other reasons.

**Table 7.5** Reasons for not wanting to participate in water management

	Frequency	%
Because it does not lead to anything; it is a waste of time	6	28,6
Because it is not of the respondent's interest	4	19,0
Because the respondent is not physically capable	3	14,3
Because the respondent does not have time for it	3	14,3
Because the respondent thinks he/she does not have the right to participate	2	9,5
Other	3	14,3
<b>Total</b>	21	100,0

When looking at the interest of the research population in participating in decision-making processes concerning land use / the organization of the neighbourhoods, it can be said that the majority is indeed interested, namely 80,2%. Next to that 17,4% is not interested and 2,3% does not know whether they are interested. It thus seems that even more people are interested to participate in this issue than in water management. It is hard to explain this slight difference in interest, but it could be that the topic of land use / neighbourhood organization lies closer to the people than water management (although the water problem seems to be priority number one amongst the population). Water management might be something too complex/technical and covering the whole city, while neighbourhood organization can already be done from within the neighbourhood.

The reasons for wanting to participate in the organization of the neighbourhoods are very similar to the ones discussed earlier on with water management. Again, the majority of the research population wants to participate because this way people exchange opinions, which might lead to a consensus with respect to the development of the neighbourhood. Next comes the reason that by participating, the contribution of the respondent might simply be beneficial to the local people. Another reason is that by participating, there could be better services and infrastructure in the neighbourhood. See table 7.6 for an overview of the different reasons. One of the "other" respondents said something striking, i.e. that he would like to contribute, but that it would be of no use, because one needs money to realize things, but this country is very poor.

**Table 7.6** Reasons for wanting to participate in neighbourhood organization

	Frequency	%
Unknown	7	10,1
Exchanging opinions can lead to a consensus regarding local development	21	30,4
By participating there will be better services and infrastructure in the neighbourhood	10	14,5
The contribution of the respondent might be beneficial	19	27,5
The local community sees the problems of the neighbourhood and will thus know better how to make use of empty spaces	7	10,1
By participating the respondent will get informed and be able to also contribute	3	4,3
Other	2	2,9
<b>Total</b>	69	100,0

The reasons for not wanting to participate in neighbourhood organization are also similar to the ones that deal with water management, although the percentages are different. Here, the majority answered that they do not wish to participate, because they do not have time to participate (whereas with water management the majority did not participate because it would be a waste of time, i.e. it would not result in anything). This difference could have to do with the seriousness of the water problem and the fact that it is taking a lot of time to resolve it. Next, some people said that they were not in physical shape to participate. Others said that they are not interested, etc. The "other" category is quite large and includes a woman that

thinks she does not have the right to participate; somebody that does not live there continuously and therefore cannot participate and somebody that believes the neighbourhood already has everything. See table 7.7.

**Table 7.7** Reasons for not wanting to participate in neighbourhood organization

	Frequency	%
Because the respondent does not have time for it	4	26,7
Because the respondent is not physically capable	3	20,0
Because it does not lead to anything; it is a waste of time	2	13,3
Because it is not of the respondent's interest	3	20,0
Other	3	20,0
<b>Total</b>	15	100,0

### 7.2.7 Transparency and accountability

Besides studying the level of interest of the local population of Chibuto in participating in local decision-making processes, it is also interesting to study if the population is aware about the ongoing decision-making processes, how they feel about the information they possibly receive and if they would like to obtain more information from the Municipal Council. These elements are important, because a precondition to be able to participate in decision-making processes, is to be aware of what is going on, i.e. of the contents of the Municipal Council's decisions. One must thus also study the extent to which the Municipal Council makes information available to its population and actively informs/gives feedback. This corresponds with the level of transparency and accountability of the Municipal Council, which goes hand in hand with the level of participation of the local population.

To be able to study these elements, a question was posed in the household survey on whether the Municipal Council gives information about the following topics: land registration; its tax collection (what total value is collected per tax); the way its financial resources are allocated; the improvement of its services and the rights of the citizens. From this question, it resulted that the most informed topics are land registration, the improvement of the services and the rights of the citizens. Respectively 62,8%, 61,6% and 55,8% of the research population replied that the Municipal Council indeed informs about these topics. However, it is unclear by what means; probably through the popular meetings. Around 20% of the research population does not know if the Municipal Council informs about these 3 topics and another average of 20% said the Municipal Council does not inform about these topics (see appendix 10.7, table 30).

The topics that the Municipal Council least informs about is its tax collection and the use of its financial resources. Respectively 69,8% and 61,6% of the research population said that the Municipal Council does not inform about these topics. Again, around 25% does not know whether the Municipal Council informs about these topics and around 10% says it does (see appendix 10.7, table 30). It thus seems that the Municipal Council is not very open about its financial matters, which is also a problem area of the municipality. A copy of the annual plan and budget seems to be available at the secretariat and the tax revenues and consequent expenditures are supposedly put up in a showcase at the Municipal Council<sup>39</sup>. However, people generally also do not seem to consult it, according to the councillor of finances and the head of accounting. The councillor of finances explained that the people of Chibuto do not

<sup>39</sup> Personally I could not find the tax revenues and consequent expenditures put up in the showcase at the Municipal Council, and I checked several times for it.

have the maturity yet to criticize these kinds of documents. He further explained that democracy, i.e. people being able to make a contribution about their concerns, has not arrived yet. The head of accounting says that the people probably do not completely understand this concept yet, which indicates that something is not functioning well.

There are some differences to mention though. It is curious that in 25 de Junho a considerably higher amount of people say that the Municipal Council informs about land registration than in Bairro 3 da cidade, i.e. 82,2% vs. 41,5%. In fact, one can even say that there is a statistical significant relation between the variables “information on land registration” and “neighbourhoods”<sup>40</sup>. This could have to do with the fact that 25 de Junho is an older and more organized neighbourhood. Maybe the people there have been informed about land registration more consistently than is the case in Bairro 3 da cidade. Furthermore, it seems that in Bairro 3 da cidade, more people say that they receive information about the municipal tax collection than in 25 de Junho, i.e. 14,6% vs. 2,2%. Finally, in 25 de Junho, slightly more people say to receive information about their rights than in Bairro 3 da cidade, i.e. 62,2% vs. 48,8%. See appendix 10.7, table 32 and 33.

There is no real explanation for these differences, but the fact that there *are* differences in the provision of information between neighbourhoods (or at least in the perception of the respondents on the provision of information), could entail that this provision of information is not something that occurs consistently. However, the majority of the population thinks this array of information is quite important; 98,7% answered yes and only 1,3% answered that they do not know whether they think this information is important. Nobody answered no.

Curiously, when asked on what topics the respondents would like to receive more information, most people answered the municipal tax collection, the use of its financial resources and the water problem. Other topics included: what happens on a daily basis in Chibuto and, overall, in the country; plans for service improvement; land registration and how to live in the neighbourhood/country and within the family.

Again, the respondents seemed to find it hard to understand this question. They often understood it in the way of “what would you like to receive from the Municipal Council?” (instead of “what kind of information would you like to receive?”), and then started talking about jobs and other, more material things. Nevertheless, these results suggest that a certain curiosity exists within the Chibuto citizens to know more, to become more aware about things. They do not only want to participate, but they also want to be more informed. This feeling might seem rather hesitant though, because the people are not used to thinking about these topics and to having an opinion of their own. It seems that the socialist mentality still prevails, when central state used to decide for its people and take care of everything.

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<sup>40</sup> The relation is moderately strong judging by the association measure Cramer’s V of 0,428. See appendix 10.7, table 31.



### 7.2.8 Conclusion

In conclusion it can be said that Chibuto municipality is no stranger to the concept of participatory governance. In fact, the participation of the local population in local decision making processes is an intrinsic part of the municipality's mandate. Several mechanisms exist to put this participation into practice, of which the popular meetings are widely used. However, while these meetings are attended on a large-scale, people do not tend to raise their voice actively. Women participate even less actively than men.

It seems that people are rather shy to participate or fear that they might be seen in a bad day light. Other people do not see the point of participating, because it does not lead to anything or they simply do not know what to say. This might subsequently have to do with low education levels or a lack of confidence in government. However, it seems that, overall, no real culture of freedom of expression exists yet. Although Mozambique is a democracy, the ruling party is still very strong and it seems that the former centralist/socialist mentality is still prevailing in society, whereby the state takes care of everything and the people find themselves in a position of expectancy. They are not used to having an opinion on certain topics and to organize themselves into taking action. Although people are not estranged from getting together and doing something for the community, their engagement in and knowledge of civil society is still minimal. This subsequently influences their level of active participation at popular meetings and in other contexts.

Another important conclusion is that the municipality does not inform the population about everything; it is not very transparent and accountable. However, these principles are preconditions to be able to participate in local decision making processes. In particular, the Municipal Council is not very transparent and accountable about its financial operations. This can be related to the fact that it is also a big problem area of the municipality: it lacks the means to be able to respond to all the needs and priorities of the population. The current water crisis is a perfect example in that respect.

There are other mechanisms of participation, besides the popular meetings, such as the Municipal Assembly, the local neighbourhood structure, the suggestions box and audiences. These options might be useful to overcome the "shyness" of the local population in participating actively, because they take place in a smaller, more restricted setting. However, some of these mechanisms are not very accessible given the fact that they are situated at the Municipal Council itself and a lot of people have never set foot there before.

All in all, the low level of participation that *does* exist, occurs in a very indirect manner, through local neighbourhood leaders, members of the Assembly, councillors, etc. When looking back at the ladder of citizen participation, developed by Arnstein (1971), it seems that the kind of participation occurring in Chibuto is more the informing and consultation kind, which is rather symbolic than real and transformative. Participation mechanisms indeed exist in Chibuto, but it is uncertain what is done with the comments of the citizens. One might question how the concerns are interpreted and prioritized, given the fact that these intermediaries are part of a certain "power" structure, that is strongly coupled to the ruling party. There is thus no such thing as active involvement of citizens in planning and budgeting processes of the Municipal Council concerning service delivery. Chibuto's "open and participatory governance" has not reached that point yet.

Although the local population of Chibuto has not contemplated much about issues as participation yet, they are indeed interested to be involved in local decision making processes concerning water management and land use / neighbourhood organization. They believe that by exchanging ideas, some sort of consensus can be reached, which will lead to positive outcomes. However, they just need to organize themselves better and get to the point of really wanting to participate and claiming accountability from the Municipal Council. The Municipal Council, in its turn, has to be more transparent and create more accessible mechanisms of participation. This interaction, i.e. reciprocity of communication will have the potential to lead to pro-poor development outcomes. However, a key component to be tackled as well is finances.

## 7.3 Gender mainstreaming mechanisms

### 7.3.1 Within the Municipal Council

One of the objectives and priorities that briefly makes an appearance in the 5-year plan of the Municipal Council of Chibuto is “gender equality”. However, it must be said that this is not an isolated objective of the Municipal Council; it is intrinsic to central government. There is actually no written policy on gender equality for local governments. However, an important document has recently been drawn up on gender, i.e. the “gender policy and implementation strategy” by the Ministry of Women and Coordination of Social Action. This document does not correspond to a law, but every policy within the country should take this document into account. It is actually quite well designed in the sense that it contains some practical steps to implement the policy. However, unfortunately the municipality of Chibuto is not yet integrating this document into its operations. Then again, this policy and implementation strategy has only just been set up. See box 7.2 for more in-depth information on the Ministry of Women and Coordination of Social Action and some other developments with respect to gender equality at the national level.

#### **Box 7.2 The Ministry of Women and Coordination of Social Action and gender at the national level**

In the year 2000 the Ministry of Women and Coordination of Social Action has been created, with the support of the “Organização da Mulher Moçambicana” (OMM), i.e. the “Organization of the Mozambican Woman”. The topic of gender equality had already been embraced in the 1990 Constitution, but since the creation of the Ministry significant progress has been made in the direction of promoting and achieving gender equality.

For instance, gender focal points have been established at some Ministries; women’s representation in decision-making bodies has increased (government and parliament); women’s priorities have been articulated in the country’s action plan for the reduction of absolute poverty, etc. Moreover, the Family Law and new Land Law also safeguard the rights of women.

However, overall, women’s representation is still low and the laws are often not put into practice. Moreover, the Ministry is coping with institutional weakness in that it is lacking human and financial resources. It is in fact one of the “poorest” Ministries. For instance, District offices have been merged together with the “Health” District office and they only receive about 1% of the national budget. However, at the same time, the Ministry takes up quite a complex position in that it has to coordinate its actions between different sectors, i.e. it has to capacitate and give “know how” to these other sectors, etc.

The Head of the Department of Gender and Development, of the Ministry of Women and Coordination of Social Action, refers to this complex position by saying that “the Ministry has a say on everybody and at the same time on nobody”. It can thus be said that a process of sensitization has been set off, but that a lot remains to be done, especially at the grassroots level.

*Source: Fórum Mulher & SARDC (2006), Beyond Inequalities 2005: A Profile of Women in Mozambique. Interviews with the Head of the Department of Gender and Development, of the Ministry of Women and Coordination of Social Action, and the Executive Director of Fórum Mulher.*

Despite the lack of a clear gender policy at the local level, at this moment, several actions are taken up to promote gender equality within Chibuto municipality. However, these actions are not all initiated by the Municipal Council. In fact, the specific actions taken up by the Municipal Council are not very concrete at all. To achieve gender equality, there is a need for gender mainstreaming mechanisms within the urban governance structure of the municipality, i.e. tools that ensure that the needs of both men and women are taken into account in all stages of policy-making, as described in the thematic-theoretical framework. However, when projects are planned, the town councils, for instance, do not make use of gender disaggregated (statistical) data. More specifically, in the town councils of Water and Sanitation and Urbanization, Construction & Environment no such thing exists as a special focus on the needs of both men and women, based on concrete data. In fact, when studying the annual and 5-year plan of the Municipal Council, it seems that not much use is made of concrete, measurable indicators at all, which could point to a general lack of data to base targets on.

Next to that, the government officials have never received any kind of capacity training on gender. Thus, a lack of awareness exists about the topic of gender, which consequently leads to a lack of gender-focused tools to work with, such as the gender disaggregated statistical data. However, the general lack of financial means also does not help much.

It seems that, at this very moment, everybody assumes that there is gender equality, because it is defined as such in the Constitution of Mozambique and everybody speaks of it out loud, but the reality is still very different. One could thus say that gender equality is not yet institutionalized, because the initiatives to promote gender equality come up in a rather dispersed manner.

When specifically looking at the initiatives of the Municipal Council itself, one can at least say that women are involved at the level of the institution. There are women employees in the following positions: the head of human resources; the councillor of Culture, Youth & Sports (out of six councillors in total) and eight police officers (out of 28 officers in total). Next to that, around 40% of the members of the Municipal Assembly (including permanent and substitute members) are female. Moreover, there are quite some female leaders at the level of the neighbourhoods. In fact, it seems that the majority of the local leaders is feminine. For instance, 25 de Junho is composed out of four units, of which three are headed by female leaders. Besides that, most of the neighbourhood quarters are also headed by women. The same applies for Bairro 3 da cidade. However, as indicated in the thematic-theoretical framework, having a certain share of women (i.e. quotas) is not enough to be able to speak of gender equality, because they might still act along male lines of thinking.

Next to that, a lot of employees and officials at the Municipal Council stress that the opinions of everybody are valid. In other words, everybody (male or female employees), can contribute in the same way. The same applies for the popular meetings, as mentioned before: women are free to talk and participate actively. However, the truth is that women do not talk and participate that actively (as revealed by the results of the household questionnaire), despite often representing the majority at these meetings. Women are still inferior to men. Thus, if they do not participate, it is also difficult to take their opinions into account and make them valid. In that sense, it seems that the traditional norms of male superiority still prevail.

### 7.3.2 Within Chibuto society

Others actions that are taken up to promote gender equality (in general - not necessarily with the specific aim of enhancing the active participation of women in local decision-making processes) come from the public institution called INAS, which is subordinated to the Ministry of Women and Coordination of Social Action. It stands for “Instituto Nacional de Acção Social”, i.e. the national institute for social action, and is based at the district level. It thus operates on a regional level. The INAS has a program called “Beneficio Social pelo Trabalho” (BST), i.e. social benefit for work, which benefits female heads of household, such as widowed, divorced or single women. Within this programme, the INAS creates partnerships with the Municipal Council, District Offices, NGOs, etc. so that these women can work there as servants, support staff, cleaners, etc. The women are supposed to stay there for one year and get a monthly subsidy of 450 MZN from the INAS, which is approximately 12 Euros. After one year, some women get the chance to stay in their job positions. The Municipal Council can thus serve as a source of employment for vulnerable women.

Another INAS programme is the “Geração de Rendimentos” one, i.e. the income generation programme. Those women that do not have the opportunity to stay in their job positions from the BST programme are integrated in this programme. Its aim is to talk to these women and to observe their capacities so that perhaps they can start up informal trade projects themselves, such as the keeping and selling of livestock (for example chickens). Thus, women themselves have to choose what they want to do; they have to design their own projects. Subsequently, if approved, the State will give them a certain amount of money to develop their activities, which they do not have to devolve.

Another rather important actor in the promotion of women’s position is the Direcção Distrital da Saúde, Mulher e Acção Social (DDSMAS), i.e. the District Direction of Health, Women and Social Action, which is also based at the district level. Thus, it does not only cover the area of the municipality of Chibuto. The DDSMAS is almost the same institution as the INAS. However, while the INAS can be seen as having an executive role, the DDSMAS has a more coordinating role, defending political matters. The activities of the DDSMAS consist of encouraging women to participate actively in different (socioeconomic) spheres like men do. It favours the activism of women, i.e. that they have own initiatives (in a collective manner) to resolve their problems. Next to that, the Direction divulgates the “Lei da Família”, i.e. the Family Law, which promotes the position of women. A lot of elements in this law ensure the stability of the woman, in the sense that it addresses women’s right to employment; to go to court whenever they feel wronged and it also stresses the role of the father to take care of his children. However, it is unclear how the Direction divulgates this law.

Next, some women’s groups also exist in Chibuto society, such as the “Associação da Mulher Autárquica”, i.e. the association of the municipal woman, which is a group of women with their own businesses (such as selling charcoal). This association was created by the “Associação Nacional de Municípios de Moçambique (ANAMM), i.e. the national association of Mozambican municipalities, with the aim of promoting and developing female undertakings (not only in Chibuto, but in the whole country). It is thus an initiative of “job creation”, with the support from ANAMM and the Municipal Council. The proper Municipal Council plans on creating more of these women’s associations, but this initiative has not been concretized yet.

Besides these above-mentioned initiatives, that have been encouraged by public institutions, women are also organized in some community based organizations (CBOs), such as in the “Associação Ntwanano”, where groups of mother-in-laws (20 to 25 people) unite and discuss the theme of HIV/AIDS and other problems in order to exchange experiences and raise more awareness on how to deal with these issues. However, these groups do not have a statute/constitution.

Most of these initiatives address the issue of gender equality in the sense of creating job opportunities for women. The only institution that seems to address the gender issue in all its dimensions is DDSMAS, but unfortunately it is unclear how it really operates, since the interviewee had little time to elaborate on this. However, there is no strong linkage between these organisations/institutions and the Municipal Council. They operate rather independently, besides the case where the Municipal Council creates employment possibilities for the BST programme. Still, the INAS reports back to the District government. The head of the department of Women and Social Action of the DDSMAS also confirmed that there is not much interaction between the Direction and the Municipal Council. By coincidence, the councillor of Social Action, Planning, Transport and Communication is also working in the Ntwanano association. Despite the fact that both entities operate independently from each other, his mind is thus specifically set on focusing on vulnerable people within and outside the Municipal Council.

### **7.3.3 The “Organização da Mulher Moçambicana” (OMM)**

Perhaps, the most important way of women being organised in Chibuto, and with the biggest potential to promote gender equality and to enhance the position of women, is the Organização da Mulher Moçambicana (OMM). For this reason, the organisation is singled out in this section. The OMM is an organisation that was created in 1973 as an “arm/wing of the party”, with the aim of organizing women for the armed struggle and defending the emancipation of women. The organisation is not only represented at the national level, but also at the local levels (the provinces, districts, municipalities and neighbourhoods). At each of these levels the OMM operates with a secretary, a deputy and a treasurer.

Every month, the OMM has meetings together with its members. In the case of Chibuto municipality, this occurs both at the city and neighbourhood level. Other people that are not necessarily members may also attend these meetings. Moreover, the meetings are not restricted to women; groups of youngsters may also join, etc.

The OMM mostly works with the topic of “the living situation at home”; i.e. how to take care of the children, how to help out others, etc. In the end, the OMM tries to resolve social problems with which households have to deal on a daily basis. The secretary of the OMM of Bairro 3 da cidade explained that, every month, the OMM tries to find out how the women have lived over that past month, in order to give suggestions on how to live the coming month. Next to that, being an organisation of the Party, the OMM educates and informs the people about the Government and what happens within the Party. Whenever there are elections the OMM sensitizes the people to vote. However, the OMM also sensitizes women to not accept being controlled by their husbands, i.e. that they have the same rights as them. The organisation emphasizes that being a woman does not necessarily equal a housewife, i.e. that women can also work and do the same things as men do (not only in the working sphere, but in every single sphere). The OMM also encourages women to go to hospital to check for and

treat HIV/AIDS, whenever women are pregnant or children are sick, etc. In short, this latter sensitization part is very important in the context of promoting gender equality.

Besides all these functions, it seems that the OMM at the city level also possesses a certain amount of money, namely 7000 MZN (around 183 Euros). Women have the right to receive a loan from this amount, but they often do not know what to do with it. Therefore, the OMM keeps the money, which is a shame because it could be a good opportunity for women to develop some kind of business. Last but not least, there are also some groups of chorals within the OMM and the OMM usually welcomes official visits to the Municipal Council<sup>41</sup>.

When critically analysing the role of the OMM, the above-mentioned information points to a rather promising image of the organisation in the context of promoting gender equality. However, when asking the local people about the OMM, not everybody knows exactly what the OMM does. Some do not even know about its existence. The people that do know the OMM, mostly know it because of its function of resolving social, day-to-day problems and its sensitizations on how to live at home/within the family. They are also known for their singing groups and receptions of official visits. Next to that, there was only one woman I spoke with at the market, that actually received a loan from the OMM. This confirms the fact that it is hard for the OMM to distribute these loans.

Furthermore, after having spoken to some professionals working in Maputo - at a national NGO that promotes women's human rights, an international development cooperation office and the Ministry of Women and Coordination of Social Action - it became clear that the OMM is struggling to stay true to all of its principles. It actually finds itself in a position of ambiguity, in the sense that it mainly resolves social problems and does not as much defend human rights. Women are still mostly seen as mothers and wives that take care of the home. Moreover, the OMM seems to work with a rather short-term vision, given the fact that it looks at how women have lived over the past month, so that suggestions can be given for the following month.

The OMM can be seen more as an instrument that defends the order, i.e. that pacifies without there being much violence. The OMM does not raise much awareness yet and it does not seem to mobilize people in the modern sense of the word, because mobilization could challenge current power structures. What it does is mobilize in the sense of transferring information that is of interest to the party. And the topic of women's rights is not something the Party necessarily talks about a lot; it only does so during electoral campaigns and festivities.

According to the head of the department of Gender and Development within the Ministry of Women and Coordination of Social, the OMM has stopped in time and is not adapting itself to new norms. However, the OMM also finds itself in a rather disadvantageous position, being linked to the FRELIMO Party, where a culture of male dominance still prevails. The OMM has to listen to "the father" (i.e. the Party) and cannot be that independent. This does not mean that the policies of the FRELIMO are incorrect; on the contrary. But practice does not always follow up theory/policy. However, this is actually a general problem within the whole country.

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<sup>41</sup> All this information is obtained by talking to some OMM members in Chibuto itself. Unfortunately the head office of the OMM in Maputo would not receive me; instead, they sent me to the Ministry of Women and Coordination of Social Action.

Mozambique is still a fragile country, where a big distance exists between intention and practice. The reconstruction of the country has been and still is a time-consuming process.

### 7.3.4 Gender equality in day to day life

Despite the above mentioned array of initiatives that promote gender equality in Chibuto municipality, it is obvious that gender equality as such is not integrated into society. This is clearly reflected in day-to-day life in Chibuto: the power relationships between men and women are still highly unequal. This cannot only be derived from the household survey, in that men tend to participate more actively during popular meetings than women, but also from the following aspects.

Women mainly work in subsistence farming, while men often have paid jobs as miners in South Africa, construction workers, etc. Very few women have paid jobs and the ones that do, earn a considerably lower salary than men (see sub-chapter 5.5 on education, profession & income). Next to their labour-intensive farming activities, women also carry a heavy work burden at home: they have to spend hours fetching water, preparing the meals, etc. Another aspect that illustrates the prevailing gender inequality is that women rarely register land plots; not by themselves and even less jointly with their husbands. It is curious that the majority of the research population does know about the possibility of a woman registering a land plot and even thinks positively about this, but unfortunately reality shows otherwise.

Two questions were posed in the household survey to specifically study gender dimensions within the household, i.e. who controls the money within the household and who goes to public institutions to take care of official documents related to the house/land plot/bank<sup>42</sup>, etc. The results to these questions are as follows: it seems that mostly women control the money within the household<sup>43</sup>: 52 respondents (60,5%) answered that women control the money within the household; 22 respondents (25,6%) answered that men control the money within the household and in 12 cases (13,9%) the money is controlled by both men and women, i.e. by husband and wife. This result is rather positive in the sense that women have the right and power to decide what is done with the income of the household, even if it is not directly earned by them. It must also be said that the Chibuto men are often away from home, working in the mines of South Africa. Therefore it is almost obvious that the wife has to take care of most things to sustain the household, including expenditures.

When looking at who takes care of official documents, 40 respondents (46,5%) have said that women take care of these papers and 34 respondents (39,5%) have said that men take care of these papers. Furthermore, 9 respondents (10,5%) said that both husband and wife take care of this and 3 cases (3,5%) said to have never taken care of any official document, so they could not answer the question. Again, women mostly take care of this, which gives them a certain authority and power within the household. However, men also play a considerable part in this process (the percentages are almost equal).

Another question was posed in the household survey to analyse how the perception of the respondents is on gender equality. The question is as follows: whether it is the same to vote

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<sup>42</sup> It is not as much the physical act of going to these institutions to take care of the documents, but more the decision-making act concerning these documents, i.e. who decides what documents are to be taken care of.

<sup>43</sup> This does not entail that it is always the female respondent that controls it. Often it could also be a daughter or daughter-in-law.



on men or on women. The majority of the respondents answered that it is indeed the same. Furthermore, some respondents answered that it is not the same and a few answered that they do not know whether it is the same or not (see totals of table 7.8). However, there is a slight difference in answers between gender. For instance, almost all men (90,9%) have said that it is the same, while women account for 65,6%. The majority of women also thinks it is the same, but they are a bit more doubtful than men. See table 7.8.

**Table 7.8** Opinion of the respondent whether voting on men or women is the same, according to the sex of the respondents

Voting on men or women the same?	Sex of the respondent				Total	
	Feminine		Masculine			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Unknown	5	7,8	1	4,5	6	7,0
Yes	42	65,6	20	90,9	62	72,1
No	17	26,6	1	4,5	18	20,9
<b>Total</b>	64	100,0	22	100,0	86	100,0

The respondents had to justify their opinions and the most common reason for thinking that voting on men or women is the same is that both men and women have the same capacities. This reason accounts for 61,3% of the people that have this opinion. One woman clearly explained this in the following way: “it could be that a man does *not* govern better...but it could also be that a woman does *not* govern better. At the same time, it could be the case that a man governs better...but a woman can also govern better”.

Next comes the reason that choosing a candidate depends on his/her qualities and not on gender (12,9%). Another 11,3% of the respondents think this way because they believe that the laws are the same for everybody and thus that everybody has the same right. Other responses include that everybody has the capacity to govern and that women are even more capable of doing this (4,8%); and that the respondent has already witnessed women governing (within the local neighbourhood structure) (3,2%). Furthermore 4,8% has answered something else that is not really worthwhile mentioning and 1,6% does not know why he/she is of that opinion.

Most people that do not think voting on men or women is the same, are of this opinion because they believe men are more capable of governing than women (66,7%). Striking is that this answer is only given by women. In fact, only one man is of the opinion that voting on men or women is not the same. Some examples of the answers of these women are: “A man’s voice is more active; whenever he says something he is immediately heard and this is not the case with women”. And: “a woman is ashamed; she might fear the act of governing. A man is respected straight away, just by looking at his face”. Next to that, 22,2% believes that women are more capable of governing than men and 11,1% has said something else, which includes the only man with this opinion; he answered that his preference for voting simply goes to men.

On the basis of this question, the perception of the respondents on gender equality is thus rather positive. However, sometimes the respondents had difficulties in answering the question. At first they would say that it is not the same and then they would suddenly change their mind and say that it is indeed the same, etc. Next to that, the question is rather hypothetical, therefore it does not necessarily represent reality. It could be that people say that it is the same, but that in practice they would do something else. It is also a fact that there are

not many women candidates out there yet, that the people could vote on, as confirmed by the secretary of the OMM in Bairro 3 da cidade.

Despite this recognition among people that gender equality has indeed arrived, i.e. that both men and women have equal rights, women also admit that there is still a long way to go. I have spoken to several women in “higher” positions (at public institutions) about the topic of gender equality and they have clarified that there is a greater need for women to be equal to men, because women still suffer a lot. Despite the fact that women are autonomous, that they can express their feelings and that they are heard, something still has to change. The life of women is still dominated by hard labour and, even though they can take decisions within the household, the husband still has more power. Their voice should thus be even more active.

These women have confirmed that the Municipal Council takes up some initiatives to promote gender equality, especially in what concerns job creation. Moreover, during popular meetings it is often emphasized that both women and men have the same opportunities. However, they also admit that still more could be done. For instance, there should be more women in administrative positions, within government. However, there are not many women candidates yet. They themselves do not apply for these positions, because they do not know how it works. The head of the Department of Social Assistance within the INAS accurately explained that there is a battle going on to promote gender equality, but it still has to happen naturally. Women have to fight for it themselves and discover their own value. Gender equity does not only involve putting more women in higher positions.

One lady said that it is necessary to mobilize women in order for them to educate themselves, to gain more vision and, overall, to get into another rhythm. She said that education can change a person, but that it is not the only thing. Women should also be encouraged to participate more in meetings, and not only at the popular meetings, but also within the neighbourhood, etc. It is good to bring neighbours together and to discuss these gender issues at home. It is only possible to enter into this new rhythm, i.e. “to get out of the darkness” as this lady explained expressively, by actively addressing these issues. However, it is important to keep in mind that the gender issue does not only involve women. Men should also be involved in this education and awareness raising process, otherwise power imbalances might prevail.

### **7.3.5 Conclusion**

In conclusion it can be said that, despite the fact that gender equality is an objective of Chibuto municipality’s mandate, no real gender mainstreaming mechanisms exist in the urban governance structure of the city. For instance, no use is made of gender disaggregated statistical data in the municipal town councils of Urbanization and Water and Sanitation. However, this can be linked with the fact that no clear gender policies seem to exist for local governments. The Ministry of Women and Coordination for Social Action has made sure that several laws and policy papers safeguard the rights of women, but these laws are often not put into practice. The institutions of the Ministry are still rather weak.

Some disperse initiatives exist within the municipality to promote gender equality, but these are mostly focussed on employment creation for women, and coming from other organisations/institutions besides the Municipal Council. Moreover, these organisations/institutions often operate at the level of the district and do not necessarily

interact with the Municipal Council. The municipality does employ a substantial amount of women. But then again promoting gender equality is not all about quotas.

The OMM is perhaps the organisation with the most potential to actively deal with gender equality issues. However, although it is indeed dealing with gender issues on a daily basis and encouraging women to stand up for themselves, it appears to have stopped in time and is too much linked to the party, where male dominance still prevails.

Nevertheless, people in general seem to think that gender equality has in fact arrived in Chibuto. They continuously stress that both women and men have the same opportunities and rights. However, just by saying/writing down that there is/should be gender equality (in the Constitution, for instance, or in the gender policy and implementation strategy), does not mean it has arrived. The truth is that women still have an inferior position to men, which reflects itself in different aspects of day-to-day life. It seems that a lack of awareness prevails on what gender equality really entails, both at the level of the institution and within society.

Thus, it can be said that the role of women in decision-making processes is almost non-existent. Women take up some “higher” positions and are supposedly consulted at popular meetings, but they hardly candidate themselves for these functions and tend to remain quiet at popular meetings. They are not actively encouraged to do so, because of the fact that Chibuto society is still very traditional, governed by a male-dominated structure. Women fear to challenge these traditional structures.

In fact the initiatives that do exist to promote gender equality appear to be more symbolic and theoretical (just as is the case with the participation mechanisms). The intentions are there and some steps have been set already, but follow up actions are not rigorous and transformative. It is thus important to tackle the roots, the fundamentals of the problem, which has to do with culture and tradition.

To tackle this problem at the level of the institution, gender sensitisation trainings should be put in place and the government officials should start making use of gender disaggregated data, as recommended in the thematic-theoretical chapter. All decision-making processes must be based on both men’s and women’s needs and requirements. Moreover, at the level of society awareness should also be raised on gender issues; both men and women should educate themselves and start dialoguing/discussing about this topic. People should organize themselves and become more aware of their rights. They have to realize that something needs to change and fight for it themselves. It cannot be something “imposed”. However, this will obviously not happen overnight. There is thus still a long way to go.

## 8. Conclusion

Many themes have been discussed in this study that deal with the urban governance framework of Chibuto municipality, and in specific with its capacity to deliver certain municipal services (namely land registration and water) in an inclusive and pro-poor manner. In the thematic-theoretical chapter it became clear that it is not straightforward to have a well functioning urban governance framework in place, that is also pro-poor. In fact, it is a very complex process, involving certain key principles and a lot of actors and stakeholders that take on a shared responsibility into making it fully operational.

The focus of this research was on two of these key principles, namely on participation and equity and gender, because they are of extreme importance to target the poor in urban service delivery. The research question was thus as follows:

*To what extent is Chibuto municipality adopting participatory and gender mainstreaming approaches in its urban governance?*

Altogether, after having taken up the information from the previous chapters, it can be said that Chibuto municipality's use of participatory mechanisms is rather fair and its use of gender mainstreaming mechanisms can even be denominated as poor. With respect to the studied services, the outcomes are not very positive either. While the population is "consulted" on land use, it is not consulted on water provision, i.e. only informed. Furthermore, in neither of the two services the town councils put extra efforts into basing policies on the priorities and wishes of both men and women.

In the following paragraphs a synthesis will be given on why these two key principles are not being enforced in the urban governance framework of Chibuto municipality. The situation will first be discussed from a local perspective, i.e. what are the factors on the ground that point to this rather negative picture and how is this reflected in the municipal service delivery? Subsequently, an attempt will be made to explain the local situation from a higher level perspective. There are a number of important reasons that can be traced to the national context, which explain the situation on the ground. Finally, the conclusion will be closed off with some recommendations.

### **Lack of participation and gender from a local perspective**

Chibuto municipality is familiar with the concept of participation in its local governance system, in the sense that it is a guiding principle of the ruling FRELIMO Party. Moreover, some references are made to it in the national legislation for local governments. However, in practice people are not so much participating in local decision-making processes concerning service delivery, but rather being consulted. This mainly takes place at the highly attended popular neighbourhood meetings. However, it can be said that this is a rather indirect participation mechanism (people are consulted through intermediaries such as councilors, local neighbourhood leaders, assembly members etc.) and, next to that, it is not widely used. Only 26,6% of the research population has ever participated actively at popular meetings by raising their voice.

People do not tend to participate because they are shy, fearful or incapable to talk, which can be related to low education levels, a lack of awareness on certain issues, etc. For instance, although popular meetings are also used to inform and sensitize the local population on a wide

array of topics, financial matters do not seem to be addressed (such as information on the municipal tax collection and its use of financial resources). This subsequently has to do with a lack of transparency and accountability on behalf of the Municipal Council. In addition, some people do not participate because of a lack of confidence in the Municipal Council, since it has not always responded positively to their concerns. This can subsequently be related with a lack of financial means to address the problems. The municipality does not have the capacity to take immediate action to resolve the concerns of its people.

Other participation mechanisms exist besides the popular meetings, such as the Municipal Assembly, the local neighbourhood structure, the suggestions box and audiences. Although these options are also “indirect”, they might be useful to overcome the shyness of the local population in participating actively, because they take place in a smaller, more restricted setting. However, most of these options are not used, because they are located at the Municipal Council and thus rather inaccessible (in the case of the suggestions box and audiences). Moreover, in the case of the suggestions box people are required to write, which is not that straightforward given the prevailing low levels of education in society. People do tend to make use of the local neighbourhood structure. However, people use this mechanism rather to express personal problems and concerns; they do not give suggestions on the planning processes of the municipality. These are thus merely means of communication between the Municipal Council and the local population.

All in all, it can be said some efforts are made by Chibuto municipality to involve the local population in the current state of affairs. However, these efforts are rather different than development theories would suggest. When looking back at the ladder of citizen participation, developed by Arnstein (1971), it seems that the kind of participation occurring in Chibuto is more the informing and consultation kind, which is rather tokenistic than real and transformative. Participation mechanisms indeed exist in Chibuto, but for those people that do participate actively, it is still questionable how their concerns are subsequently prioritized by the intermediary figures, because they are part of a certain power structure, that is strongly coupled to the ruling Party. It is, thus, uncertain what will happen with the comments of the citizens. In the end citizens are not truly empowered to make serious contributions, but are made to believe so through disguised forms of participation. In reality there is no such thing as active involvement of citizens in planning and budgeting processes of the Municipal Council concerning service delivery. Chibuto’s “open and participatory governance” has not reached that point yet.

Striking is that out of all the people that do participate, women significantly participate less than men, i.e. while 45,0% of the men participate, only 20,3% of the women participate actively at popular meetings. Although the Municipal Council stresses that the opinions of both men and women are equally valid, this mere “announcement” does not increase women’s participation. Furthermore, it seems that no other concrete initiatives exist to encourage women to raise their voices equally as men do.

This lack of female participation results from the fact that the Municipal Council of Chibuto does not explicitly incorporate a gender focus into all of its operations. Although gender equality is stated as an objective in the municipal mandate, so far the initiatives to pursue this are rather disperse, focused on employment creation and only targeted towards women. On the basis of this latter point, it seems that there is also a lack of clarity around the concept of gender (it is not only about women, but about power relations between men *and* women). This

lack of clarity on gender often challenges attempts to incorporate an equity and gender focus into development processes, as mentioned in the thematic-theoretical framework by Akerkar (2001).

Moreover, most of these disperse initiatives are not even coming from the municipality itself, but from other organisations/institutions. However, these organisations do not necessarily coordinate their activities with the Municipal Council. There is, thus, no real pressure from these organisations in influencing governmental policy agendas and holding the Municipal Council to account to incorporate a gender focus into its operations.

While the Municipal Council of Chibuto does employ a considerable amount of women, these positions are not very high. In addition, promoting gender equality is not all about quotas, as stated in the thematic-theoretical framework by Akerkar (2001).

The fact that the Municipal Council of Chibuto does not make use of gender disaggregated data when developing plans and policies on service delivery is perhaps the clearest indicator that no gender mainstreaming mechanisms are being adopted in its urban management. Both town councils of Urbanization and Water and Sanitation do not take the differences in needs of both men and women into account in their operations.

Curiously, a lot of people seem to think that there is indeed gender equality in society, but reality proves otherwise. Women still find themselves in a subordinate position in comparison to men, which is visible in day-to-day life. This inferior position does not allow women to take up a more active role in local decision-making processes, higher government positions etc.. They are not expected to do so, because women are still highly seen as mothers and housewives that take care of the home. In that respect, it can be said that Chibuto society is still very traditional in its values and thus largely male-dominated.

All in all, the use of participation and gender mainstreaming mechanisms is not yet institutionalized. Some steps have been set in both areas, but these seem rather symbolic than transformative. Citizens and especially women are not truly empowered to play a lead part and have an active say in local development processes so that their needs and priorities can better be addressed. This subsequently reflects itself in Chibuto municipality's service delivery, because it is not adapted to local citizens' needs and wishes. The most vulnerable people often tend to be excluded from municipal services. This lack of access will be portrayed in the following section.

### **Manifestation in service delivery**

Concerning land registration, not many people register their land property, especially women do not. In the first place, people do not register, because they do not have the money for it (however, they also do not know how much it is). Next to that, while people generally see ownership and security as *the* benefits resulting from land registration, a general feeling of security seems to prevail among them (there are not many land conflicts and the national Land Law seems to defend the citizens). This subsequently leads to a culture of non-formalization. Thus, elements such as the price and benefits of land registration are not clear enough to the local population, which does not encourage them to register. Moreover, while people seem to be aware of the fact that women can also register, this does not often occur in practice. No real efforts are made on behalf of the Municipal Council to promote land registration for women. It is accepted that land goes in the name of a man.

Although the Municipal Council does sensitize and inform the citizens about land registration (and even consults them in land use planning), it could put more effort into finding out what the real needs and priorities are of the people, through effective participation mechanisms. This way it could become clearer why so many people do not register and on what aspects the Municipal Council needs to work to make more people register. On the other hand, the Municipal Council also needs to be more transparent and provide more information on certain proceedings and benefits (than it is already doing), so that the people can give feedback on this. Without knowledge on the issues at stake, it is difficult to give an opinion about it. Moreover, when including a clear gender-focus in the land registration process, women would also be more likely to register. This is not only beneficial to them, but also to the Municipal Council itself; this way the municipal tax base would increase significantly, given the large amount of single-headed female households.

Thus, at this point the land registration service is not very accessible to the citizens and being offered in an equitable manner. Therefore it is of utmost importance to improve the communication channels between the population and the Municipal Council so that it becomes apparent what issues need to be tackled, i.e. what the needs and priorities are of the local population. As stated in the thematic-theoretical framework, land registration systems need to be adapted to the local context for them to be beneficial to the people. However, it is self-evident that the town council of Urbanization also needs to be reinforced with financial, human and material resources to be successful in its operations.

With respect to water, it is also obvious that people are having difficulties in accessing sufficient amounts of water. There are not enough public stand posts and, next to that, not all seem to function properly. Therefore the local population largely resorts to other water sources, from independent providers (community or privately owned wells/holes, etc). However, the current water fetching conditions are appalling, which reflects itself in the evaluations of the local population on the water sources. Overall, people are not very positive about the large distances they have to cover, the waiting in lines, etc. If the people have access to water, it because of their own persistence and effort.

Nevertheless, this situation cannot only be attributed to the fact that the municipality is not optimally using participation and gender mainstreaming mechanisms in its urban management. There is a severe water crisis going on in Chibuto due to the fact that the water supply system has never been rehabilitated since it was installed in the colonial period. This is again a result of a lack of financial resources to do so.

Still, if people, and especially women, could participate in local-decision making processes concerning water provision, it could become clearer what elements people find important when fetching water, i.e. what their priorities are with respect to the location and quantity of public stand posts, the costs of it, etc. Since the system is so outdated and the population has increased tremendously in the meantime, it is important to adapt the water supply system to the current situation. This can only be done if people, and especially women (who are often the main actors in the water fetching process) voice their concerns and priorities about water provision through effective participation mechanisms. They know best what needs to be changed, since they are the ones that see the suffering and day-to-day problems.

However, at this point people are only being informed about the water crisis and the steps that are being taken to solve it. People are not consulted, because, supposedly, they do not have

the capacity for this (due to low education levels). It thus remains to be seen whether the water service will become more accessible to the citizens now that the water supply system is going to be reformed. In any case, as stated in the thematic-theoretical framework, the participation of new actors in the delivery process (central State and the private sector), is bound to increase the accountability between all actors involved, i.e. clients/citizens, policymakers and providers, and thus make the service more pro-poor.

### **Lack of participation and gender from a higher perspective**

From the above it has become clear that participation and gender mainstreaming mechanisms are not yet fully operational in the urban governance framework of Chibuto municipality, which translates itself into municipal services that are not targeted towards the needs and priorities of the population, especially not towards those of the most vulnerable people. However, this “lacking” can be traced to a broader line of reasoning. Elements are not only lacking at the local level; forces at the national level also have an effect on the prevailing participation and gender situation. These will be elaborated below.

#### *Incomplete institutional reforms / legal uncertainty*

Although Mozambique went through a series of reforms after its independence, such as decentralisation and democratisation, it can be said that these reforms have not been fully completed yet. Municipalities were only created about 10 years ago, and, as such, they are not operating that independently as had been envisaged at this point (financially but also in other aspects). An initial disadvantage is that municipalities inherited weak and dysfunctional organisational structures and infrastructure from the colonial period.

Moreover, the transfer of competencies in the decentralisation process has often not been accompanied by a sufficient amount of financial resources, as stated in the regional framework. However, in the meantime the mandates of the municipalities have been increasing in terms of service provision. This obviously creates a clash: there are not enough financial resources to account for all these municipal responsibilities. Subsequently, it is difficult for the Municipal Council to be accountable to all the needs and wishes of the local population.

However, there also seems to be a lack of clarity within the legal framework with respect to the actual role and responsibilities of the municipalities vs. those of central government. In theory, local governments should possess a whole list of competencies, but in practice not all of these competencies are being fulfilled. In Chibuto, for instance, the municipal mandate concerning service delivery does not equally cover all areas of legislation. The municipality is dealing with too many responsibilities in function of its capacity, which reflects itself in the alarming water situation.

Building upon this lack of clarity within the legal framework for local governments, the concepts of participation and gender equity are also not that well defined in terms of national legislation. While the concept of participation is represented in the administrative laws for local governments in Mozambique, no real practical guidelines are included on how to make it more operational. Furthermore, no independent laws exist for including gender mainstreaming in municipal governance. Recently a “gender policy and implementation strategy” has been set up by the Ministry of Women and Coordination of Social Action, but this does not correspond with a law. Other laws are supposed take the gender issues in this policy into account. This gender policy paper is quite well designed in the sense that it



contains some practical steps to implement the policy. However, its recentness impedes it from being fully operational yet. Moreover, gender it is a cross-cutting issue that should be taken into account by all municipal sectors, and this obviously takes time, money, trainings, etc.

All in all, due to this legal uncertainty, it also becomes difficult for municipalities such as Chibuto to prioritize certain issues and develop clear-cut plans for effective and pro-poor service delivery at the local level. They cannot focus as much on what is needed on the ground, because it is not well pronounced at the national level how this should occur. Moreover, they highly depend on funds from higher levels of government.

#### *Controlling State / Party*

Another reason that explains the lack of participation and gender mainstreaming mechanisms in Chibuto's urban governance framework is that, despite democratisation reforms, it seems that the ruling FRELIMO party is still quite strong and controlling, up to the local level of the municipality. Although it appears that Chibuto municipality is encouraging participation, by governing under the slogan of "open and participatory governance" and organizing many popular meetings, at the same time it maintains a certain control over the local issues at stake. The means through which it encourages participation are quite limited and more consultative. In the end, the Municipal Council is still in charge of the final decision making and can interpret the comments of the people in accordance with its own priorities.

However, there also does not seem to exist a "culture of participation" yet amongst the population. They do not participate actively at popular meetings or in the context of other participation mechanisms, because they are shy, incapable or maybe even feel oppressed by the power structure. It seems that quite a few people are afraid to make critical comments, because then they might be seen in a bad day light and not be able to get things done at government levels. The truth is also that they are not used to expressing their opinions. This became clear from the very fact of conducting interviews and asking for people's opinions on certain issues. It seems that the people and local government are still living with the same mentality as in the socialist and post-war period, when central state used to support the people and take care of everything. However, nowadays it is the municipality that takes over this role of central government. Therefore, the people have a rather expectant attitude, instead of being proactive and, for instance, organized/engaged in civil society. In fact, very little people are involved in some kind of civil society organisation. Most people are not even very aware of the existence of civil society organisations, such as NGOs, CBOs etc. In that respect, it can be said that Mozambique's democracy has not yet fully developed. People do not have a sense of citizenship and are not aware of what the right of participation can bring them. This subsequently influences the extent to which participation is seen as an important mechanism and also used. A legacy of central state planning seems to be prevailing, whereby the ruling Party, FRELIMO, is very strong and does not seem to want to let go of control.

#### *Culture / tradition*

These above mentioned factors mostly explain why the use of participation mechanisms is lagging behind in Chibuto's urban governance framework. The lack of gender mainstreaming is rather linked to cultural traditions. Due to cultural tradition and custom, women still find themselves in a subordinate position in comparison to men. This is reflected in day-to-day life: women participate less actively than men; they do not register their lands; they are in charge

of heavy household duties and the main actors in the water fetching process; they are less likely to have a remunerated job than men; they have lower education levels, etc.

Not only is gender equality not yet integrated as such into society because of the few and uncertain references that are made to it in national laws and policy documents (and the recentness of these references); a culture of male dominance prevails in the governing structures that have to carry out these policies. Hence also the institutional weakness of the Ministry of Women and Coordination of Social Action to enforce these laws. Apparently gender is not a topic of priority to the Party, as a result of which it only addresses the topic of women's rights during electoral campaigns and festivities.

This male dominance is also apparent in some mass organizations that were created by the ruling FRELIMO Party, such as the "Organização da Mulher Moçambicana" (OMM). While the OMM tends to sensitize women about their rights, women are still mostly seen as mothers and wives that take care of the home. The OMM mostly resolves social problems and transfers information that is of interest to the Party. Thus, it does not operate that independently from the party.

On the other hand, the FRELIMO party did create the OMM and the OMM subsequently created the Ministry of Women and Coordination of Social Action. Thus, it is not as if nothing is being done. However, it seems that certain initiatives have stopped in time and are still overshadowed by a male bias. Then again, it is not easy to change custom/tradition from one day to the other. It is also a question of practice not following up theory/policy. But this is actually a general problem within the whole country. Mozambique is still a fragile country, where a big distance exists between intention and practice.

Thus, it can be said that mainly institutional, political and cultural factors underlie the fact that participation and gender mainstreaming mechanisms are not widely adopted in Chibuto municipality's urban governance framework. These factors are rather all encompassing and related to rooted habits. Therefore the reconstruction of the country has been and still is a time-consuming process.

As stated in the thematic-theoretical framework, one must not forget the importance of political will; both central and local government should be politically committed and show leadership in ensuring that decentralisation reforms become more pro-poor. Efforts and dedication should thus come from all stakeholders that can influence and determine what happens within a city.

### **Recommendations**

This section briefly aims to give a few recommendations, in the framework of UN-HABITAT's capacity building programmes, on how to improve the participation and gender situation in Chibuto.

In order to increase the participation of the population in Chibuto municipality's local decision making processes, it should, first of all, be more institutionalized and directed towards including and stressing the position of women. There should thus be clearer policy papers on the topic of participation (and transparency/accountability), which include practical steps to take and strongly focus on women's rights.

Next to that, participation should take place in a more direct form (not only through intermediaries that hold a certain power). One option would be to create local neighbourhood associations (at the neighbourhood level, because people are used to engaging in activities at this level and people are also encouraged to approach the local neighbourhood structure when dealing with certain problems, etc.), where citizens can talk freely amongst each other and whereby a local representative of the citizens subsequently defends the interests of the citizens at a higher level.

However, participation should also be more encouraged amongst the population. Although the wish to participate is somewhat there amongst some locals, it is not very pronounced. People need to become more aware about what participation can bring to them. This could be done by means of a large-scale awareness campaign on what decentralisation is, the importance of the active participation of local people, etc.

Moreover, the Municipal Council itself should also increase its transparency and accountability concerning its operations. It all comes down to providing/divulging more information and creating awareness amongst the population, which is essential to making the existing participation mechanisms (and/or maybe new ones) work in an optimal way. Subsequently, services can be targeted towards the needs of the local population. This could be done by making more reports available to the local population and defending them at popular meetings. Moreover, the radio could be a useful tool to inform and create more awareness amongst the population about certain issues.

With respect to enhancing the use of (and institutionalizing) gender mainstreaming mechanisms in Chibuto's urban management (so that the needs of both men and women can equally be addressed in urban service delivery), it is necessary to increase awareness and inform and capacitate people, both men and women, government officials and civilians, about the concept of gender equality (and what this means in urban governance).

The municipality should also incorporate gender into all stages of its activities, from planning to implementation, by making use of gender disaggregated data. However, the concept first needs to be better reflected into laws and policy papers, with a clear reference to the practical steps that are needed to take.

Moreover, gender equality will not be institutionalized if women do not take a greater part in it themselves. As mentioned before, it is not enough to increase the number of women in certain positions. Women should organize themselves more, by creating women groups, and start dialoguing about their rights, so that subsequently they can fight more actively for them. Obviously this will not happen overnight, because it is not that straightforward to change a rooted habit. Commitment and efforts are needed from all stakeholders that take part in the governance framework of the municipality.

With respect to UN-HABITAT's land registration project, the following recommendation can be made. Although the people that have registered their land property describe the process as easy, a lot more needs to be done to improve this service and make it more accessible to people, especially women. As mentioned earlier on, the Municipal Council needs to incorporate a clear gender focus in the provision of this service, so that women can benefit from it. Moreover, it needs to provide more information about the service (its benefits, etc.) so that people understand better what it consists of and subsequently can make use of it.

However, the urbanization sector also needs to be better equipped with human resources and materials, such as maps, cadastre systems, etc. Next to that, the archive needs some upgrading, etc. These latter components will be addressed, in a simplified manner, in UN-HABITAT's programme. However, in order for the land registration process to become more efficient and accessible, it also needs to be more inclusive and gender-sensitive.

Important to note is that there is not one solution to address all these issues. Given the fact the urban governance is a complex undertaking, a holistic, integrated approach needs to be adopted, covering all key principles of urban governance. As resulted from this study, Chibuto municipality is facing challenges in many areas: not only with respect to participation and gender issues, but also in terms of finances, transparency, accountability, its legal framework, human resources, efficiency, etc. These challenges also have to be addressed, because, for instance, with the right participation mechanisms in place and a transparent governing structure, but without sufficient financial means, it is impossible for the Municipal Council to respond to the issues raised by the local people, and thus to be accountable to them. The sector of finances thus definitely needs to be reformed as well.

This integrated approach could start in a simple manner and be upgraded over time. It is important that the actions are kept simple and flexible, based upon what is already there, in view of cost efficiency. People might also not cope well with sudden ruptures to current practices, so therefore it is important to adapt changes and reforms as much as possible to local practices. Furthermore, it is important that efforts come from all actors, as mentioned before, i.e. from the local population, government, civil society, the private sector, etc. because they all have certain duties and responsibilities in making urban governance and service delivery work in favour of the poor and most vulnerable.

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## 10. Appendices

### 10.1 Map of Mozambique



Source: <http://geology.com/world/mozambique-satellite-image.shtml>

## 10. 2 Operationalisation of the conceptual model

Given the fact that most concepts have already been defined in the thematic-theoretical framework, this section will only refer to concrete indicators which allow for the variables to be measured. Special attention is given to the participation, accountability and equity & gender components, since these represent the main focus of the research.

### Quality of urban governance Chibuto:

The quality of urban governance in Chibuto municipality is made up of various key principles, i.e. participation, accountability, transparency, equity & gender, legal & regulatory framework, financial resources and management, technical and managerial capacity of municipal staff and efficiency. These key principles will be further operationalised in the following paragraphs.

### Participation:

The level of participation of local citizens in local decision-making processes can be assessed by studying whether the local citizens are aware of their right to participate and in which ways they consequently participate. According to Nuvunga (2007) participation can be in “invited” spaces and “claimed” spaces, the former one entailing that local governments provide possibilities for the citizens to participate and the latter one entailing that the local people organise themselves through democratic mechanisms.

Some of the “invited” spaces could be:

- a municipal electoral system that allows the citizens to elect local representatives, which subsequently decide on what needs to be done and what resources are to be used. There could even be an elected level of government below the city government, i.e. a sub-city government, bringing decision-making relatively close to the citizens (Devas, 2001, pp. 395, 397).
- consultative bodies, such as community development councils or neighbourhood advisory committees, whereby the locals can influence local community action plans; city forums, whereby actors from civil society come together to address particular issues; participatory budgeting and planning, whereby the poor can influence budgetary and planning choices; town hall or assembly meetings, etc. (See Devas, 2001; UN-HABITAT Towards Norms of Good Governance; Robinson, 2003; Shah & Shah, 2006; Nuvunga, 2007).
- city referenda with respect to important urban development decisions (UN-HABITAT Towards Norms of Good Governance).
- a system that evaluates the satisfaction of the population with respect to the quality of the delivered services and infrastructure (UN-HABITAT, indicadores do desenvolvimento urbano).
- Participatory Poverty Assessments, whereby poverty is understood from the viewpoint of the poor. Through this mechanism they can voice their concerns and influence policy-making (Brocklesby & Holland, 1998, p. 1).

Some “claimed” spaces could be:

- the level of organisation of the local population, through civil society organisations such as CBOs, political parties, etc.
- the condition of civil society in influencing policy agendas (Devas, 2001, pp. 400-402). Civil society organisations, such as NGOs, can also mobilise people to engage in consultative practices and civic protest over public services (Robinson, 2003, p. 9). One can thus look at the number of active civil society organisations and their activities/agenda (lobbying, advocacy, etc.).

### Accountability:

Important to note is that accountability does not only refer to the quality of urban services; it refers to all actions of service providers, including spending, outputs and outcomes, use of resources, performance standards, etc. (Cavill & Sohail, 2004, p. 158). However, most service providers (whether government bodies or not) only regard themselves as being accountable for the quality of the service delivered, whereby user satisfaction is only of secondary importance next to getting the technical issues right (Cavill & Sohail, 2004, p. 166).

Furthermore, two kinds of accountability can be distinguished: horizontal accountability, which is the capacity of state institutions to verify whether other public agencies or governmental bodies are engaged in abuses, and vertical accountability, which is the means through which citizens and civil society organisation hold public officials responsible for standards of good performance (Cavill & Sohail, 2004, p. 157).

In fact, the participatory mechanisms as mentioned above are also mechanisms to measure accountability, since they force government officials to be accountable to their citizenry and other stakeholders by taking in their feedback. Other mechanisms through which to measure accountability are:

- the extent to which budget proposals, annual reports and other information are regularly made available to the local citizens through open consultations (Shah & Shah, 2006, p. 23; UN-HABITAT Towards Norms of Good Governance).
- the extent to which these reports are defended at open town hall meetings, and the local population can publicly assess them (Shah & Shah, 2006, p. 23).
- the extent to which a sanctioning mechanism is operational, which penalises misbehaviour (Cavill & Sohail, 2004, p. 169).
- the extent to which a public feedback mechanism exists (an ombudsman, complaint offices and procedures, citizen report cards and procedures for public petitioning and/or public interest litigation) (UN-HABITAT Towards Norms of Good Governance).

### Transparency:

As mentioned before, this aspect correlates with participation and accountability. Some indicators that measure transparency within city governance, are:

- the extent to which information (annual reports, daily records of tax revenue and expenditure) is made openly available by the Municipal council (Nuvunga, 2007, p. 62).
- the extent to which corruptive practices are prevalent (through a corruption index?).

### Equity & Gender:

It has become clear in the thematic-theoretical framework that equity & gender issues are not at all self-evident in an urban governance structure. While participation mechanisms are often lagging behind, equity & gender are even more difficult to mainstream. Some indicators that point out whether equity & gender are taken into account in Chibuto municipality's governance structure:

- the extent to which gender disaggregated data<sup>44</sup> (or even data disaggregated by social categories) is used (and interpreted correctly) during all stages of a project, programme or policy making process (for service delivery), i.e. from planning to implementation, so that equal access can be guaranteed for both women and men to decision-making processes, resources and basic services (Akerkar, 2001, pp. 11-12; Morna, 2004, p. 242; UN-HABITAT Towards Norms of Good Governance).

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<sup>44</sup> Gender disaggregated data is "data where differences between women and men have been taken into account at all stages of data definition, collection, tabulation, dissemination and analysis processes" (Corner, 2005, p. 9).

- the extent to which the participatory mechanisms, as discussed above, aim to involve all citizens, including the marginalised, powerless, women, etc. Not only should a specific gender focus be incorporated, but a focus that includes the whole of the population, despite differences that might exist in social categories. (For example, are town hall meetings adapted to women's time constraints and workload?)
- in fact, all governance indicators as described in the thematic-theoretical framework and as presented in the conceptual model, should be pro-poor and reflect the different experiences of governance mechanisms and processes by women and men. Separate gender indicators are insufficient (Corner, 2005, pp. 2, 13).
- the extent to which a gender analysis of budgets is being carried out. Budget policies are crucial to the formulation of programmes and thus gender analysis of budgets will contribute to making the programmes more inclusive to both men and women and thus more gender aware (Akerkar, 2001, p. 18).
- the extent to which key officials and functionaries receive gender sensitisation training and are enrolled in capacity-building programmes (Morna, 2004, p. 242; Akerkar, 2001, p. 22).
- the extent to which women and other marginalised groups are aware of their right to participate (through education, for example) (Akerkar, 2001, pp. 12-13).
- the extent to which gender is integrated in policies, such as PRSPs and other national policies and the extent to which accountability mechanisms exist to make sure that the possibly formulated guidelines are adhered to in these policies (Akerkar, 2001, p. 15).
- the extent to which national machineries exist, such as gender units and advocacy machineries. However, care should be taken with focusing too much on women only; gendered experiences of men should also be included so that a balanced gender perspective is obtained (Akerkar, 2001, pp. 15-16). One can also study whether local NGOs or CBOs are involved in gender sensitisation activities and in mobilising women to participate in local governance issues.
- the number of women as part of the municipal staff (UN-HABITAT, indicadores do desenvolvimento urbano). Is there a quota for women representatives in local authorities? (UN-HABITAT, Towards Norms of Good Governance).
- land ownership and housing title by female, male, jointly held (Corner, 2005, p. 20).
- the extent to which local government recognizes informal settlements and informal activities (because this has an impact on whether marginalised groups have access to public services, etc.).

#### Legal & regulatory framework:

Issues to study within the legal and regulatory framework are:

- the local mandate of Chibuto municipality for the provision of urban services, according to existing legislation for local authorities in Mozambique, which will also reflect the level of municipal autonomy.
- the local government's position with respect to informal settlements.
- the policies that Chibuto municipality is carrying out with regard to land management, housing, financial management, urban planning, etc. which are of influence on public service delivery and its effectiveness.

#### Financial resources and management:

To gain insight into the financial management of Chibuto municipality and how resources are used, one must look at:

- the local revenue base: how are the budgetary proportions? (what amount does local government receive from state transfers, tax revenues, foreign aid, etc.)

- the taxing revenue system: where are taxes collected from (personal income tax, housing tax, fees from the local market, etc. (Nuvunga, 2007, p. 56)? Are tax collectors being controlled by municipal treasurers (Nuvunga, 2007, p. 62)?
- the level of municipal autonomy from and/or dependency on higher levels of government.
- the expenditures: how are the budgetary proportions? (what amount is spent on salaries and administrative costs, on service delivery and infrastructure, maintenance, etc.)
- the level of inclusiveness of the financial management system. (to what extent does the local government adopt participatory budgeting and or/ gender-sensitive budgeting)
- the level of transparency of the financial management system.
- the extent to which expenditures are made in a cost-effective way (see efficiency).

#### Technical & managerial capacity municipal staff:

The technical and managerial capacity of the municipal staff entails (as mentioned in the thematic-theoretical framework):

- the availability of enough qualified staff (Eskemose, 2004).
- appropriate technical equipment and other basic working conditions, such as transport and funds to implement the necessary interventions (Eskemose, 2004).
- the availability of adequate data on which to base policies (Devas, 2001).
- the level of municipal autonomy.

#### Efficiency:

This refers to the extent to which the municipality is cooperating with other actors in view of the limited amount of resources and integrating the different service sectors into one policy framework, because inter-sectoral priority setting will improve the cost-effectiveness of services. One needs to look at:

- the number of public-private partnerships in service delivery (water supply, electricity, waste management) (UN-HABITAT, indicadores do desenvolvimento urbano).
- the extent to which one integrated policy framework for poverty alleviation exists, creating a synergy between social sectors.

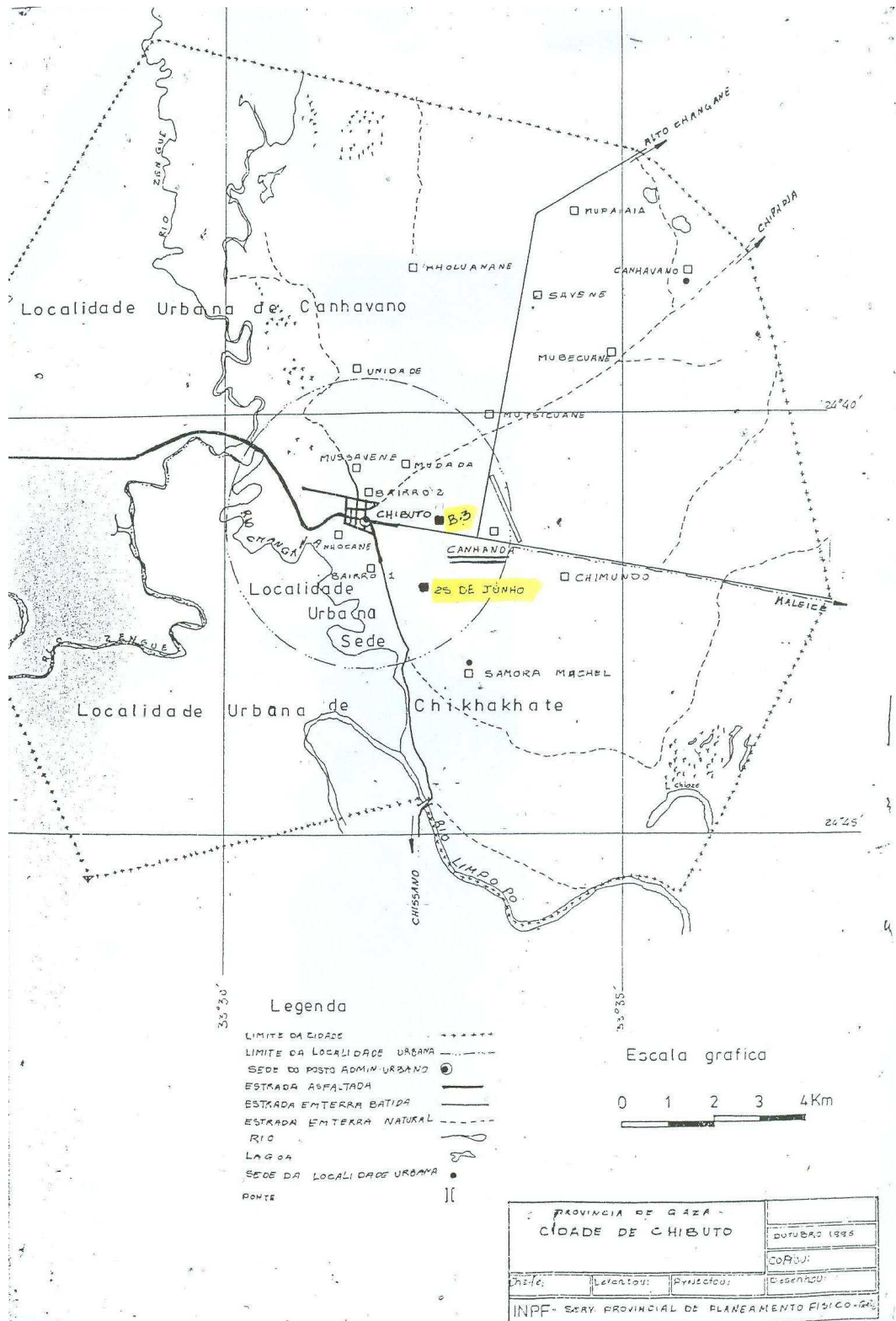
#### Local population:

It must be underlined that the local population is not a homogenous group (Akerkar, 2001). Social differences can influence to what extent the local population is able to participate and give feedback to local government. These social differences include: class, age, religion, ethnicity, race, culture, sexuality, education, physical ability, economic difference, etc.

#### Private sector; NGOs and CBOs; Province & District government; Central government:

These actors are more or less self-explanatory and will not be further operationalised due to space limitations.

### 10.3 Map of Chibuto municipality



Source: Municipal Council, Chibuto, 1995.



### 10.4 Map of 25 de Junho



Source: Google Earth, 2009.



## 10. 5 List of interviewed people<sup>45</sup>

Mr. Ernesto Chamo, Head of the Department of Gender and Development at the Ministry of Women and Coordination of Social Action, Maputo.

Mrs. Graça Samo, Executive Director of Fórum Mulher, Maputo.

Mrs. Conceição Osório, researcher in the areas of gender identity and local governance at WLSA, Maputo.

Mr. Valério Leonardo, Executive Director of AMOPROC, Maputo.

Mr. Nobre Canhanga, Governance Programme Officer at the Swiss Development Agency, Maputo.

Mr. Francisco Mandlate, Mayor of Chibuto municipality.

Mr. Carlos Ofisso, councillor of Social Action, Planning, Transport and Communication at the Municipal Council of Chibuto.

Mrs. Matilde, employee at the Ntwanano Association, Chibuto.

Mr. Adalberto, Head of the Development Programmes Department at INAS, Chibuto.

Mr. Geronimo Niabete, Head of the Department for Women and Social Action at the Chibuto District Office for Health, Women and Social Action.

Mr. Jorge Muchange, councillor of Urbanization, Construction and Environment at the Municipal Council of Chibuto.

Mr. Luís Numaio<sup>46</sup>, community leader / neighbourhood leader of 25 de Junho, Chibuto.

Mrs. Lídia Macau, councillor of Youth, Culture and Sports at the Municipal Council of Chibuto.

Mr. Mawai, neighbourhood leader of Bairro 3 da cidade, Chibuto.

Mr. Tchange, councillor of Governance, Economy and Finances at the Municipal Council of Chibuto.

Mrs. Beatriz Wate, secretary of the OMM in Bairro 3 da cidade, Chibuto.

Mr. Henriques Albino Machava, President of the Municipal Assembly of Chibuto.

Mrs. Rita Nascimento, Head of the Social Assistance Department at INAS, Chibuto.

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<sup>45</sup> It has to be mentioned that some of these people were interviewed several times, such as the councillors of the Municipal Council and the neighbourhood leaders.

<sup>46</sup> Unfortunately Mr. Numaio has passed away in the beginning of June 2009.



Mr. Arménio Langa, Head of Programmes at the Conselho Cristão de Moçambique (CCM), Chibuto.

Mrs. Olga, Head of Human Resources at the Municipal Council of Chibuto.

Mrs. Loira, employee at the Municipal Council's Secretary and member of the Municipal Assembly of Chibuto.

Mr. José Langa, councillor of Water, Sanitation and Electricity at the Municipal Council of Chibuto.

Mr. Osias Salvador Muiamba, Head of Accounting within the town council of Governance, Economy and Finances at the Municipal Council of Chibuto.

Mr. Mavale, technician at the town council of Urbanization, Construction and Environment at the Municipal Council of Chibuto.

Mrs. Alda, member of the Municipal Assembly and secretary of finances of the OMM at the District level, Chibuto.

Mr. Cutane, neighbourhood leader of 25 de Junho, Chibuto.

Mr. Chavisse, member of the Municipal Assembly and head of the working commission on Urbanization, Construction and Environment, Chibuto.

## 10. 6 Household questionnaire

### INQUÉRITO DOMICILIÁRIO CHIBUTO

*Governança urbana e provisão de serviços no Município de Chibuto:  
Questões de participação e género*

**Abril/Maio 2009**

Número.....

Bairro 3-  Bairro 25 Junho

Data: ...../...../2009

#### I. Dados sobre o inquirido e/ou a sua família:

1. Número de moradores na casa: .....

*(inclui membros da família que trabalham na África do Sul)*

2. Indique quantas pessoas em sua casa têm a seguinte idade?

0-4	5-12	13-17	18-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61>

3. Sexo do inquirido:  M  F

4. Idade do inquirido: .....

5. Você é :  chefe de família  marido/esposa

6. Estado civil:  casado(a)  união  divorciado(a)  separado(a)  viúvo(a)  solteiro(a)

outro.....

7. O que é que faz?

a)  trabalha<sup>47</sup>  desempregado(a)  dona de casa  estuda

outro.....

b).....

*(definir em que trabalha; se é pago (assalariado, por conta própria / com que regularidade) ou trabalhador familiar?)*

c) Quanto recebe aproximadamente por mês (em Mtn)?.....

*(ou por semana, se não souber por mês)*

47

Formal/informal?.....

8. O que é que o/a seu/sua parceiro(a) faz?

a)  trabalha<sup>48</sup>  desempregado(a)  dona de casa  estuda

outro.....

não aplicável

b).....

*(definir em que trabalha; se é pago (assalariado, por conta própria / com que regularidade) ou trabalhador familiar?)*

c) Quanto recebe aproximadamente por mês (em Meticais)?.....  
*(ou por semana, se não souber por mês)*

9. Que classe é que terminou? (1º grau: 1-5; 2º grau: 6-7; 1º ciclo: 8-10; 2º ciclo: 11-12)

sem educação/analfabeto  primária 1 2 3 4 5 6 7  secundária 8 9 10 11 12

ensino técnico incompleto  ensino técnico completo  ensino superior incompleto  ensino

superior completo  outro,.....

10. Que classe é que terminou o seu parceiro?

sem educação/analfabeto  primária 1 2 3 4 5 6 7  secundária 8 9 10 11 12

ensino técnico incompleto  ensino técnico completo  ensino superior incompleto  ensino

superior completo  outro,.....  não aplicável

11. Para além de si e/ou o(a) seu/sua parceiro(a), existe alguém nesta casa que tem um nível de instrução superior?

Sim  Não

.....

*(definir quem é e qual é o nível)*

---

48

Formal/informal?.....

12. Para além de si e/ou o(a) seu/sua parceiro(a), esta família recebe fontes de rendimento de outras pessoas? (por exemplo de filhos ou familiares que emigraram para fora, etc.)

Sim:

Relação	Idade	Ocupação	Contribuição mensal (ou semanal) em Mtn
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			

Não

## II. Talhão:

13. Há quanto tempo é que mora neste talhão (em anos)?

.....

14. Como é que teve acesso a este talhão?

família da mulher  família do homem  herança  simples ocupação  Estado

autoridade tradicional  secretário do bairro/chefe de quarteirão  empréstimo

arrendamento  compra  outro,.....

15. A casa tem?

	Sim	Não
Energia eléctrica		
Rádio		
TV		
Telemóvel		
Bicicleta		
Motorizada/carro		
Criação animal		

16. Utiliza esta terra para outros fins, para além de habitação? (**múltiplas respostas possíveis**)

Sim:  horta  árvores de fruta  criação de animais de pequena espécie  comércio

outros,.....

Não

17. Possuem algum papel/documento que diga respeito à casa ou ao talhão?

Sim, qual é a natureza do documento (quem emitiu)? (→19)

.....  
 .....

Não, porque? (→18).....  
.....

18. Pretende registar o talhão no futuro? (→23)

Sim  Não  Não sabe

19. Em que nome é que está o papel?

eu próprio  meu/minha esposo(a)  os meus pais  os meus filhos  tanto eu como o  
meu/minha esposo(a)  outro,.....

20. Quem é que tratou do processo?

eu próprio  outra pessoa,.....

21. Pode descrever como é que decorreu o processo? (*e se foi fácil, difícil, demorado, etc.*)

Sim, a saber:  
.....  
.....  
.....

Não (→23)

22. Acha que o processo deveria ter ocorrido de outra maneira?

Sim, a saber:  
.....  
.....  
.....

Não

23. Conhece quais as vantagens de ter um documento sobre o talhão?

Sim:  
.....  
.....  
.....

Não

24. Vê algumas desvantagens por possuir este documento?

Sim:  
.....  
.....  
.....

Não

25. Se amanhã vier alguém e lhe dissesse que este talhão pertence a ele/ela, como é que pode provar que o talhão é seu/da sua família?

.....  
.....  
.....

26. Já entrou em algum conflito em relação a esta parcela?

Sim, sobre?.....  
.....

Não

27. Sabe de outros casos de conflitos de terra?

Sim, sobre?.....  
.....

Não

28. Acha que o Estado ou o Município lhe poderá tirar o terreno?

Sim  Não  Não sabe

29. Quem fica com a terra no caso de morte do marido?

família do marido  família da mulher  com a viúva  filhos  não sabe

não aplicável  outras pessoas,.....

30. Sabe que também é possível registrar o talhão em nome da mulher? (*tanto só em nome dela, como no nome de ambos os parceiros numa relação*)

Sim  Não

31. O que acha desta possibilidade?

muito bom  bom  razoável  mau  muito mau  não sabe

Porquê?.....  
.....

### III. Água:

32. Onde é que costumam ir buscar água?

água canalizada dentro de casa  água canalizada fora de casa  fontanário  poço ou furo

rio ou lago  outro,.....

33. Têm sistema de captação de chuva em casa? (**explicar caso necessário**)

Sim  Não

34. No caso de ir buscar água a um fontanário, poço/furo ou rio/lago:

- a) Quem é que vai buscar água?.....  
 b) Onde é que vai buscar água?.....  
 c) Como é que vai buscar água? (*a pé, de carro, etc.*).....  
 d) De quanto em quanto tempo é que vai buscar água ?  
 .....  
 (*mais vezes por dia / uma vez por dia / cada... dias, etc.*)  
 e) Quantos bidões leva de cada vez? (*também indicar volume do bidão em litros*)  
 .....  
 f) Quanto tempo leva a ir buscar água? (*o processo inteiro*)  
 .....  
 g) Como é que avalia a distância até ao sítio onde vai buscar a água?  
 muito longe  longe  razoável  perto  muito perto  não sei  
 h) Como é que avalia o tempo na bicha para a água? (*se o tempo variar, avaliar em média*)  
 muito demorado  demorado  razoável  curto  muito curto  não sei

35. Quanto à qualidade da água:

- a) Tem cheiro?  Sim  Não  Às vezes  
 b) Tem cor?  Sim  Não  Às vezes  
 c) Tem sabor?  Sim  Não  Às vezes

36. Quanto ao preço da água:

- a) Quanto é que paga por unidade de água (em Mtn)?.....  
 b) Como é que avalia o preço da água?  
 muito bom  bom  razoável  mau  muito mau  não sei  não aplicável

37. Que mudanças concretas deseja ver no sistema de provisão de água?

.....  
 .....  
 .....

38. O Município dá alguma informação sobre:

a)

	Sim	Não	Não sei
O processo do registo de terra			
A sua cobrança de taxas (quais são e quanto é em total)			
A utilização dos seus recursos financeiros			
O melhoramento dos serviços			
Os direitos dos cidadãos			

b) Caso tenha respondido sim, achou essa informação importante?  Sim  Não  Não sei

c) Gostava de receber mais informação da parte do Município?  Sim  Não  Não sei

Sobre o quê?.....

39. Gostava de participar nas decisões do Município sobre a gestão da água? *(por exemplo participar em discussões sobre onde colocar os fontenários, quanto se deve cobrar, etc.)*

Sim  Não  Não sabe

Porquê?.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

40. Gostava de participar no processo de organização dos bairros? *(por exemplo participar nas decisões sobre o uso do terreno; se é para pôr um parque, um pequeno mercado junto ao bairro, etc.)*

Sim  Não  Não sabe

Porquê?.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

**IV. Responsabilidades na família:**

41. Quem é que controla o dinheiro em sua casa/família?

eu próprio  meu/minha esposo(a)  outro, .....

42. Quem costuma ir às instituições públicas e tratar de documentos relativos à casa, ao talhão, ao banco, etc.?

eu próprio  meu/minha esposo(a)  outro, .....

**V. Nível de organização social e participação:**

43. Em que tipo de actividades é que participa no seu bairro e/ou a nível da cidade?

- festas e actividades sociais 1. bairro / 2. cidade
- actividades religiosas 1. bairro / 2. cidade
- actividades desportivas 1. bairro / 2. cidade
- projectos sociais *(de apoio social)* 1. bairro / 2. cidade
- projectos de melhoramento físico *(limpezas; construção; jardinagem etc.)* 1. bairro / 2. Cidade
- cursos 1. bairro / 2. cidade
- outro, ..... 1. bairro / 2. cidade
- nenhum

44. Costuma ir às reuniões populares no seu bairro?

Sim, quantas vezes por mês?..... e porque?.....



.....  
.....  
.....

Não, porque? (→47).....  
.....  
.....

45. Já alguma vez participou activamente nas reuniões populares?

Sim, falando sobre que/quais assuntos?.....  
.....  
.....

Não, porque? (→47).....  
.....  
.....

46. Tem a impressão de que o seu comentário/a sua contribuição foi levado em conta?

Sim  Parcialmente  Não  Não sabe

Se a sua questão foi respondida; **que** acções concretas foram tomadas e **por quem**?

.....  
.....  
.....

47. Já alguma vez apresentou um comentário por outra via (para além das reuniões populares), por exemplo, comunicando algo ao chefe de bloco/quarteirão ou ao secretário do bairro?

Sim, através de?.....  
e sobre?.....  
.....

Não

48. Já alguma vez foi ao Conselho Municipal?

Sim, na seguinte circunstancia:  
.....  
.....

Não, porque?.....

49. De uma maneira geral, acha que os seus interesses/as suas prioridades são considerados na tomada de decisões do Município?

Sim  Parcialmente  Não  Não sabe

50. Pode explicar quais desses interesses/prioridades (não) são considerados?

.....  
.....  
.....

51. Sabe da existência de grupos, associações civis, organizações (comunitárias de base) e/ou ONGs no seu bairro/na cidade de Chibuto, e o que fazem?

Sim, a saber:

.....  
.....  
.....

Não

52. Você ou alguém do seu agregado familiar faz parte de alguns destes grupos / associações / organizações?

Sim, como?.....

.....  
.....  
.....

Não

53. Votou nas últimas eleições autárquicas?

Sim  Não

Porquê?.....

.....  
.....  
.....

*(porque é um dever cívico; gostou do candidato/do partido; por obrigação, etc., ou então porque não tinha tempo; era muito longe; estava doente; não estava interessado)*

54. Votar em homens ou mulheres é a mesma coisa?

Sim  Não  Não sabe

Porquê?.....

.....  
.....  
.....

Número.....

Bairro 3- Bairro 25 Junho

Data: ...../...../2009

**VI. Ficha de observações:**

1. Dimensão do talhão?  Pequeno  
 Médio  
 Grande
2. Quantidade de construções: .....
3. Tipo de casa(s):  Moradia  
 Casa de madeira e zinco  
 Palhota  
 Casa precária  
 Outro,.....
4. Estado das construções:  Bom  
 Médio  
 Precário
5. Presença de machamba no talhão?  Sim  
 Não

**Tirar foto do terreno e das construções!**

**(também dos fontenários, da vida social, etc.)**

## 10.7 Extra tables empirical chapters

**Table 1**

### Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7,172(b)	1	,007		
Continuity Correction(a)	5,772	1	,016		
Likelihood Ratio	6,736	1	,009		
Fisher's Exact Test				,012	,010
N of Valid Cases	86				

a Computed only for a 2x2 table

b 0 cells (,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 6,14.

### Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,289	,007
	Cramer's V	,289	,007
	Contingency Coefficient	,277	,007
N of Valid Cases		86	

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table 2** Language spoken according to neighbourhoods

Language	Neighbourhood				Total	
	Bairro 3		25 de Junho		Count	%
	Count	%	Count	%		
Changane	24	58,5	38	84,4	62	72,1
Portuguese	17	41,5	7	15,6	24	27,9
<b>Total</b>	41	100,0	45	100,0	86	100,0

**Table 3**

### Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7,157(b)	1	,007		
Continuity Correction(a)	5,928	1	,015		
Likelihood Ratio	7,299	1	,007		
Fisher's Exact Test				,009	,007
N of Valid Cases	86				

a Computed only for a 2x2 table

b 0 cells (,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 11,44.

### Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	-,288	,007
	Cramer's V	,288	,007
	Contingency Coefficient	,277	,007
N of Valid Cases		86	

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table 4** Attended level of education according to neighbourhood

Level of education	Neighbourhood				Total	
	Bairro 3		25 de Junho			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Without education/illiterate	6	14,6	13	28,9	19	22,1
1 <sup>st</sup> degree of NES	1	2,4	13	28,9	14	16,3
2 <sup>nd</sup> degree of NES	4	9,8	3	6,7	7	8,1
1 <sup>st</sup> cycle of NES	9	22,0	2	4,4	11	12,8
2 <sup>nd</sup> cycle of NES	1	2,4	1	2,2	2	2,3
Primary old system	11	26,8	12	26,7	23	26,7
Secondary old system	7	17,1	1	2,2	8	9,3
Pre-University old system	1	2,4	0	0,0	1	1,2
Higher education completed	1	2,4	0	0,0	1	1,2
<b>Total</b>	41	100,0	45	100,0	86	100,0

**Table 5** Activity of the respondent according to neighbourhood

Activity of the respondent	Neighbourhood				Total	
	Bairro 3		25 de Junho			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Economically active	28	68,3	38	84,4	66	76,7
Unemployed	3	7,3	6	13,3	9	10,5
Housewife	6	14,6	1	2,2	7	8,1
Student	4	9,8	0	0,0	4	4,7
<b>Total</b>	41	100,0	45	100,0	86	100,0

**Table 6** Occupation of the respondent according to neighbourhood

Occupation of the respondent	Neighbourhood				Total	
	Bairro 3		25 de Junho			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Farmer/land labourer	15	53,6	27	71,1	42	63,6
Service provider	1	3,6	5	13,2	6	9,1
Administrative staff	3	10,7	1	2,6	4	6,1
Merchant/salesperson	1	3,6	3	7,9	4	6,1
Construction worker	4	14,3	1	2,6	5	7,6
Craftsman/factory labourer	2	7,1	0	0,0	2	3,0
Miner	1	3,6	1	2,6	2	3,0
Government employee	1	3,6	0	0,0	1	1,5
<b>Total</b>	28	100,0	38	100,0	66	100,0

**Table 7** Level of formality of job according to the sex of the respondents

Level of formality	Sex of the respondent				Total	
	Feminine		Masculine			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Formal	5	10,6	8	42,1	13	19,7
Informal	42	89,4	11	57,9	53	80,3
<b>Total</b>	47	100,0	19	100,0	66	100,0

**Table 8** Level of formality of job according to neighbourhood

Level of formality	Neighbourhood				Total	
	Bairro 3		25 de Junho			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Formal	7	25,0	6	15,8	13	19,7
Informal	21	75,0	32	84,2	53	80,3
<b>Total</b>	28	100,0	38	100,0	66	100,0

**Table 9** Job of partner in South Africa according to neighbourhood

Job South Africa?	Neighbourhood				Total	
	Bairro 3		25 de Junho			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Yes	3	21,4	11	42,3	14	35,0
No	11	78,6	15	57,7	26	65,0
<b>Total</b>	14	100,0	26	100,0	40	100,0

**Table 10** Extra source of income according to neighbourhood

Extra source of income?	Neighbourhood				Total	
	Bairro 3		25 de Junho			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Yes	12	29,3	21	46,7	33	38,4
No	29	70,7	24	53,3	53	61,6
<b>Total</b>	41	100,0	45	100,0	86	100,0

**Table 11** Profession of the extra source of income<sup>49</sup>

	Frequency	%
Farmer/land labourer	1	3,4
Service provider	2	6,9
Administrative staff	1	3,4
Merchant/salesperson	11	37,9
Construction worker	3	10,3
Miner	4	13,8
Driver	1	3,4
Scientist/professional expert	1	3,4
Unknown	5	17,2
<b>Total</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>100,0</b>

**Table 12** Extra source of income working in South Africa according to neighbourhood

Extra source of income SA?	Neighbourhood				Total	
	Bairro 3		25 de Junho			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Yes	1	10,0	11	57,9	12	41,4
No	6	60,0	4	21,1	10	34,5
Other place outside Chibuto	3	30,0	4	21,1	7	24,1
<b>Total</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>100,0</b>

**Table 13** Size of land plot according to neighbourhood

Size of land plot	Neighbourhood				Total	
	Bairro 3		25 de Junho			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Small	17	41,5	3	6,7	20	23,3
Medium	19	46,3	24	53,3	43	50,0
Large	5	12,2	18	40,0	23	26,7
<b>Total</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>100,0</b>

**Chi-Square Tests**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	17,581(a)	2	,000
Likelihood Ratio	19,014	2	,000
Linear-by-Linear Association	16,660	1	,000
N of Valid Cases	86		

a 0 cells (,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 9,53.

<sup>49</sup> There are only 29 cases instead of 33, because 4 cases are “bodies” and not people (the government and Mosque), or military reforms from the respondents themselves.

### Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,452	,000
	Cramer's V	,452	,000
	Contingency Coefficient	,412	,000
N of Valid Cases		86	

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table 14** Possession of land registration document according to neighbourhood

Land registration document?	Neighbourhood				Total	
	Bairro 3		25 de Junho			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Unknown	4	9,8	3	6,7	7	8,1
Yes	17	41,5	15	33,3	32	37,2
No	20	48,8	27	60,0	47	54,7
<b>Total</b>	41	100,0	45	100,0	86	100,0

**Table 15** Location of water source according to neighbourhood

Location of water source	Neighbourhood				Total	
	Bairro 3		25 de Junho			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Matchai	3	7,9	13	29,5	16	19,5
Mosque	12	31,6	0	0,0	12	14,6
Market of Bela Rosa	0	0,0	7	15,9	7	8,5
Manuel Britto	0	0,0	7	15,9	7	8,5
Samora Machel	0	0,0	7	15,9	7	8,5
Somewhere in 25 de Junho	0	0,0	7	15,9	7	8,5
Centre of Bairro 3	3	7,9	0	0,0	3	3,7
Central market near Bairro 3	5	13,2	0	0,0	5	6,1
Bairro 2	3	7,9	0	0,0	3	3,7
Other	12	31,6	3	6,8	15	18,3
<b>Total<sup>50</sup></b>	38	100,0	44	100,0	82	100,0

In 25 de Junho the majority of the research population goes to the well of “Matchai” (29,5%), which is free of charge. Furthermore, the following locations are also quite popular and contain the same percentages (15,9%): the stand post at the market of Bela Rosa; other stand posts that are spread out through the neighbourhood; the well of Manuel Britto (situated in the lower, rural area, i.e. the valley) and the well in the bordering neighbourhood of Samora Machel.

It seems that the interviewed inhabitants of Bairro 3 da cidade go to a broader range of locations to get water (the category “other” is quite big, with 31,6%, containing a lot of single answers). Moreover, the same percentage (31,6%) goes to the water hole of the local Mosque. Despite the fact that it is a little more expensive to get water at the Mosque than at the public stand posts, at least the water hole functions well and the quality of the water is good. The remaining people go to the stand post at the central town market (13,2%), the stand post at the centre of Bairro 3 da cidade (7,9%), some stand post in Bairro 2 da cidade (7,9%) and the Matchai well (7,9%). The

<sup>50</sup> There are only 82 cases, because 4 are not applicable: these include the 4 households that have tap water.



few people that opt for this latter option, cover a considerable distance (even a larger distance than the people of 25 de Junho), because it is situated in the valley.

**Table 16** Length of water fetching process according to used water source and neighbourhood

Length of water fetching process	Used water source								Total	
	Public stand post		Well or hole		River or lake		Other		Count	%
<b>Bairro 3</b>	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%		
0-2 hours	2	15,4	4	23,5	0	0,0	0	0,0	6	18,8
2-4 hours	4	30,8	4	23,5	0	0,0	0	0,0	8	25,0
4-6 hours	4	30,8	4	23,5	1	100,0	0	0,0	9	28,1
6-8 hours	0	0,0	4	23,5	0	0,0	0	0,0	4	12,5
8 hours or more	3	23,1	1	5,9	0	0,0	0	0,0	5	15,6
<b>Total</b>	13	100,0	17	100,0	1	100,0	1	100,0	32	100,0
<b>25 de Junho</b>										
0-2 hours	1	6,7	15	55,6	1	50,0			17	38,6
2-4 hours	4	26,7	7	25,9	1	50,0			12	27,3
4-6 hours	4	26,7	3	11,1	0	0,0			7	15,9
6-8 hours	0	0,0	2	7,4	0	0,0			2	4,5
8 hours or more	6	40,0	0	0,0	0	0,0			6	13,6
<b>Total</b>	15	100,0	27	100,0	2	100,0			44	100,0

**Table 17** Evaluation of the distance to the water source according to used water source and neighbourhood

Evaluation of distance to water source	Used water source								Total	
	Public stand post		Well or hole		River or lake		Other		Count	%
<b>Bairro 3</b>	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%		
Unknown	1	6,7	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	1	2,8
Far	5	33,3	9	47,4	1	100,0	1	100,0	16	44,4
Reasonable	3	20,0	5	26,3	0	0,0	0	0,0	8	22,2
Close	6	40,0	5	26,3	0	0,0	0	0,0	11	30,6
<b>Total</b>	15	100,0	19	100,0	1	100,0	1	100,0	36	100,0
<b>25 de Junho</b>										
Far	5	33,3	18	66,7	0	0,0			23	52,3
Reasonable	4	26,7	8	29,6	1	50,0			13	29,5
Close	6	40,0	1	3,7	1	50,0			8	18,2
<b>Total</b>	15	100,0	27	100,0	2	100,0			44	100,0

**Table 18** Evaluation of the line to the water source according to used water source and neighbourhood

Evaluation of line to water source	Used water source								Total	
	Public stand post		Well or hole		River or lake		Other		Count	%
<b>Bairro 3</b>	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%		
Unknown	1	6,7	0	0,0	1	100,0	0	0,0	2	5,6
Slow	11	73,3	15	78,9	0	0,0	1	100,0	27	75,0
Reasonable	3	20,2	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	3	8,3
Short	0	0,0	4	21,1	0	0,0	0	0,0	4	11,1
<b>Total</b>	15	100,0	19	100,0	1	100,0	1	100,0	36	100,0
<b>25 de Junho</b>										
Slow	14	93,3	13	54,2	0	0,0			28	70,0
Reasonable	0	0,0	1	4,2	1	50,0			1	2,5
Short	1	6,7	10	41,7	1	50,0			11	27,5
<b>Total</b>	15	100,0	24	100,0	1	100,0			40	100,0

**Table 19** Opinion of the respondent on whether the water smells, according to the used water source and neighbourhood

Does the water have a smell	Used water source										Total	
	Tap water in or outside the house		Public stand post		Well or hole		River or lake		Other		Count	%
<b>Bairro 3</b>	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%		
Yes	1	33,3	2	13,3	0	0,0	1	100,0	0	0,0	4	9,8
No	1	33,3	12	80,0	19	100,0	0	0,0	3	100,0	35	85,4
Sometimes	1	33,3	1	6,7	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	2	4,9
<b>Total</b>	3	100,0	15	100,0	19	100,0	1	100,0	3	100,0	41	100,0
<b>25 de Junho</b>												
Yes	1	100,0	4	26,7	2	7,4	0	0,0			7	15,6
No	0	0,0	10	66,7	24	88,9	2	100,0			36	80,0
Sometimes	0	0,0	1	6,7	1	3,7	0	0,0			2	4,4
<b>Total</b>	1	100,0	15	100,0	27	100,0	2	100,0			45	100,0

**Table 20** Opinion of the respondent on whether the water has a colour, according to the used water source and neighbourhood

Does the water have a colour	Used water source										Total	
	Tap water in or outside the house		Public stand post		Well or hole		River or lake		Other		Count	%
<b>Bairro 3</b>	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%		
Yes	2	66,7	5	33,3	3	15,8	0	0,0	1	33,3	11	26,8
No	1	33,3	7	46,7	15	78,9	1	100,0	2	66,7	26	63,4
Sometimes	0	0,0	3	20,0	1	5,3	0	0,0	0	0,0	4	9,8
<b>Total</b>	3	100,0	15	100,0	19	100,0	1	100,0	3	100,0	41	100,0
<b>25 de Junho</b>												
Yes	1	100,0	4	26,7	9	33,3	0	0,0			14	31,1
No	0	0,0	9	60,0	16	59,3	2	100,0			27	60,0
Sometimes	0	0,0	2	13,3	2	7,4	0	0,0			4	8,9
<b>Total</b>	1	100,0	15	100,0	27	100,0	2	100,0			45	100,0

**Table 21** Opinion of the respondent on whether the water has a taste, according to the used water source and neighbourhood

Does the water have a taste	Used water source										Total	
	Tap water in or outside the house		Public stand post		Well or hole		River or lake		Other		Count	%
<b>Bairro 3</b>	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%		
Yes	0	0,0	2	13,3	1	5,3	0	0,0	0	0,0	3	7,3
No	3	100,0	13	86,7	18	94,7	1	100,0	3	100,0	38	92,7
<b>Total</b>	3	100,0	15	100,0	19	100,0	1	100,0	3	100,0	41	100,0
<b>25 de Junho</b>												
Yes	1	100,0	9	60,0	13	48,1	1	50,0			24	53,3
No	0	0,0	5	33,3	14	51,9	1	50,0			20	44,4
Sometimes	0	0,0	1	6,7	0	0,0	0	0,0			1	2,2
<b>Total</b>	1	100,0	15	100,0	27	100,0	2	100,0			45	100,0

**Table 22** Level of active participation at popular meetings according to the sex of the respondents

Active participation	Sex of the respondent				Total	
	Feminine		Masculine		Count	%
	Count	%	Count	%		
Yes	12	20,3	9	45,0	21	26,6
No	47	79,7	11	55,0	58	73,4
<b>Total</b>	59	100,0	20	100,0	79	100,0

**Chi-Square Tests**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4,655(b)	1	,031		
Continuity Correction(a)	3,477	1	,062		
Likelihood Ratio	4,368	1	,037		
Fisher's Exact Test				,042	,034
N of Valid Cases	79				

a Computed only for a 2x2 table

b 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5,32.

### Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by	Phi	-,243	,031
Nominal	Cramer's V	,243	,031
	Contingency Coefficient	,236	,031
N of Valid Cases		79	

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table 23** Active participation at popular meetings according to average monthly household income

Active participation	Household income categories in MZN																		Total	
	0-500		500-1000		1000-1500		1500-2000		2000-2500		2500-5000		5000-10000		10000 or more		N/A		Ct	%
	Ct	%	Ct	%	Ct	%	Ct	%	Ct	%	Ct	%	Ct	%	Ct	%	Ct	%		
Yes	1	6,3	3	27,3	3	60,0	1	14,3	1	25,0	3	27,3	6	46,2	1	25,0	2	25,0	21	26,6
No	15	93,8	8	72,7	2	40,0	6	85,7	3	75,0	8	72,7	7	53,8	3	75,0	6	75,0	58	73,4
<b>Total</b>	16	100,0	11	100,0	5	100,0	7	100,0	4	100,0	11	100,0	13	100,0	4	100,0	8	100,0	79	100,0

**Table 24** Active participation at popular meetings according to attended level of education

Active participation	Attended level of education of the respondent																		Total	
	Without education/i illiterate		1 <sup>st</sup> degree of NES		2 <sup>nd</sup> degree of NES		1 <sup>st</sup> cycle of NES		2 <sup>nd</sup> cycle of NES		Primary old system		Secondary old system		Pre-University old system		Higher Education completed		Ct	%
	Ct	%	Ct	%	Ct	%	Ct	%	Ct	%	Ct	%	Ct	%	Ct	%	Ct	%		
Yes	3	17,6	3	21,4	2	28,6	1	12,5	1	50,0	7	31,8	4	57,1	0	0,0	0	0,0	21	26,6
No	14	82,4	11	78,6	5	71,4	7	87,5	1	50,0	15	68,2	3	42,9	1	100,0	1	100,0	58	73,4
<b>Total</b>	17	100,0	14	100,0	7	100,0	8	100,0	2	100,0	22	100,0	7	100,0	1	100,0	1	100,0	79	100,0

**Table 25** Topics raised at popular meetings according to the sex of the respondents

Topics raised	Sex of the respondent				Total	
	Feminine		Masculine		Count	%
	Count	%	Count	%		
The robbery and safety problem in the neighbourhood	2	16,7	4	44,4	6	28,6
The water problem	5	41,7	1	11,1	6	28,6
The improvement of services	1	8,3	1	11,1	2	9,5
Forgotten topic	2	16,7	0	0,0	2	9,5
Other	2	16,7	3	33,3	5	23,8
<b>Total</b>	12	100,0	9	100,0	21	100,0

**Table 26** Topics raised at popular meetings according to neighbourhood

Topics raised	Neighbourhood				Total	
	Bairro 3		25 de Junho		Count	%
	Count	%	Count	%		
The robbery and safety problem in the neighbourhood	1	14,3	5	35,7	6	28,6
The water problem	4	57,1	2	14,3	6	28,6
The improvement of services	1	14,3	1	7,1	2	9,5
Forgotten topic	0	0,0	2	14,3	2	9,5
Other	1	14,3	4	28,6	5	23,8
<b>Total</b>	7	100,0	14	100,0	21	100,0

**Table 27** Topics raised with local neighbourhood structure according to neighbourhood

Topics raised	Neighbourhood				Total	
	Bairro 3		25 de Junho		Count	%
	Count	%	Count	%		
Social problems	4	30,8	7	43,8	11	37,9
Robbery	1	7,7	3	18,8	4	13,8
Land conflicts	2	15,4	1	6,3	3	10,3
The water problem	0	0,0	2	12,5	2	6,9
Obtainment of a declaration	1	7,7	1	6,3	2	6,9
Warning about event	3	23,1	1	6,3	4	13,8
Other	2	15,4	1	6,3	3	10,3
<b>Total</b>	13	100,0	16	100,0	29	100,0

**Table 28** Topics raised with local neighbourhood structure according to the sex of the respondents

Topics raised	Sex of the respondent				Total	
	Feminine		Masculine			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Social problems	8	36,4	3	42,9	11	37,9
Robbery	3	13,6	1	14,3	4	13,8
Land conflicts	3	13,6	0	0,0	3	10,3
The water problem	2	9,1	0	0,0	2	6,9
Obtainment of a declaration	1	4,5	1	14,3	2	6,9
Warning about event	4	18,2	0	0,0	4	13,8
Other	1	4,5	2	28,6	3	10,3
<b>Total</b>	22	100,0	7	100,0	29	100,0

**Table 29** Visit Municipal Council according to the sex of the respondents

Visit Municipal Council?	Sex of the respondent				Total	
	Feminine		Masculine			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Yes	32	50,0	15	68,2	47	54,7
No	32	50,0	7	31,8	39	45,3
<b>Total</b>	64	100,0	22	100,0	86	100,0

**Table 30** Information provision of the Municipal Council

Information	Yes		No		Unknown		Total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Land registration	54	62,8	12	14,0	20	23,3	86	100,0
Tax collection	7	8,1	60	69,8	19	22,1	86	100,0
Use of financial resources	8	9,3	53	61,6	25	29,1	86	100,0
Improvement of services	53	61,6	17	19,8	16	18,6	86	100,0
Rights of the citizens	48	55,8	24	27,9	14	16,3	86	100,0

**Table 31** Information on land registration according to neighbourhood

Info land registration	Neighbourhood				Total	
	Bairro 3		25 de Junho			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Yes	17	41,5	37	82,2	54	62,8
No	10	24,4	2	4,4	12	14,0
Unknown	14	34,1	6	13,3	20	23,3
<b>Total</b>	41	100,0	45	100,0	86	100,0

### Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	15,789(a)	2	,000
Likelihood Ratio	16,514	2	,000
Linear-by-Linear Association	11,416	1	,001
N of Valid Cases	86		

a 0 cells (,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5,72.

### Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,428	,000
	Cramer's V	,428	,000
	Contingency Coefficient	,394	,000
N of Valid Cases		86	

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis

**Table 32** Information on tax collection according to neighbourhood

Info tax collection	Neighbourhood				Total	
	Bairro 3		25 de Junho			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Yes	6	14,6	1	2,2	7	8,1
No	26	63,4	34	75,6	60	69,8
Unknown	9	22,0	10	22,2	19	22,1
<b>Total</b>	41	100,0	45	100,0	86	100,0

**Table 33** Information on rights of the citizens according to neighbourhood

Info citizen's rights	Neighbourhood				Total	
	Bairro 3		25 de Junho			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Yes	20	48,8	28	62,2	48	55,8
No	11	26,8	13	28,9	24	27,9
Unknown	10	24,4	4	8,9	14	16,3
<b>Total</b>	41	100,0	45	100,0	86	100,0