Saide Jamal

# THE ROLE OF PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING
# IN PROMOTING URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN MOZAMBIQUE

November 2017

· U    C ·

UNIVERSIDADE DE COIMBRA

**Saide Jamal**

*The role of participatory budgeting in promoting urban development in Mozambique*

PhD Thesis in Human Rights in Contemporary Societies, supervised by Professor Maria Paula Meneses and Giovanni Allegretti, and being submitted hereby to the Interdisciplinary Research Institute of Coimbra University in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the granting of a doctorate degree.

Coimbra, Portugal

2017

**REPÚBLICA DE MOÇAMBIQUE**
**PROVÍNCIA DE INHAMBANE**
**GOVERNO DO DISTRITO DE MASSINGA**

*To Yasmin Algy Jamal, full of love*

# Acknowledgements

*"Only tribes held together by group feeling can live in the desert."*

(Ibn Khaldun 1958, p.333)[*]

[*]Ibn Khaldun ([1377]1958), *The Muqaddimah*, Translated by Franz Rosenthal. New Jersey: Prince Town University Press.

**Abstract**

The current democratisation of Mozambique has to be described and analysed in relation to a vast array of existing mechanisms of citizen consultation and participation at the local level. This has entailed electoral citizen-centric processes, negotiations and discourses on development plans, concomitant with budget allocations devised to ensure consensual decision-making. There is strong evidence in the literature to show that participatory governance mechanisms directly contribute to deepening local democracy in cities and municipalities that have adopted it around the world. Consequently, its adoption and implementation became increasingly in many countries and is being taken to sustain administrative and political reforms throughout developing countries. However, whereas there is extensive literature on the topic of local democracy, participatory budgeting concerning the rights to municipal and urban development remains one of the most under-explored aspects of democratic decentralisation (Cabannes & Delgado 2015; Chigbu et al. 2017). It is crucial that if we are to understand how decentralisation contributes to the promotion of urban development, two aspects of human rights pertinent to urban development are essential, they are the right to the city and inclusionary rights to urban planning.

The main purpose of this doctoral thesis is to examine the socioeconomic and political role played by citizens and a set of local actors (civil society organisations; local consultative councils; public participation professionals; NGOs; local government; and private sector) through participatory processes that promote urban development and social well-being in Mozambique. It demonstrates how the mechanism of decentralisation has contributed to enhancing the protection of the right to the city and the promotion of local democracy. The thesis questions a variety of concepts and methods, from the social and economic perspective to the political relationships among the actors involved. Furthermore, it presents how the citizens' rights to participate in public affairs is granted and promoted through bottom-up democratic innovations, and its interactions with the top-down mechanisms. Its methodological approach is based on transnational models of citizen participation in urban affairs proposed by Sintomer et al., (2012; 2013) and Arnstein (1969)' ladder of citizen participation, to study the degrees of citizen involvement in municipal planning and participatory budgeting.

The thesis explored two case studies: the urban planning in Maxixe in the south and, the Quelimane participatory budgeting in central Mozambique. Due to the aims of this thesis and its adopted methodology, the practical research is based on data collected

from secondary sources; and participatory action research that explored the role played by all stakeholders who operate significant social changes in both Maxixe and Quelimane. The researcher spent eight months observing local dynamics, attending public consultation meetings and addressing questions and issues relevant to the study. To analyse the complex framework of this study, the researcher applied grounded theory and document analysis because it allows departure from the case study to the conception of theory during data analysis.

Based on the analyses made, this thesis argues that, despite the great emancipator capacity tied to participatory budgeting process in Mozambique and the actions taken to promote citizens' engagement in urban development, the rights to participate in the conception, management and enjoyment of the city is stratified upon territorial asymmetry and thus is not equally granted to all Mozambican citizens. Consequently, there are social resentment and a potential conflict of interests which may turn into a total distrust of the democratic institutions and its incumbents resulting from the degree of non-participation. Even though the idea of participatory budgeting in Mozambique is usually associated with a mechanism of social and economic development, in practice, the local participatory budgeting process is not necessarily linked to the promotion of urban development or the citizens' rights to the city. It is oriented to operate inter-institutional innovations and modernisation of the public administration procedures in line with the process of decentralisation, deconcentration and local power-sharing. Therefore, the citizens' involvement in the urban affairs is restricted to a symbolic act of consultation (direct or by representation) to legitimating the urban planning and activities. Given this situation, citizens are powerless to influence and change the decisions already taken. In fact, Mozambique is yet to promote and secure full citizenship rights in the city and urban development

Keywords: Right to the city; decentralisation; participatory budgeting; urban development, Mozambique.

**Resumo**

O atual processo de democratização em Moçambique deve ser visto na sua relação com os inúmeros mecanismos de consulta e participação pública nas deliberações locais, visíveis num processo eleitoral baseado no indivíduo, nas negociações e discussões dos planos de desenvolvimento e os respetivos orçamentos. Há evidências na literatura que comprovam que os mecanismos de governação participativa contribuem diretamente para o aperfeiçoamento da democracia local nas cidades e municípios que os implementam. Consequentemente, a sua adoção e implementação tem sido expressiva em vários países, particularmente naqueles em vias de desenvolvimento. Contrariamente ao que se passa com a democracia local, o orçamento participativo na sua dimensão do direito à cidade, é um aspeto ainda pouco explorado e estudado (Cabannes & Delgado 2015; Chigbu et al. 2017). O orçamento participativo é crucial para a forma como a descentralização contribui para a promoção de duas questões dos direitos humanos pertinentes nesta tese − direito à cidade e os respetivos direitos a planificação e desenvolvimento urbano. O objetivo desta tese de doutoramento é o de examinar, através dos orçamentos participativos, o papel social, económico e político dos cidadãos e dos diversos atores locais, na proteção e promoção do direito à cidade, à democracia local, ao desenvolvimento urbano e ao bem-estar social em Moçambique. As questões aqui discutidas levam-nos a questionar diversos conceitos e modelos, desde a perspetiva social e económica ao relacionamento político dos atores envolvidos. Nestes termos, pretende apurar-se de que modo o direito à participação nas questões locais é promovido e concedido a partir de inovações democráticas ascendentes (dos cidadãos em relação ao estado), e a sua interação com os mecanismos do estado (em relação aos cidadãos). Deste modo, recorre-se à uma abordagem baseada nos modelos transnacionais de participação cidadã concebidos por Sintomer et al., (2012; 2013) e a escala de participação de Arnstein (1969), para descrever o grau de envolvimento dos cidadãos nos planos municipais e nos orçamentos participativos. Entretanto, foram conduzidos dois estudos de caso, a saber: a participação cidadã nos planos de desenvolvimento urbano no município da Maxixe no sul, e nos orçamentos participativos em Quelimane, no centro de Moçambique. Para os objetivos desta tese e a metodologia aqui proposta, a pesquisa consistiu em recolha de dados secundários e primários obtidos através da pesquisa-ação participativa, com o objetivo de apurar o papel dos atores locais de desenvolvimento e o grau do seu envolvimento nas questões locais em Maxixe e Quelimane. Para tal, observaram-se as

dinâmicas locais através de participação em reuniões de consultas públicas. E, na sua analise, recorreu-se a teoria fundamentada nos dados do estudo de caso. Deste modo, o estudo conclui que, apesar do grande potencial emancipador dos orçamentos participativos em Moçambique e as ações objetivas de promoção do engajamento dos cidadãos no desenvolvimento urbano, o direito à participação na conceção, gestão e "usufruto" da vida na cidade não é universalmente garantido a todos os Moçambicanos. Isto ocorre sobretudo porque os mecanismos locais de participação tendem a ser estratificados com base em assimetrias territoriais. Desta forma, como resultado da não participação cidadã, é evidente a existência de descontentamento social e de um potencial conflito de interesses que pode resultar num total descrédito dos cidadãos em relação as instituições democráticas e aos seus incumbentes. Apesar da narrativa criada à volta do orçamento participativo em Moçambique estar "sempre" associada ao desenvolvimento económico, social, e político, na prática, apresenta evidências pouco significativas da sua ligação ao desenvolvimento urbano e ao direito à cidade. Por outro lado, constatam-se evidências da sua orientação para a modernização dos procedimentos internos da administração pública, aperfeiçoamento e reforço da partilha de poder pelos atores locais. Por conseguinte, o envolvimento dos cidadãos nas questões locais é restrito ao âmbito de uma consulta pública frágil, que legitima os planos e as atividades dos governos locais. Deste modo, a participação pública em Moçambique está longe de garantir plenos direitos aos cidadãos.

Palavras-chave: Direito à cidade; descentralização; orçamento participativo; desenvolvimento urbano; Moçambique.

## List of illustrations

## Abbreviations and Acronyms

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ANC | African National Congress | Congresso Nacional Africano |
| CCLs | Local Consultative Councils | Conselhos Consultivos Locais |
| CCm | Local Committees | Comités Locais |
| CFMP | Midterm Fiscal Planning Scenario | Cenário Fiscal de Médio Prazo |
| CIP | The Mozambique' Centre for Public Integrity | Centro de Integridade Pública de Moçambique |
| CLEP | United Nations Commission on Legal Empowerment of the Poor | Comissão das Nações Unidas para o Empoderamento Legal dos Pobres |
| CNE | National Electoral Commission | Comissão Nacional de Eleições |
| CRM | The Constitution of the Republic of Mozambique | Constituição da República de Moçambique |
| DM | Ministerial Diploma | Diploma Ministerial |
| DUAT | Land Use Right | Direito de Uso e Aproveitamento de Terra |
| EDM | National Electricity Supply Company in Mozambique | Electricidade de Moçambique |
| FCA | Intergovernmental Compensation Fund | Fundo de Compensação Autárquica |
| FDD | Fund for Local Development | Fundo Distrital de Desenvolvimento |
| FL | Local Forum | Forum Local |
| FRELIMO | Mozambique Liberation Front (Political Party) | Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Partido Político) |
| Frelimo | Mozambique Liberation Front (Movement) | Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Movimento) |
| GDP | Gross Domestic Product | Produto Interno Bruto |
| GIZ | Deutsche Agency for International Development | Agência Alemã para o Desenvolvimento |
| IAV | Municipal Vehicle Tax | Imposto Autárquico de Veículos |
| IMF | International Monetary Fund | Fundo Monetário Internacional |

| INE | National Statistics Institute | Instituto Nacional de Estatística |
|---|---|---|
| INGO | International non-Governmental Organisation | Organizações Internacionais não-Governamentais |
| IPA | Municipal Poll Tax | Imposto Pessoal Autárquico |
| IPCCs | Institutions of Participation and Community Consultation | Instituições de Participação e Consulta Comunitária |
| IPRA | Municipal Building Tax | Imposto Predial Autárquico |
| IRN | National Reconstruction Tax | Imposto de Reconstrução Nacional |
| ISISA | Municipal Property Tax | Imposto Autárquico de SISA |
| LDH | The Mozambique's Human Rights League | Liga Moçambicana dos Direitos Humanos |
| LIFEMO | Mozambique Women League | Liga Feminina Moçambicana |
| MA | Municipal Assembly | Assembleia Municipal |
| MAEFP | Ministry of State Administration | Ministério da Administração Estatal e Função Pública |
| MASC | Civil Society Support Mechanism | Mecanismo de Apoio à Sociedade Civil |
| MC | Municipal Council | Conselho Municipal |
| MDG | Millennium Development Goals | Objetivos de Desenvolvimento do Milénio |
| MDM | Mozambique Democratic Movement | Movimento Democrático de Moçambique |
| MEF | Ministry of Economy and Finance | Ministério de Economia e Finanças |
| RENAMO | Mozambican National Resistance Movement (Political Party) | Resistência Nacional Moçambicana (Partido Político) |
| MNR/Renamo-EU | Coalition – MNR/Renamo and Electoral Union | Coligação – Resistência Nacional de Moçambique e União Eleitoral |
| MNR/Renamo | Mozambique National Resistance (Movement) | Resistência Nacional de Moçambique (Movimento) |
| MPD | Ministry of Planning and Development | Ministério da Planificação e Desenvolvimento |
| NEPAD | New Partnership for Africa's | Nova Parceria para o |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Development | Desenvolvimento de África |
| OIIL | Budget for Local Initiatives | Orçamento de Investimento para as Iniciativas Locais |
| OMM | Mozambique's Women Organisation | Organização da Mulher Moçambicana |
| P – 13 | Joint Municipal Support Programme to 13 Municipalities in Central and Northern Mozambique | Programa de Apoio a 13 Municípios do Centro e Norte de Moçambique |
| PADEM | Support Programme for Municipal Development | Programa de Apoio à Descentralização Municipal |
| PAI | Inclusive Presidency | Presidência Aberta e Inclusiva |
| PAR | Participatory Action Research | Pesquisa-Ação Participativa |
| PARPA | Mozambique' Poverty Reduction Strategy | Plano de Ação para a Redução da Pobreza Absoluta |
| PB | Participatory Budgeting | Orçamento Participativo |
| PEND | National Policy and Strategy of Decentralisation | Política e Estratégia Nacional de Descentralização |
| PERPU | Urban Poverty Reduction Programme | Programa Estratégico para a Redução da Pobreza Urbana |
| PESOD | Social, Economic and State Budget Planning | Plano Económico e Social e o Orçamento do Estado |
| PEU | Urban Planning | Plano de Estrutura Urbana |
| PNPFD | National Program for Decentralised Planning and Finances | Programa Nacional de Planificação e Finanças Descentralizadas |
| PPP | Public Participation Professionals | Profissionais da Participação Pública |
| PQG | Five years term' Government Programme | Programa Quinquenal do Governo |
| PRE | Economic Rehabilitation Plan | Programa de Reabilitação Económica |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| PRES | Economic and Social Rehabilitation Plan | Programa de Reabilitação Económica e Social |
| PROGOV | Program for Municipal' Democratic Governance | Programa de Governação Autárquica Democrática |
| PROL | Local State Board' Reform Programme | Programa de Reforma dos Órgãos Locais |
| PT | Worker's Party - Brazil | Partido os Trabalhadores - Brasil |
| SADC | Southern African Development Community | Comunidade para o Desenvolvimento da África Austral |
| TA | Administrative Court | Tribunal Administrativo |
| TAE | Economic Activity Fee | Taxa por Atividade Económica |
| UA | African Union | União Africana |
| UCLG | United Cities and Local Governments | Cidades Unidas e Governos Locais |
| UKAID | United Kingdom Aid Programmes | Programa Britânico para ajuda ao Desenvolvimento |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Programme | Programa das Nações Unidas para o Desenvolvimento |
| WB | World Bank | Banco Mundial |

# Table of Contents

# INTRODUCTION

Major events in Mozambique in the 1960s-70s (liberation war), the 80s (civil war) and 90s (natural disasters and Peace Agreement in 1992) caused a significant amount of the rural population to flee to the urban centres for improved safety and living. This rural exodus has affected the normal distribution of the population in the city and has given rise to settlements in the areas surrounding the urban centres. The migrants living in these neighbourhoods work in the metropolitan centres and have introduced different dynamics to the city through their contributions to formal and informal businesses. They also present new challenges to the city authorities with regard to the living conditions, urban land management, public services, housing and urbanisation.

Mozambique's urban centres host about 35% of the country's 24 million inhabitants. The number of those who live in the urban areas is constantly growing, from two million in 1980 to 4.5 million in 1997. The population is expected to double in the coming years (UN-Habitat 2007). Because of their importance and contributions to the economy, research and technology, business and industry as well as to public policy, the cities in Mozambique are responsible for 80% to 90% of the gross domestic product – GDP (UNDP 1998). Perhaps, this is the reason why much of the research of citizen participation in urban affairs in Mozambique have focused on the big cities of the 'great Maputo', Matola, Beira and Nampula (Araújo 2003).

Citizen engagement in a small scale municipality in Mozambique and the way the local power is produced and exercised in lower-level jurisdictions along with the need for a new form of participation inspired by the growing disaffection towards representative mechanisms (Lundini & Jamisse 1996; Jamal 2014) can be analysed based on the transnational models of citizen participation conceived by Sintomer et al. (2012; 2013), and the ladder of citizen participation conceptualised by Arnstein (1969). This would ascertain the degree of citizen involvement in urban planning in Maxixe and participatory budgeting in Quelimane. To this end, this thesis is divided into two parts as follows.

The first part comprises three chapters, excluding the introduction and discusses theoretical and methodological issues. The first chapter explores the relationship between human rights and the right to the city along with theories of the state. The second chapter discusses the process of decentralisation and deconcentration of the state power. The third chapter describes Yves Sintomer's transnational model of participatory budgeting, the ladder of citizen participation by Sherry Arnstein and the phases of urban planning.

The second part consists of four chapters, where the topic of this thesis is discussed in the context of Mozambique. Two case studies are included. The fourth chapter explores the process of decentralisation in Mozambique, the legal and administrative framework, as well as the dimension of local power and problems. The fifth chapter investigates participatory budgeting in Mozambique and the issues of gender equity in the planning process. The urban planning in Maxixe is presented, analysed and discussed in chapter six. Chapter seven focuses on participatory budgeting in Quelimane followed by the outcomes, recommendations and the final remarks are presented.

**Statement of the problem and objectives**

Over the last two decades, remarkable evolutions have transpired globally concerning social, economic, political and urban development. Part of this involves the ways in which political power is exercised (top-down perspectives), and the way this political power is appropriated and challenged by the excluded groups (bottom-up perspectives) as well as the importance and meaning given to the place where the government/citizen relationship occurs (Foucault 1982).

Studies on urban development and urban sociology in Africa have focused on how people organise their social and economic relations, and how they experience life in the urbanised and non-urbanised spaces (Myers 2010; Veríssimo 2015; Castela & Meneses 2015). The built-based approach to define urban space is usually associated with the notion of city and urbanisation in Africa though criteria and norms inherited from the colonial legacy. It is a concept considered essential to shaping the relationships between the local government and ordinary citizen (Mbembe 2001b; Olowu 2003). Consequently, the city structured in this way and the rights and liberties associated with such a conception is determined on the basis of the dichotomization of local realities. The question of duality is problematic because it reflects two different unified and settled realities. In fact, what exists is a systematic social, political and economic interaction between both, planned and non-planned contexts.

In order to provide an in-depth analysis of African cities, we consider the city a physical (planned and non-planned) environment where social relations (formal and informal) occur and citizenship is exercised. Formal social relations mean the (inter)dependent relationships established by the citizens under the frame of the organisation' norms or the state's law. These encompass regulations, procedures and

normative structures through institutionalised mechanisms. As for the informal relations (networks of personal ties), they are based on extra-legal measures and practices and include the vast array of activities and practices carried out by actors in illegal conditions (Cruz e Silva 2003; Francisco & Paulo 2006). It means that the actors involved in the continuous process of construction of social, political and economic relations should be in line with the domestic legal framework (Monteiro 2011). Otherwise, they risk being considered informal. Nevertheless, formal and informal relations can be established in planned and non-planned contexts.

The common vision of conceiving and perceiving a city based on a built and planned environment may lead to a fragmentation of the whole reality leading to a misunderstanding of what a city should be. Although the social-based approach to the city may not be unanimous among scholars, particularly among conservatives, the majority of scholars agrees that the concept of the city only makes sense when associated with their residents (Lefebvre 1971; 2003; Myers 2010).

This thesis explores the ways in which citizenship is produced, promoted and implemented in the planned areas through the engagement of the residents in the urban affairs, and their relationship with local governments in Mozambique. It explores the impact of the local commitment to the core of the local democracy. The research underlines the institutionalisation of deliberative democracy. It examines the socioeconomic and political role played by the citizens and local actors through participatory processes that promote urban development and social well-being in Mozambique. Then, we demonstrate how this mechanism of decentralisation has contributed to enhancing the protection of rights to the city and the promotion of local democracy.

Our theoretical aim is to examine the concept of *urban* in Africa as a product of modern Western thought, called "abyssal thinking" (Santos 2007). As we will see, the colonial models of cities remain the dominant reference for many planners, residents and governments. These models are based on an urban/rural dichotomy by which the urban is defined as the planned, urbanised and built environment which contrast with the unplanned and the 'marginal' space occupied by isolated communities that lack public services.

This city approach to infrastructure and formal view may clash with the current realities of most African cities. In our understanding, the conception of cities without acknowledging the social interactions could lead to misleading outcomes. To be clear, the

notion of city inherited from Western modernity has one notion of "proper" communities, and the marginalised majority in informal (peri-urban) settlements falls outside of the notion of what a city should be (Watson 2007).

The Western approach to thinking and producing the global realities consists of visible and invisible distinction. These distinctions on the notion of the city can produce social realities separated by radical lines that divide the socio-political context into two different perspectives: "the privileged context" where social regulation and the social emancipation occur and "the unlucky and invisible reality" where appropriation and violence occur and produces the *non-humans* (Santos 2007).

Boaventura de Sousa Santos considers that "the modern knowledge and law act on behalf of that abyssal thinking" and, it seems to be expanding the colonial project and of telling the Western novel aiming to boost the abyssal line (Santos 2007). The fact that the modern knowledge is founded on abyssal thinking underscores its Eurocentric undertones. Meanwhile, democracy, human rights, scientific knowledge, economic models and socio-political models of the organisation have been following the abyssal interpretation.

Most of the Western models for Africa emphasise that rhetoric. The notion of the city, the human rights norms and the public participation are good examples to explain the continuity and discontinuity in dealing with African complexity. Apart from the imported forms of public participation based on the different logic of social interaction, in Africa, there is a variety of social public participation in local issues from that customary-based to the "hybridised models"[1] of public participation.

Due to the lack of representativeness of Mozambique democracy and models of public participation in the local government, and also the increasing tendency on abyssal practices (Santos 2007), this thesis explores the conditions to produce alternatives to deal with the social, economic and political conflicts present in Mozambique. It answers the question: "to what extent does the institutionalised mechanisms of citizen participation in decision-making forums promote urban development and rights to the city?"

---

[1] Models of public participation are founded through integration of local-based and imported from different values or political culture. Different experiments and models of the social regulations have been implemented in Africa throughout the "third wave of democratic transition" (Khadiagala & Mitullah 2004).

**Citizen participation in the State's administration**

Today, democracy (free elections, freedom of speech and public participation in local affairs) and human rights (rights and liberties) are the most widespread social and political rhetoric. These arguments stand as a "mascot" of development agendas in many countries (UNDP 1999), and, a struggle-driving force to securing citizens' rights and liberties of the helpless groups (Santos 2012).

The role of the state representatives and the citizen participation in the state administration and urban development has historically been a problematic issue in the state/citizens relation (Manor 2013). The other issue is dealing with local diversity within the state functionalism[2] model. This model concerns the public administration process, concepts, dynamics, norms and regulations which makes the state bureaucracy function. Although the multicultural democratic system is designed to focus, enhance and promote active engagement of the citizens and maintain a "certain level" of the state sovereignty towards radical citizens (Olowu 2003), there will exist a cloud of possible top-down and bottom-up cleavages. It means that there is an intrinsic relationship between democracy and human rights which cannot be taken as granted as a full discourse of freedom.

This aspect may lead to an understanding that the contemporary challenges of governance demand a complex account of the forms in which those who are subject to laws and regulations should be part of the process of conception and implementation of such measures because they are the primary beneficiaries of the role of the government (Fung 2006). The degree of public involvement and transparency of the public administration and the level of local development essentially reflects the local democracy and human rights.

Therefore, functionally, public participation in local affairs impacts on state/citizen relations. In the democratic context, this scope of state/citizens relations gravitate over three domains: a) electoral rights – the rights to vote and be voted; b) active citizens' participation in local affairs and, c) human rights and liberties linked to economic and

---

[2] This term was initially applied in analytic philosophy and in cognitive science to refer the relationship between the mental state and the behavioural complexion. In this view, functionalism was discussed in different approach. The formulation of functionalism which come close to our aim here is that explored by Putnam when underlined the mind. Functional organisation and the mental state are functional state. Putnam see functional organisation as a set of functional state with their functional relations, where functional relation is defined by its causal relations to inputs, outputs, and other functional states. As we mention earlier, we use the state functionalism in analogy to the Putnam view (Putman 1960). For details, see Armstrong (1970, p.67; 79)

political participation, which encompasses freedom of assembly, association and expression and the rights to information and education (UNGA 1966).

However, the (in)coherence among the "rules on paper and rules in practice" has led to democratic deficit and social disaffection. Many people today believe that it is important to live in a democratic society with respect of human rights principles and promotion of local development, yet they remain dissatisfied when they evaluate how democracy works in practice (Norris 2011).

The substantive forms of restrictions (discriminatory legal restrictions; the status of citizenship, and other restrictions) on citizen political participation in urban affairs applied by many governments, risks to transforming the human rights and democratic values into a simply mercy of the local governments. Consequently, it is nourishing the growing gap between the state and the citizens over impregnation of new struggles and claims of political representation.

The role of the citizens in deepening democracy and promoting urban development in developing countries like Mozambique has been discussed. These studies show that the citizen's participation in urban policies and development is essential to tune the social demands and contribute to sustainable responses of the public problems (Santos 1998a; Abers 2000; Avritzer 2002; Hanlon 2004; Nguenha 2014; Sintomer et al. 2013), and on leading paths to social justice and human dignity (Bratton & Van de Walle 1994; Donnelly 2013).

This utilitarian approach of citizens' involvement may raise concerns about how much and what kind of direct and indirect participation should exist in modern states to lead to authentic and intensive local democracy, or even, hold problems concerning the boundaries between collective decisions and the degree of individual autonomy. In other words, we should question the quality and improvement of the citizens' engagement in the city affairs.[3]

---

[3] In response to this concern, Fung (2006) suggests a deepen analysis of the range of proximate values that mechanisms of participation might advance and the problems that they seek to address. In this aspect, let us agree with Elinor Ostrom (1996)' point of view by which she underlines that as long as citizens and local government represented by public officials continue to see a great divide between them, the potential synergies will ever remain simple potentialities. What makes great this assumption is not its capacity in placing responsibilities on both, citizens and government however, its focus on improving social, political and economic relations among the actors involved in the process of conception and development of cities.

**Spotting African Realities: participation and citizenship**

The classic thought on participation demonstrates that policy implementation by citizens is part of participation (Fischer 1993). Prior to Aaron Wildavsky' definition, Sidney Verba and Norman H. Nie thrashed out the political participation as a complete process by citizens aimed to influence decision-making actions (Nie et al. 1974; Verba & Nie 1987). In this regard, public participation can be presented in political participation and the social participation.

The idea of political participation in the local affairs in many African countries has roots linked to the traditional practices of the social and political organisation. Many scholars in the field of social science and humanities on the idea that a central feature of ancient African societies is the sense of brotherhood, reciprocity and participation of the members in communal everyday life. All of these continue today (Asante 1969; Mudimbe 1988; Mamdani 1996; Kabunda Badi 2000; Chabal 2009). This reality, acquired from the past, is supposedly common in almost all African countries. It is widely believed that this approach to human socialisation promotes social cohesion and political stability. Thinking in such way, however, creates a simple causality because Africa is not homogeneous.

Although the realm of tradition and the social reciprocity among Africans is undeniable, in reality, if we look at the history and analyse the facts accurately, we see complex relationships and interconnections of different practices and facts based on different thoughts. This is the reason why the understanding of harmful events, social and political grievances in Africa require an empirical understanding of the local and current context as well as the role played by the colonial legacy (Mbembe 2001b).

Postcolonial Africa has been largely characterised by events which are directly connected with the legacies and impacts of colonialism, as well as the product of modern globalisation. There is, of course, no doubt that Africa is not a frozen and static continent. Africa traces its future through the links of ancestral traditions, the internal demand, as well as, the results of interaction with other continents.

The interaction between Africa and the rest of the world has resulted from different impositions, conditions and questions in terms of public policies, models of development, and a vast range of international patterns. The adoption of such measures and practices such as international standards, developmental goals and international aid and support, has, on the one hand, contributed to the enhancement of living conditions in some African

countries. On the other hand, it has deteriorated social, economic and political stability (Mosca 1999; Fernandes 2009).[4]

The reality shows that a number of policies and models produced in Western countries were tested in African countries. The international donors and INGOs played an important role in the process of implementation and dissemination, as well as providing technical support to promote institutional capacity. This means that those organisations were delivered to 'teach' Africans how to develop and manage their land.

In the face of this array of controversies, it is undeniable that the international cooperation with African countries had flourished and solved social, political and economic problems, and had contributed to bringing peace to Mozambique. Our argument here is the fact that Africa is often seen as a backward continent, which has to be reoriented in order to grow. Why do those measures still fail to stick and solve Africa's problems?

The social participation is related to the public engagement in social-based activities. The citizenship as a status of social activeness is often conferred to the identity of a social community wherein the community members are encouraged to participate. In the process of democratising public space and making the common goods more accessible, the social participation concerns the way in which people are mobilised through politics to participate in social activities.

The social participation might vary by context and the national political regime to social organisation. In many parts of the world, particularly in the so-called low-income countries, the social relationship based on reciprocity and sharing goods tends to be more common than that based on economic profits.

The notion of citizenship in Africa is perceived in relation to the activeness of the social members in communal issues (Mamdani 1996). However, the legitimacy of the citizenship as a social status concerns the ways in which people respond to the local concerns. Therefore, we understand that the idea of citizenship in rural Africa is commonly associated with the ideal of a 'competent member' of the community who shapes the flow of resources for his own and community's benefits (Turner 1993, p. 3).

This approach differs from that based on Western tradition. Thus, the emergence of the notion of citizenship in Western society is a consequence of modernity. Citizenship

---

[4] One of the notable example to this aspect, is the structural adjustment programme of the IMF and WB. Scholars and politicians had notices how harmful this programme was for the social and even economic environment in Africa and Asia. For detail, see (Francisco 2003b).

can be exercised through the culture and relationship with the national and local state (by paying tax and following the state law). In addition, it can be through the very concept of citizenship closely associated with the idea of status and membership to the city (Turner 1993, p. 5 and 9).

By deepening this approach, we found that the notion of citizenship in the Western societies concerns the idea of enjoying privileges because of the status of *citoyen*. Historically, the notion of citizenship based on privileges has radically influenced revolutionary struggles in France and America, and later in different parts of the world. Today, the debates about the transition of citizenship, from *status* to *contract* in the system of society remain major challenges for social values and institutions.[5]

**Contextualising Mozambique**

Studies on deepening citizen participation in city affairs highlight the need of moving beyond a simple static and reactive process to a more dynamic and deliberative. It is important to make changes in the social and political relations between the government officials and the local citizens which could promote changes in their traditional role and inspire active citizenship (Crosby et al. 1986).

Therefore, the official and institutionalised channels of citizen political participation become challenged and questioned because of its little impact on the substance of government politics. These efforts on engendering an effective public participation in urban development in lusophone African countries lack strong mechanisms of spatial planning and execution (Silva 2015). We demonstrate in this thesis that this aspect also exists in postcolonial Mozambique.[6]

Mozambique is located in the southeast coast of Africa and shares borders with South Africa and Swaziland in the southwest, Zimbabwe in the west, Zambia and Malawi in the northwest, Tanzania in the north and bathed by the Indian Ocean in the east. According to the official records in 2007 published by the National Statistics Institute, there were about 20.8 million inhabitants (INE 2007), and the recent survey conducted in August this year estimates the rise of at least 30%, reaching 27 million inhabitants distributed in 11 provinces (Diário de Notícias 2017).

---

[5] For details, see Turner (1993) and Giddens (2009).
[6] For details, see Castela & Meneses (2015) and Veríssimo (2015).

On June 25, 1975, Mozambique became independent from the Portuguese colonial occupation, after a ten-year liberation war opposing the Portuguese colonial administration and Frelimo.[7] The first postcolonial political project aimed to build a welfare state based on an inclusive planning process and policies to promote wealth distribution, freedom, human rights, reconciliation, economic development, justice and social justice.

The postcolonial government envisioned creating a state whereby all Mozambicans regardless of their belief, origins, religion or other reasons, could participate in the reconstruction of the country and enjoy the benefits of being national and citizen of an independent state. Contrary to the predicted measures, the country was confronted by a new cycle of internal conflicts opposing the recent government headed by Frelimo and the MNR/Renamo.[8] From the early stage, the social structure and the economic environment were highly affected by the armed conflict and the consequences and its externalities yet impact, in the country.

Despite the destruction of infrastructure, the collapse of the national economy and the social devastation, Mozambique's national government implemented economic, politic and administrative reforms to accommodate the challenges and focus on peaceful transitions to democracy. However, the economic structure inherited from the colonial administration was yet oriented to social exclusions and settled to serve the colonial interests which made imperative a deep re-conceptualisation and reorientation to national interests (Mosca 1999).

To understand the current social and economic landscape in Mozambique, António Francisco urges us to take into account three processes of economic restructuring with distinct time frames. The first has occurred in the last lap of the colonial administration throughout 1960-74. The second occurred in the first decade after independence, and the third was shaped from 1985 to 1994. During this wave of economic restructuring, significant progress on the real GDP per capita has been made. Furthermore, despite the economic backwardness and humanitarian crisis caused by the civil war as well as the

---

[7] The nationalist movement created in 1962 in Tanzania. This group named the liberation movement of Mozambique and now turned into a political party, carried out a continuous struggle focused on the idea of liberation and self-determination of the Mozambicans. Under no alternative otherwise, in 1975, the Portuguese colonial administration recognised the independence of Mozambique and, and the Frelimo as the Mozambican representatives.

[8] Mozambique National Resistance. For details about MNR/Renamo, see (Tajú 1988; Cabaço 1996; Hall & Young 1997).

international economic dynamics, the life standard yet represented 7-8% of that in 1973 (Francisco 2003a, p. 51).[9]

Another aspect to take into account is that related to the gap between economic growth and human development. It has led us to conclude that both colonial and the post-independence government experienced the economic restructuring and its social consequences exacerbated the exclusion of the citizens from economic policies. The institutionalised mechanisms oriented towards economic development failed to promote human development. In fact, it has resulted in a structural gap between democratic practices and social inequalities (Mosca et al. 2013).

In the 1990s, the process of decentralisation of central powers to the subnational jurisdiction has been widely recognised as a prominent example of engaging people in local affairs (Francisco 2003b). In addition, several reforms initiated in the 1980s culminated in the 1992 Peace Accord to end the civil war. The effects of the deal signed in Rome between the government of Mozambique and MNR/Renamo has been contributing to the reconstruction of a new national order (West & Kloeck-Jenson 1999). In this sense, the economic reconstruction and the national unity among Mozambicans are highly encouraged and promoted through citizens' participation in the urban affairs. The local communities have been integrated into a specific political role in society. Nonetheless, the quality of such participation is yet to reach the desired level (Faria & Chichava 1999; Chichava 2008; Weimer 2012b).

As part of the modernisation of public administration and decentralisation, township governments were established under the 1990 Constitution, which allowed the sharing of stratified power across the territory. At the local level, there are a number of actors with political, religious and traditional power over the local populations.

**Questions under investigation**

Because human rights norms are outcomes of political and cultural contexts, human rights cannot be defined solely on the basis of pre-established legislation. We approach human rights as a field of ethical and moral political claims that relate to the creation and implementation of norms in complex ways (Sen 1999; 2009). We seek to understand how the claims over human rights to the city are articulated through discourse and power

---

[9] The civil war had resulted in humanitarian crises which affects the local economic production. In addition, there is the failure of the social policies implemented under the structural adjustment program of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank (Mosca 1999; Francisco 2003b; Fernandes 2009).

struggles, as well as how human rights norms are contested, appropriated and/or reconstructed in their concrete embeddedness and revolution (Lefebvre 1996), through the case study of struggles over citizens' rights to participate in the urban development and participatory budgeting. We also discuss the degree of citizen involvement in public policies.

The local power and its role in social transformation and development in Africa, Asia and Latin America remain critical to the discussion of alternative development trajectories. Contrary to predictions of liberal scholars and Max Weber's theories, the question of power has not withered away with capitalist development. On the contrary, conflicts over power and land have started since the primitive societies where capitalist development was not the issue. It has increased in recent times, and it seems that they will continue to increase in the future (Moyo & Yeros 2005).

To prevent conflicts by eliminating social inequality arising from economic and political privilege, the human rights principles have established important boundaries for empowering individuals and groups. Thus, human rights cannot be defined solely on the basis of discourses and legislation. It should go beyond a simple statement or moral appeal by condemning violation. Human rights have to be defined with regard to the subject (human being) and object (human dignity) of their concern.

The relationships between democracy and development have a long and contentious history. 'Development' started gaining academic attention from the post-war period, when decolonisation occurred in many African and Asian countries. A few authoritarian regimes achieved remarkable economic growth: China, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan, Malaysia and Chile, compared to the sluggish record of democracies like India. This created the impression that democracy and development were not ideally suited (Ghosh 2016).

As Henry Lefebvre had constantly insisted in his works that the urban revolution is part of the few lasting revolutions (Lefebvre 1971; 2003). In the 1990s, many countries recorded a significant shift in political engagement, particularly developing countries (Mosca 2001; 2005). Nevertheless, in the contemporary world, concepts and references to democracy (popular political participation), decentralisation (governance), development (sustained economic growth) and human rights (respect for the rights of citizens) have become widely accepted standards of international political legitimacy and hegemonic political goals. The 1993 Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action on Human Rights highlighted the indivisibility and interdependency among democracy, development and

human rights, by considering "democracy, development and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, interdependent and mutually reinforcing" (Sen 1999; 2009; Wolfensohn 2004; Pétric 2012; Donnelly 2013, p. 217).

The link between democracy, development, and human rights is seen as universal. Whatever a ruling regime is at least "reinforced" by contemporary claims and demand for democracy, development, and human right. Thereof, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights regards the will of people as a necessary toolset for the authority of government (UNGA 1948). In other words, democracy, development, human right and, more recently, decentralisation, have important conceptual and practical affinities (Donnelly 2013, p. 218).

Theoretical evidence shows that, under certain circumstances, the linkages between democracy and decentralisation (Heller 2001; Smoke 2003; Fung 2006; Hetland 2016) and human rights and development (Sen 2009; Sengupta 2002; Crawford & Andreassen 2016) can be valuable to extend the redistribution of power that enables the poor citizens to enjoy the future (Arnstein 1969). Civil and political rights (human rights) are necessary for development. These provide accountability and transparency that can contribute to strengthening economic and human development.

However, the practical evidence shows that the relationship between these elements is complex and varies considerably with the contexts, place, time, and policy. The impact for democracy, and of democracy for decentralisation, has not led to better governance and economic performance unless it distinguishes different forms of decentralisation (Gersovitz 2009). In contrast, pro-decentralisation acknowledges that decentralising the delivery and financing local public goods might improve the allocation of resources, the reduction of operational costs as well as the reduction of corruption by enhancing public accountability. It can emancipate citizens by granting them vital information and skills.

Therefore, this thesis about the right to the city and urban development places citizen at the core of social and political priority and regards the idea of citizenship as a foundation for defending universal human rights (Turner 2006, p. 25). We explore at the grass root the consequences of the existing mechanisms of citizen political participation at the municipal level and the way in which the principles of human rights are being incorporated into the social and political priorities.

In addition, we analyse the human rights issues within the large framework of social conflict and development, with a view to considering how to explore and catalyse the citizen political participation in promoting urban development and contributing to bolster

and maintain peace, equality and equity within urban societies – it means a human rights-based approach to local development.

Specifically, we are interested in understanding the type and intensity of social conflicts that participatory mechanisms implemented in Mozambique's local municipalities might trigger; the scope of participatory budgeting' intervention (inclusion/exclusion); the social actor involved and their discourses; the types of social movement organisations involved (if any); the role played by the State and public policies; the political and legal contexts relevant to the case; the role played by international actors.

The ultimate goal is to identify and study the ways in which social groups deal with development and the local conflicts and how it can be addressed to contribute to the peaceful solution of such conflicts (Sen 1981; 1999). Such a frame questions how the current models of local economic development in Mozambique affect the citizens' rights to the city, particularly the citizens' rights to enjoy the privileged urban spaces and make heard their opinion about urban development (Lefebvre 1971; Taylor 1998). It would also extend to the right to be involved in the public policies and investment priorities.

**The scope of the research**

According to Sherry Arnstein, the relationship between the citizen political participation in the local decision-making process and urban development ranks from the level of non-participation – manipulation and therapy to a genuine involvement and a full citizen power (Arnstein 1969; 1972). The growing interest in pursuing participatory-based approaches to urban development is raising questions about how these two distinctive dynamics – the citizen participation and the urban development – can best work together in practice. In particular, participatory development approach seems to have much to contribute to efforts to better define and achieve sustainable development (Branco 2009; Romeo 2012; Castel-Branco 2015). Combined with human rights' principles and decentralised democratic process, they can equip ordinary citizens with the capacity to negotiating public opinion with local governments. At the same time, it is important to clarify the actual meaning of participation and urban development. We need to understand their relation to notions of autonomy and the way these can connect.

Moreover, the urban development could benefit from rediscovering new meanings of participation. It is undeniable that a project resulting in a participatory process is more likely accepted than the traditional process conducted solely by the experts. Since

"experts in problems and needs" (citizens) live and experiences the urban areas (they enjoy the benefits and also the everyday-constrains in the city), they have something to say about the way to reach the solutions (MUEC 2015, p.4). Based on their daily experience, they can help find solutions for the local problems through different views and inputs.

While citizen political participation attempts to respond to the citizen's daily needs, concerns and wishes for the future, both citizens and the local government could benefit of such interaction by deepening the mutual relations as well as the public confidence in the state and institutions. A successful combination of the citizens' interventions, local governments and experts may lead to "the fair distribution of public goods and the democratic negotiations of the access of these goods among the social actors themselves" (Santos & Avritzer 2005).

Our research can lead to the 'opening up' to new realities in the local municipalities in Mozambique. This research is devoted to the question of public participation based on the evidence of two cases. It goes further by underlining the interconnection between democracy, decentralisation, human rights and urban development through citizens' engagement in the city affairs.

The urban development approach to human rights places citizens at the centre of the equation and shows the potential expansion of the participatory democracy (Santos & Avritzer 2005). Therefore, this research shows how human rights principles are something beyond meagre formalities in the state institutions. These stands together with democracy and urban development, because engaging people (*de facto)* in discussions and deliberations on their business is the most sustainable form of securing human rights and enriching democracy.

To deal with the questions of citizen participation in urban development, we introduced an innovative approach to analysing the degree of citizen involvement in the decision-making process. We use the transnational model of citizen participation conceived by Sintomer et al. (2012; 2013) and the ladder of citizen participation introduced by Arnstein (1969) as well as the "cosmopolitan paradigm" of Boaventura de Sousa Santos. In this last framework, Santos identifies a need for alternative thinking of the current alternatives. This perspective gravitates on three sociological aspects: the sociology of absence; the sociology of emergence and the translation (Santos 2002c; 2006c).

We found the wider inclusiveness of experiments on participatory budgeting presented in Sintomer's transnational model of citizens' participation as well as the detailed analysis brought by Sherry Arnstein in the ladder of participation ideal to responding to our research problem. As we have mentioned, both urban planning and participatory budgeting represent a co-production of our case studies. To respond to this query, we tested a number of models which we thought could suitably respond to the problem. However, the reality on the ground demands an accurate method and models designed to incorporate a new social grammar. This is the reason why we adopt Santos' approach to the sociology of emergence and absence to interpret the reality of the case study.

Boaventura de Sousa Santos stresses the idea of protecting rights to self-determination by integrating cosmopolitan rationality. He perceives that what he calls, "sociology of emergencies" could take forward the cosmopolitan though to conceive democratic alternatives and make societies better. In addition, the "sociology of absence" starts from the idea that all the inexistent is social and political produced to be non-existent, and to perform in such way (Santos 2006b; 2006c). The social sciences could use the cosmopolitan rationality to bring to the forefront the socio-political diversity heretofore rendered all the more invisible.

For the purpose of the present analysis, Santos' epistemological framework would be important to ascertain the degree of citizen engagement in the conception, implementation and monitoring and evaluation of urban planning and participatory budgeting in Mozambique. A range of the existing features related to urban planning and participatory budgeting is assessed to allow the interpretation of the outcomes of the research.

The literature is explored from the general to the specific. It allows us to understand a number of concepts applied to the present thesis. Perhaps the most important concept investigated here is the concept of participation, which applies to the ordinary citizens. Questions about the way the local citizens define participation is analysed along with its relationship with a vast range of 'informal' forms of participation in the city.

The other concept discussed is local government. This is used to refer to subnational tiers of government that practise decentralisation and deconcentration. The first refers the local-autonomous or municipal government resulted in local elections. The second consists of the local administration of the central state which continues to shape the subnational contexts (Silva & Bucek 2017).

Mozambique's current government's approach to citizen participation – that focuses on people's representation in the local consultative councils, local and national assembly – tends to exclude a variety forms of social and political participation, such as ethnic and religious groups, a network of friendship, philanthropic associations, labour union and professional associations. Teresa Cruz e Silva defines the role played by these social groups to human and local development. When discussing the impact of popular solidarity' network in resolving social conflicts in Mozambique, she stresses the role of bonds of kinship, reciprocity, proximity and local cooperation in the construction of local identity (Cruz e Silva 2003, p.427). However, these forms of civil society engagement in social and political concerns as well as in economic growth have nothing to do with the state politics and should act accordingly (Monteiro 2011).

As we understand, the term 'accordingly' applied by Monteiro suggests the separation between the state business and that of those social groups and associations. It means the existence of a legal framework establishing boundaries and limits of the ordinary citizens, civil society and local association's interventions towards the state politics and institutions. Because of the political will, legal constraints and the weak intervention of the civil society, the formulation of public policies in Mozambique remains a central state business. Therefore, the public participation in such domain is yet to be genuine and strong (Meneses 2007). Nevertheless, significant efforts have been made to recognise the role and importance of involving the ordinary citizens, civil society and local associations and institutions to respond to the local concerns. In this way, these social groups are allied to the state to operate changes in urban and rural territories. In other words, the legal pluralism and tradition continue to shape the urban and rural life in Mozambique (Trindade 2003; Meneses 2007; 2009).

The recent significant opening of the state to citizens' involvement in public affairs is the result of considerable mobilisation and pressure from the civil society organisation, local associations, national and international NGOs, academics and the ordinary citizens.

**Analytical framework**

This thesis begins with a review of the secondary literature focusing on identifying the adequate methodology for state of the art approach and then follows it with fieldwork. It presents the analytical scheme where the main concepts discussed in this thesis are pictured and, the concepts that guide the research are detailed.

**Table 1: Analytical scheme**

| Human Rights | Decentralisation |
|---|---|
| The Right to the city; Citizens' rights to participate in the urban development. | Power devolution, social justice and diversity. |
| Participatory Democracy | Urban Development |
| Urban planning; Participatory budgeting. | Social, political and economic processes to the citizens' aspirations. |

**Drawing a concept map through the analytical scheme**

We adopted a visual display to represent the interconnections among the concepts of democracy, human rights, decentralisation and urban development and the effective impact of citizens' emancipation as a driving concept of the model.

The idea of picturing complex information in a knowledge mapping tool enables the possibility of thinking the process as a whole. Using knowledge mapping means enhancing, managing and improving knowledge through a visual display. Visual representation of a range of information helps to separate visual memory to the propositional form (Paivio 1971;1983).

Knowledge mapping as an integrated visual tool can be presented in a variety of forms which enable visual displaying of information (Novak 2010; Novak & Cañas 2006). However, the relationship between concepts and idea should be considered the core elements of the phenomena. While the concept interrelationship becomes the centrality, knowledge mapping flows into three different forms: mind or idea mapping, concept mapping and argument mapping. In this thesis, we adopted concept mapping.

Concept map as a diagram of networking ideas is often confused with mind mapping. Concept mapping is more structured and has been used in many studies to support thinking process and to promote the interrelationship among research data and concepts (Novak & Cañas 2006). It can also be used to organise and analyse qualitative research data through grounded theory.

Therefore, concept mapping aims at constructing a relational network of the idea. It comprehends a hierarchy-based structure – from the central to the secondary and

peripheral idea. The concept mapping does not only represent existing information but also enables the emergence of new understandings and models (Edwards & Fraser 1983).

As suggested by Novak and Cañas, this kind of mapping usually begins with the central word, concept or phrase; in this case, the concept of autonomy is central and, the following diagram shows the interrelationships between the core concept and secondary and peripheral concepts (Novak & Cañas 2006).

**Figure 1: Concept mapping**



Source: the author
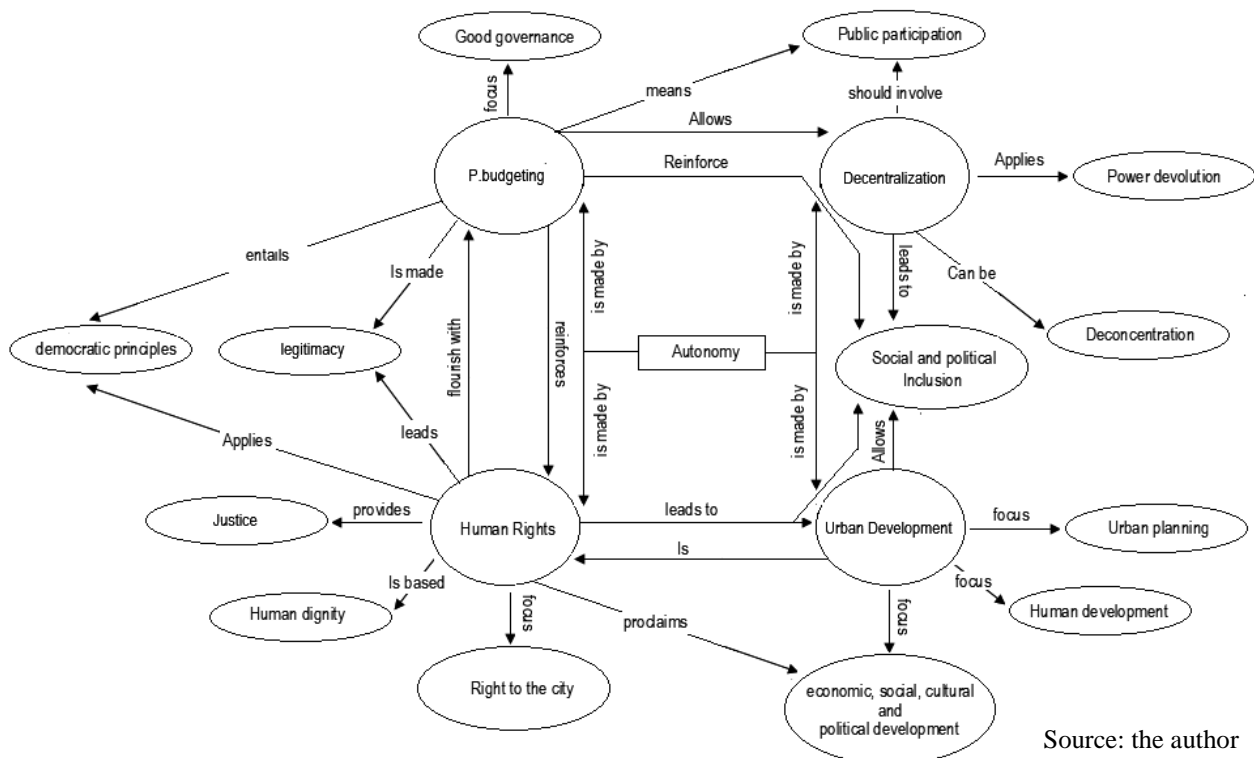
Based on prepositional connections, the above diagram presents the interrelationships among concepts and ideas discussed in this dissertation. Around the central concept of autonomy, we can identify four secondary concepts. It means that local autonomy can be promoted through democratic practices, balanced human rights, decentralised political power and urban development.

In practical terms, participatory budgeting focusing on good governance practices is the core element of democratic principles. It means that public participation is inspired by decentralisation, human rights principles and social and political inclusions.

The concept of human rights focuses on the right to the city. Precisely, the citizens' right to participate through consultation and deliberation over the definition of the public investment priorities and municipal planning. This concept is invoked in accordance with

social justice, political inclusion and urban development. On the other hand, human development is the main focus of the urban development and tends to facilitate political inclusion and peoples' autonomy.

So, what does autonomy mean? For the present analysis, it represents the ability of the individuals and groups to overlap adverse conditions and restore hope. This concept is usually invoked when the unprivileged challenges the unfavourable established conditions to restore social justice, political liberties and rights. The autonomy we are referring here is the stage through which disadvantaged individuals or groups reach (by themselves or through the supports of somebody else), and without fearing political repression, they stand for their concerns and implement their will and opinion.

As such, yesterday's helpless become emancipated citizens who strongly influence the local public policy through balanced discussions with their representatives (Bratton & Van de Walle 1997). Therefore, the ordinary citizens co-decide on public investment priorities hand in hand with the elected boards. The citizens' autonomy should not be perceived as the total anarchy of the ordinary citizens, neither a licence to capture power from the elected representatives, but it should mean a total inclusion of the ordinary citizens in the consultation and deliberation of public issues.

It is not our intention here to ban the line of individual responsibility which divides the elected/experts and the ordinary people. We argue that the technical expertise of the public officials is needed to design effective public works (Ostrom 1996; 2005). However, the ordinary citizens should be taken in co-producing the public policies. Mainly those related to the normative process.

Another related concept of social and political inclusion is decentralisation (devolution of state power to regional and municipal power, through a vote), which should mean more public participation in the local affairs to grant the right to the city. Thereof, devolution of power at all levels, national, regional, and district, acknowledges the emancipation of the ordinary citizens. Moreover, decentralisation might endeavour to establish local democracy.

The given concept mapping on the intersection among contents of democracy (participatory democracy), human rights (right to the city, human dignity, justice), decentralisation (power devolution, public participation, social and political inclusion), and urban democracy (urban planning, human development, economic, social, cultural and political development) had enabled the following question: *In what extent the current*

*mechanisms of citizen participation in urban issues grants a full right to the city in Mozambique?*

Based on the complex knowledge represented above, we devoted 16 months of fieldwork to picture the reality of citizen participation in local municipalities in Mozambique and Italy.

We started from an empirical observation in Mozambique by using grounded theory and participatory action research strategy of creating scientific knowledge and, applied thick description to describe the processes of public participation in both Maxixe and Quelimane. Then, we travelled to the Italian region of Tuscany to study the local law of participation in-depth.[10]

Over the years, grounded theory has attracted the attention of considerable research. This inductive approach based on subjective experiences of people was important for our research. Thus, we started from the observed phenomenon (the process of public participation in the local affairs) to make a reciprocal relationship between data collection, analysis and theory (Charmaz 2006). In other words, grounded theory explores the relationship between theoretically uninformed empirical research and empirically uninformed theory or individuals' experience, society and history (Goulding 2002). According to Strauss and Corbin' assumption, grounded theory is discovered, developed and provisionally verified through systematic collection and analysis of data on a particular phenomenon (Corbin & Strauss 1990). While other methods begin with theory then seek to prove it by refusing or accepting the previous explanation, grounded theory is founded of data obtained through social research and systematic development of techniques and procedures to arrive at the general allegations or theory (Arévalo & Ljung 2006; Charmaz 2006).

Participatory Action Research (PAR) is an inquiry strategy that involves all relevant parties in actively examining actions, problems, and reflections towards changes and improvements. They do this by critically reflecting on the historical, political, cultural, economic, geographic and other contexts which make sense of it. Therefore, participatory action research is not just research which is hoped that will be followed by action, neither an exotic variant of consultation. Nor can it be used by one group of people to get another group of people to do what is thought best for them – whether it is to implement a central policy or an organisational or service change. PAR is an action which is researched,

---

[10] Why Italy and Tuscany? We answer this question in the section, *the research journey and motivation.*

changed and re-researched within a research process. This action is oriented towards an active co-research by and for those to be helped (Arévalo & Ljung 2006; Pain et al. 2007).

Because of the emancipator capacity of the PAR and the problem addressed thereof, we have used this research strategy to support and access data for the current thesis. Participatory action research aims to be a genuinely democratic and non-coercive process whereby those to be helped, determine the purposes and outcomes of their inquiry (Charmaz 2006). PAR is not just another method (of inquiry' orientation). Thus, many different methods are possible (quantitative and qualitative).

**Research methods and techniques and their contexts**

We devoted attention to PAR by involving all relevant parties in actively examining the deliberative and participatory democracy in both contexts thereby addressing the specific issues identified by local citizens, and the results were directly applied to the research problems at hand (Pain et al. 2007; Kindon et al. 2008).

Robert Yin identifies a case study as an "empirical enquiry to investigate a contemporary phenomenon in real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon are not evident" (Yin 2003, p. 13). This study incorporates the PAR method through detailed direct participation in the local assemblies and meetings on participatory planning in Mozambique and Italy. We opted to combine both as a strategy for assembling information and interpretation.

The empirical research presented here is an in-depth case study through thick description aiming to understand the social actors involved and their discourses; the types of social movement organisations involved; the role played by the State, traditional authorities and public policies; the political and legal contexts relevant to the case; the role played by international actors; and how local and national contexts make a difference in terms of their modes of action.

Because the observational study is one of the best techniques for designing inferences from a simple to a population where the independent variables in comparative analysis are not under the control of the researcher (Yin 2003; 2009; Hammersley & Atkinson 2007), we carried out first-hand observation by attending public meetings to get a deep understanding of the process of citizen participation.

It is important to spend the best analytic time on the best data collection (Stake 1995, p. 84). We spent eight months in Tuscany, and another eight months in both

Maxixe and Quelimane to capture the local social and economic dynamics as well as the dimension of public engagement in decision-making. In doing so, we believe that we have collected enough important data to answer the research problem.

Afterwards, we conducted a qualitative analysis and semi-structured interviews to collect data from the local chiefs, mayors, officials, local council members, civil society representatives, social movement representatives, social actors, policymakers, and other relevant informants through audio recording devices to get access of a large amount of data. Our aim here was not the number of people interviewed, but the optimisation of time, resources and the achievement of optimal level through where a marginal increase of data represents a high cost of opportunity of the research.

The combination of case study and PAR method allowed the thick description of the process of participatory planning and budgeting at the municipal level. Several stages and tasks were considered in responding the research question. The data collected through interviews and other content were carefully analysed by using qualitative data analysis.

Why Maxixe and Quelimane? Studies done on municipal budget and finance in Mozambique show evidence of corruption and weakness of the local mechanisms of accountability with regards to the public assets (Nuvunga et al. 2007; Weimer 2012a). Therefore, significant measures were implemented and reinforced. These include the promotion of citizen participation in defining the priorities over public investment, monitoring and evaluating public policies and projects. However, the question of participation in Maxixe and Quelimane is misrepresented in the studies previously mentioned. The majority of studies conducted in the field of citizen participation in general or participatory budgeting focus either on the first experiment in Dondo, or the big cities including Maputo, Matola and Nampula (Chichava 2008; Vedor & Cardoso 2010; Nguenha 2014; Nylen 2014; Cabannes & Delgado 2015; Dias 2015; Machohe 2015; Saíde 2015).

Another factor is that Quelimane is among the beneficiary cities of the so-called the "wave of the World Bank' participatory budgeting" in Mozambique (IDS et al. 2013). Maputo, Quelimane and Nampula were supported by the World Bank and United Kingdom Cooperation Agency and technically assisted by the Associação Inloco of Portugal to implement participatory budgeting. It is important to explore the local dynamic and the practical impact of the support given to the process of participatory budgeting in these townships, as well as the ruling strategy implemented by the opposition party in power in Quelimane (Dias 2014c; 2015; Dias & Allegretti 2015).

The municipality of Quelimane is in the centre of Mozambique. Quelimane as an official settlement was founded by Muslim traders as a Swahili trade centre and later grew as a slave market. It is one of the oldest towns in the region. In the 16th century, a Portuguese trading station was founded there.

On August 21, 1942, the town of Quelimane was raised to the category of the city and turned into a municipality in 1998. The city of Quelimane is located one thousand miles north of the capital Maputo, in the province of Zambézia. Quelimane is the administrative capital and the largest city of the province, the territory is spread along 122 square miles and about 224,808 of the population distribution within five administrative posts and 59 neighbourhoods (CMQ 2015).

The municipality of Quelimane is one of the four municipalities governed by the second opposition party, the Mozambique Democratic Movement *(Movimento Democrático de Moçambique – MDM)*. In a highly competitive municipal election of 2011, Manuel de Araújo supported by MDM won the elections. Both Quelimane and Beira, as well as Nampula, have become examples of political engagement of the opposition Mozambique Democratic Movement. Hence, they represent the most important cities in central and north Mozambique.

The process of public participation in local affairs in Quelimane has been incorporated in the national project of decentralisation since 1998. In this regard, it was based on regular local elections and community collaboration. People were asked to participate in the communitarian consulting forum to land usage and natural resource' management. Therefore, the local communities are quite familiar with the process of participation.

The municipality of Maxixe, extensively analysed in part II of this thesis is located in southern Mozambique at 23°52'S 35°23'E in the south of the Tropic of Capricorn. This municipality is one of the most important commercial cities in the province of Inhambane and its annual revenue is based on informal market and represents about 30% of the province's GDP. Its population growth had exacerbated the social pressure over public service supply, urban land management, natural resources and environmental issues (ANAMM 2009). Therefore, the national government carried out reforms in public administration, which granted significant autonomy to the local political actors to take actions to resolve the local concerns.

The local community members were invited to participate in the conception of the local priorities for the public investment. This is the process in which the ordinary

citizens are involved to present their opinion about the land management and the public investment priorities based on transparency, and efficiency of resource allocation.

What did participation mean for the citizens? According to the research participants,[11] it represents a platform where people are gathered together to discuss their opinions about a specific fact. What we found here, is the fact that no participant argued the question about the citizen involvement in the budgetary discussion.

Because of technical and specialised issues, all agreed that their participation is useless, "we are technically unable to understand or choose, for example, the good or bad surface asphalt... we want road... is enough."[12] This view, unfortunately, contributes to the alienation of the citizens, promotes a social apathy towards a common process and also perpetuate a dependency on the representatives. It places citizens outside of genuine deliberations because citizens are perceived as a client of public administration. In this dimension, clients mean a passive element who interact through some stimulation from those who drive "the bus."

Through the social demands for justice, peace, economic development and the protection of human rights in these municipalities, as well as the experience acquired through our work at the local government of Massinga district, in the Province of Inhambane in Mozambique, we became familiar with the ways in which the local communities organise their social and political struggles and demands towards local government. These motivations, the social concerns and the knowledge gap in participatory democracy in Mozambique, particularly in Maxixe has heavily weighted in favour of the research scope.

Exploring Maxixe and Quelimane can be influenced by social, political or historical factors. During the research, however, we managed to identify and remove them from influencing thinking and judgement. We analysed the tensions between general and particular. Many elements were identified and confronted with local evidence. To make it clear, the investigation focused on the process of institutionalisation of deliberative and participatory democracy to securing human rights and promoting urban development.

To answer the question, why participatory democracy in Mozambique and how to institutionalise it to secure human rights? We suggest looking into the history of public participation in Mozambique, and to the research done in Africa on this topic. In this

---

[11] See appendix 1.

[12] Imported from an informal talk with an community member in Maxixe in December 1, 2015.

perspective, the public discussion in the light of local affairs in rural communities in Africa dates from the pre-colonial era (Mudimbe 1988; 1994; Chabal 1992).

In Quelimane for example, the current peoples' involvement in urban development is explained by the long historic-civic tradition in local commitment to the social and political activities (IDS et al. 2013; Lalá 2013). This dynamic is characteristic of Tuscany. According to António Floridia, the Tuscany region presents a robust political culture influenced by historical values of democracy and solidarity, very high levels of political participation and a rich grassroots network of associations (Floridia 2007). Thus, Tuscany can be considered a laboratory and a good example of public engagement.

**The research journey and motivation**

For deep insights into the participatory process, we spent eight months travelling and observing different realities and processes in Italy. Although Italy has no tradition of public participation practices (Lewanski 2013), many decentralised regions have introduced initiatives to this end. Tuscany, based on its historic tradition of social capital and civic engagement, fuelled by its powerful grassroots network of citizen associations had contributed to implant a complex infrastructure of negotiations between the regional government and the major interest groups (Corsi 2012).[13]

The overall performance of this social cohesion originated a law no. 69 in December 2007, establishing Rules on the Promotion of Participation in the Formulation of Regional and Local Policies. By doing so, the citizens of Tuscany had emancipated themselves with an innovative legal provision explicitly aimed to promote their engagement in local and regional decision-making (Floridia 2007; 2008; Lewanski 2013). The 69/2007 law, now superseded by the 43/2013 law, emerged from long-term public debates including experts, bureaucrats, the private sector and the ordinary citizens, and an independent Regional Authority for Public Participation was created to promote, support and manage the process of public participation in local affairs.

While Tuscany institutionalised public participation through law 69 for citizen involvement in the local affairs, Mozambique is yet to provide a specific legislative framework to facilitate the process of public participation. However, the national government has passed several national laws to regulate the relationships among citizens

---

[13] For details, see Floridia (2008; 2010) and Corsi (2012).

(represented by customary authority), civil society organisations and the local municipalities (decentralised jurisdictions).[14]

Studies on Quelimane's participatory process have demonstrated that the considerable level of public participation concerns the way in which the informal and customary practices have been transmitted across generations and preserved (Monteiro 2011). The process of involving local communities in decision-making in Quelimane has to deal with the local diversity of the social environment. In that way, the implementation of participatory budgeting has to be flexible because of the local challenges. Moreover, the implementation of participatory budgeting has become the political 'mascot' of the municipal leaders.

By accepting that as a process of involving people in the local affairs, means translating and adjusting participatory budgeting to the local reality, it means that the customary-based mechanisms of public participation in the local affairs have to be taken into account through vernacularisation of the participatory budgeting imported model. Thereof, the local government could avoid the escalation of later social conflicts.

We might say, in this sense that participatory budgeting should be adapted to local demands. Therefore, the success of participatory budgeting should be analysed through multidimensional factors and a combination of several socio-local patterns. These should be narrowly addressed. The case of Quelimane's participatory budgeting process is not an isolated case.

Participatory budgeting as a good example of success and object of administrative reforms represents one of the most innovative artefacts of the local democracy (Dias 2014a). Despite this success, it varies according to the local context and public engagement. Meanwhile, participatory budgeting depends on the impact generated from the encounters of the bottom-up mechanism of public participation and the top-down forms of public representation.

We suggest reading the Tuscany experience in public mobilisation, participation and relationship between institutions and citizens, regulated by the 69/2007 law, now 43/2013 on the promotion of participation in the formulation of regional and local policies. The outcomes of the approach designed by the 69/2007 law and the "Tuscany laboratory of democratic innovations" will be of relevance to academics, policymakers

---

[14] See 2/97 law of 18 February 1997; 9/97 law of 31 May 1997; 10/97 law of 31 May 1997; 8/2003 law of 19 May 2003; 18/2007 law of 18 July 2007; 19/2007 law of 18 July 2007; 1/2008 law of 16 January 2008; 60/2006 decree of 26 December 2006.

and citizens and social movements who claim more public engagements in the local affairs (Lewanski 2013). In this regard, this extended case study approach could be essential for grasping and transferring reciprocal lessons.

# PART I – THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

# CHAPTER ONE – THE RIGHT TO THE CITY

## 1.1. Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to explore the meaning of the right to the city and analyse how this right is claimed by the citizens who live and experience the city. We analyse the relationship between citizens, human rights and the state politics.

The first section discusses the theory and practices of human rights. We explore the philosophical foundation of the concept of human rights, its fundamental contradictions, fragilities and ambiguities (over the idea of the inherent dignity of the human person), as well as the status of citizenship (citizens who live in the cities) as a fundamental element in the state/human rights' relationship. We investigate the connections between the right to the city and civil and political rights. On the other hand, we explore the social, economic and cultural rights as a right to the city. Then, we focus on citizenship rights to participate in the urban development. We discuss the relationship between citizens and the "space" and how the social configurations of African cities have been influenced by the colonial legacy of what a city should be (Myers 2010; Maloa 2016).

The second section discusses the theories and the architecture of the modern state and its dynamics in the African cities. Our objective in this section is reinventing democracy and the state of the paradigmatic transition towards the post-modernity (Santos 2006d), and the claims to the right to the city in Africa.

Moreover, we arrive at the point that significant progress was made in the field of human rights and the state politics across the globe, in relations to the right to the city. The bottom-up political structures and the organised citizens challenge the state political paradigms in securing the right to the city in Africa. However, the neoliberal state model yet plays an important role in shaping the political environment in Africa.

In response to bottom-up demands and top-down state's conditions, most of the African states have been implementing political and administrative reforms. The aim of such reforms is the coexistence in African societies of the locally-based political dynamics and the impacts of the neoliberal imagination which give place to a new politics.

**1.2. The Theory and Practice of Human Rights**

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights formulates rights in "recognition of the inherent dignity and the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family. This is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world" (UNGA 1948). This general statement is oriented to universalise fundamental values of the modern societies, based on human dignity and human rights. The core assumption presented in the statement bounds every individual and limits the arbitrary performance of the states. At the core of human rights norms and appeals, the idea of human dignity goes beyond the social status or other conditions of the individuals and focus on the sense of belonging to the human family. In this way, human dignity means human being. Dignity is an adjective to qualify every humankind. Human rights can be understood from different angles, cultural and political understanding.

The foundation of human rights proclaimed in the international framework is associated with the Dumbarton Oaks Conference.[15] This event marks the important step for the creation of a post-war international organisation to succeed in the United Nations. The Dumbarton Oaks Conference proposed the creation of the four main bodies to consolidate the mission of the United Nations. This is the case of the General Assembly (including jurisdiction on the Economic and Social Council); the Security Council; International Court of Justice and a Secretariat (UN 1946).

As a result of the intensive debate on the impacts of World War I and II, the inefficiency of the League of Nations in dealing with the world conflict was evident. Thus, the Dumbarton Oaks just confirmed the opening up to the new era, and the need for progress and participation of all countries in changing the paradigm.

At that time, the issues of massive violations of human dignity were exacerbated by the *Hitlerism*.[16] The idea of peace and stability led to the creation of the United Nations in 1945 to promote peace and secure freedom and social stability. That level of the concept related to freedom, liberty and what was intended justice. The international system

---

[15] Given the inability in dealing with the world conflict, the League of the Nations, the representatives from China, the United Kingdom and the United States met in a Dumbarton Oaks mansion in Washington in 1944 to discuss the world stability, peace and progress. But for this end, there were important a creation of a more efficient international organisation, in this case, the United Nations. This conference consisted of two rounds. The *first round from 21 August to September 28 and involved the U.R.S.S, the United Kingdom and the United States. The second phase, involving China, the United Kingdom and the United States, from September29 up to October 7.* These agreements were embodied in the Dumbarton Oaks proposal (UN 1946). For details on Dumbarton Oaks proposal, see The Year Book of the United Nations 1946.

[16] The third paragraph of the Declaration by United Nations, drawn in January 1, 1942 in Washington DC, mention *Hitlerism* in reference to the Nazi regime.

adopted by the United Nations since 1948 has classified human-rights as civil, political, social, economic and cultural rights which every human person deserves. Despite those individual rights, grouped rights and, recently, environmental rights were incorporated into the frame of the rights related to every human being.

Although the Universal Declaration on Human Rights did not establish a hierarchy among these rights, the chronology of subsequent human rights norms led to a division between civil and political rights – framed as individual rights and viewed as the first generation of human rights – and social, economic, cultural and environmental rights – framed as collective rights as well as perceived as contending with third generations of human rights. Nevertheless, struggles over social, economic and cultural rights have been successfully challenged this frame. Currently, there is a consensus among scholars on the indivisibility of human rights, meaning that the fulfilment of any human rights depends on the fulfilment of all types of human rights (Shivji 1989; Zeleza & McConnaughay 2004; Branco 2009). However, the implementation of human rights recommendations is a major challenge facing society all over the world, such being the case of Mozambique. The State, civil society actors and the international organisations play a key role in the formulation, adoption and implementation of such human rights principles (Zeleza 2006).

The international human rights norms have also defined rights according to the subjects of protection. In this perspective, human rights encompass general rights – which are supposed to apply equally to all human beings – and particular rights – which must be applied to specific "groups" by virtue of their social vulnerability,[17] discrimination and exclusion from the enjoyment of general rights (Lyons & Mayall 2003).

Although general and particular rights cannot be separated, we aim to discuss the philosophical foundation of the concept of human rights, and that partition of human rights is important to track the fundamental contradictions, ambiguities and fragilities on the ideal of human rights.

### 1.2.1. Civil and political rights as a right to the city

The concept and practice of human rights are the most influential and fruitful discourse in a contemporary world. The fulfilment of the rights announced by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights could bring justice and peace, or at least reduce

---

[17] As the case of: women; children; people experiencing mental or physical limitations (disabilities), elder people; racial and ethnic minorities; religious minorities; immigrants and so on.

the gap between social classes. However, the implementation of such assumption today, in the so-called the 'era of democracy and human rights' is quite contradictory. One of the great examples of such contradictions can be found in the ways human rights are being used to restrict and grant human rights. Basic rights such as the right to life, liberty and security, legal protection, equality before the law, and privacy and protections against slavery, arbitrary arrest, detention and inhuman or degrading treatment are being restricted in the name of human rights and security measures (Donnelly 2013).

Henry Lefebvre first introduced the concept of right to the city in the 1960s. Lefebvre's right to the city claimed (demanded) the right not be displaced into urban spaces (Lefebvre 1971; 1996). The 1960s observed a French movement dominated by the rise of criticism towards the theory of the self-adjustment of the free market. This contributed to progress in socioeconomic conditions and urbanisation (Meade 1990). The masses fled from rural areas to urban spaces in search of better conditions.

The primary consequences were the redefinition of the urban context. It means the recreation of the urban spaces and modernisation of urban life. These questions exacerbated the proliferation of discriminated suburbs, mainly occupied by 'outsiders' and the low-income people (working class and immigrants). The central cities were surrounded by social housing in response to housing demand. However, the occupation of urban space was based on discriminatory criteria which many people claim to enjoy (Lefebvre 1971).

Urban space becomes a place for utopia and claims, where in the 1960s, many social movements stood in public spaces against discrimination, the war in Vietnam and different forms of discriminations. This set of demands extended to the right to work and not be forced into the deterioration of everyday life. The struggle over the legitimacy to occupy and enjoy urban places become more and more evident (Harvey 2012).

The right to the city (in this domain) can be considered the right to enjoy the city centre, the privileged spaces of the city, and the right to participate in the city political life (Lefebvre 1996). This genealogy of human rights reminds us of the reality of the excluded groups. It brings to light what Boaventura de Sousa Santos called the "abyssal division of the world". The abyssal perspective consists of two distinctive realities. On one hand, we find the privileged reality that will rule over the others. On the other, there is the unprivileged reality or group who claims to bring changes.

To read about this generation of human rights is almost to be transported back to the 13th century, when the Magna Carta was drafted as a peace treaty and aimed to protect

specific rights and limitations. It is also reminiscent of the Petition of Rights exhibited by the 1628 English legal reform movement, the Habeas Corpus Act of 1640 and 1679[18], the England Bill of Rights of 1689, the American Declaration of Independence in 1776 and the French Declaration of Rights of Men and of the Citizens in 1789 (Morphet 2000; Hobsbawm 1996)[19].

These human rights documents anchored on a limitation of absolute power tackled two scales. The first is related to the principles of individualism. Thus, about all rights[20] proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights and in a vast arsenal of human rights documents are intrinsically related to the rights of individuals (OAU 1981; Donnelly 2013).

Almost all human rights documents begin with statements which proclaim that "Every human being has the right to..."; "Everyone is entitled..."; "Everyone has the rights to..."; "No one shall be..."; "No one may be...". These approaches to individuals are anchored on a "centrality of human dignity among human rights issues". Thereof, human dignity claims to be the foundational concept of the whole human rights' mechanisms and international human rights law. This is the 'ultimate value' that gives coherence to human rights (Hasson 2003, p. 83).

This character of moral assumption based on the natural law theory and converted into positive law is also supported by both, the Charter of United Nations and the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Furthermore, other documents such, the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action on Human Rights similarly assumes that "all human rights derive from the dignity and worth inherent in the human person" (UN 1945; UNGA 1966).

Also, this idea of human dignity and the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family presented herein oriented to freedom, justice and peace in the world. Thus, it had provided insight to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the

---

[18] Established for the better securing the liberty of the subjects, and for prevention of the imprisonment. Thereof to responding to the abusive detentions without mandate or legal authority (Habeas Corpus Act 1679).

[19] This was one of the most import charters of human liberty and had inspired further struggles and legal reforms – such as the 1789 - 1799 French Revolution and French Constitutions. Their conception was sourced on the French enlightenment intellectuals, with a special focus on the separation of power of Montesquieu and the general will of Rousseau. The basic principle of that Declaration (renamed Declaration of the Rights of Man and later, Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man and Citizen) was that "all men are born and remain free in rights"(Morphet 2000; Donnelly 2013).

[20] With exception of the right to self-determination mentioned in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

United Nations mission. However, these legal sources seem unclear of the exact meaning of human dignity. It may lead to ambiguity and because of its abstract meaning, human dignity can result in different interpretations.

The other weakness surrounding the abstract meaning of human dignity is the possibility of its recognition in case of violation (Donnelly 2013). It remains unclear and ambiguous. In this response, the violation of human rights means the violation of human dignity. In other words, we understand that human right is a natural and social claim applied to that human being who has dignity.

Here, again, we find human dignity linked to the quality of being honourable or holding a social, economic or political high position, excellence, dignitary, nobleness. In this sense, are we referring to all human beings? To what extent is humankind dignified? Are all human beings subject to nobleness or excellence? The application of the concept of human dignity from the natural law theory perspective suggests attempting to hire the democratisation of the dignity and argues that human beings deserve respect.

In practice, the ambiguity of the concept of human dignity allows contradictory claims and implementation of human rights protection. It contributes to franchising the idea of liberty and equality among people.

The second scale of human rights norms based on human rights documents is related to the purpose of the political organisation. On behalf of the promotion and protection of human rights, the positive law and the international law proclaim that the state as a political organisation has the duty and responsibility to issue legal measures and establish mechanisms to secure human rights. Therefore, it is the state's role to promote, protect and discourage human rights violation.

Moreover, a consecration of the civil and political rights requires state efforts to establishing what Thomas Hobbes and later Isaiah Berlin (1958) had argued as the negative liberty – the absence of obstacle and barriers to free people do what they want, or that what Canotilho called rights to the negative acts (Canotilho 2003). The other aspects is that of the positive liberty which is defined by the Ian Carter in the *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* as "a possibility of acting in such a way as to take control of one's life and realise one's fundamental purposes" (Carter 2016).

Distinguishing both negative and positive liberty requires an analytical focus on the specific context of the political and social philosophy. As such, it will take us back to an Emmanuel Kant's idea of free will and the sense of 'liberty', discussed years later by its contemporary fellows, mainly Isaiah Berlin. Positive and negative liberty have to do with

the way the relationship between the individuals and the state is performed, and autonomy is granted (Berlin 1958).

They involve incompatible interpretations of political or legal patterns. As Berlin attempted to demonstrate, both negative and positive liberty are not empty conceptions of liberty they are substantive claims that will vary according to the way the political tradition defines liberty (individual or of the collective). On one side, the pro-individual liberty or liberal political tradition acknowledge the importance of individual liberty over the interference of the state. It means negative freedom or non-state interference 'in the individual business.' On the other, critics of this model argue that the state intervention is necessary to place negative freedom of self-determination (Sen 1981; Carter 2016).

Positive or negative liberty is distinctive only for a political purpose not for substantive differences. Both places individuals or collective liberty at the centre of the relationship between the individual and the state. In this sense, we must not forget that the great achievement and evolution of human rights resulted in the internationalisation of human rights.

In response to the Nazi regime atrocities, genocide and mass killing, the United Nations and the International Community had witnessed the world engagement to protecting humankind, by imposing and reinforcing limits to the arbitrary use of power (political or military). Despite the gradual evolution of human right regimes, since its inception in 1945 until today, it is undeniable the challenges and rewards of human rights around the World.

### 1.2.2. Social, economic and cultural rights as a right to the city

The demand for development and the fight against poverty have become the most important issues and contemporary challenges in Africa. Hence, the implementation of the measures applied by the international models of economic development has become problematic and ambivalent due to the conflicting logic of customary-based models of economic development and cultural framework.

The social concern of human rights and local economic development in Mozambique are relatively difficult to define within the framework of national understanding. Therefore, ethnic and cultural diversity makes them difficult to justify without confronting the problem of cultural relativism pointed out by Tuner. It is also difficult to know how human rights and economic development could be enforced and locally accepted (Turner 2006, p. 46).

The relationship between democracy (citizens' political participation) and development have a long and contentious history. Development started gaining academic attention right after World War II and the period in which decolonisation occurred in many African and Asian countries. Nevertheless, years later, a few authoritarian regimes achieved remarkable economic growth, such as China, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan, Malaysia and Chile, compared to the sluggish record of democracies like India. Consequently, this dynamic created the impression that democracy and development were not ideally suited (Ghosh 2016).

Although we see democracy and development mutually reinforcing, these are particular and quite localised patterns. The political regimes based on the non-Western model of politics tend to criticise the Western or liberal democracy, however, they focus the lens on economic objectives. By doing so, they focus on economics instead of democracy and human rights.

These regimes postpone human rights and democracy, claims the right to self-determination, the right to cultural diversity and definition of own political models and philosophy. This resulted in political cleavages between the liberal democracy and other political codes. The hegemonic political tradition sees democracy is complementary or necessary to development, while other political traditions find democracy obstacles to development.[21]

As stated by Jack Donnelly a "dichotomous division of any complex reality is likely to be crude and easily misread to sagest that the two categories are antithetical"(Donnelly 2013, p. 40). These divergences are fuelled by the long-term imposition of Western civilisation to the World. We see one reality in which apparently human rights, development and democracy are sacred and other realities in which different paradigms of human rights are applied.

We find the consecration of rights aims to promote general welfare in a democratic society by allowing men and women to enjoy all economic, social and cultural right – right to work, right to education, cultural and language, right to property, to mention a few (Silva & Andrade 2000; Osório & Macuácua 2014).

Furthermore, in the 1990s a significant shift had occurred in the political engagement and response to human rights. Thus, the postcolonial Africa today,

---

[21] This second obviously happens in the environment where the political leaders maintain their power through dictatorship, or invoke cultural relativism and religious specificities to accommodate their political ideology.

acknowledged democracy (citizen' political participation), decentralisation (good governance), development (sustained economic growth) and human rights/ citizenship rights (respect for the rights of citizens) and connects them to the standards of international political legitimacy and to hegemonic political goals (Donnelly 2013, p. 217).

Therefore, there are (at the regional level) some affinities with human rights such being the case of that proclaimed through the African system of human rights. In fact, all African mechanisms of human rights conceive human rights as fundamental for democracy and development.[22] Given the reciprocity among democracy, human rights and development, the 1993 Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action on Human Rights call for moral principles on the indivisibility and interdependency between them. In this picture, "democracy, development and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, are interdependent and mutually reinforcing" are universal.

Whenever a ruling regime is at least 'reinforced' by contemporary claims and demand for democracy, development, and human right, the Universal Declaration on Human Rights regards "the will of people" as a necessary toolset of the authority of governments (UNGA 1948).

In other words, democracy, development, human right and decentralisation have important conceptual and practical affinities. The idea of a democratic and developed nation oriented to the sustainable development-based economy has become one of the most important concerns of contemporary economic theory. This is perhaps the essential account of the Millennium Development Goal. Its primary goal is to ensure the economic, social, and cultural rights, as well as civil and political rights, will be assessed in a sustainable way by the ordinary citizens. For example, the right to food, water and sanitation, basic health care, social security, rights to work, children right, women's rights and gender equality (Donnelly 2013, p. 218).

Given the government role in creating a legal and political environment in which human rights can flourish, a number of African countries have adopted and implemented controversial economy-based politics. Thus, multinational corporations and the direct

---

[22] The African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (Banjul Charter), The African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (African Children's Charter), The Protocol establishing the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights (African Court Protocol), The Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa (African Women's Protocol), The African Court of Human and People's Rights (Zeleza & McConnaughay 2004; Zeleza 2006; Yeshanew 2011).

foreign investment have perpetuated their presence in Africa by entering into local government business via a public-private partnership.

The driving force of multinational corporations is liberal market principles. They are not interested in human rights. It means that their major aim is profit and expansion of their market and profits. So, human rights will not be or determined or secured by the logic of the market. The other controversial aspect is the supposed violation of human rights perpetrated by the state.

In contemporary Mozambique for example, the economic impact of a long-term civil war, corruption, patronage, land grabbing for large-scale agribusiness investment and the lack of opportunities in the rural areas have contributed to deteriorating the social and economic conditions of the locals (Hanlon 2004). This has made the already weak welfare state deeply more fragile.

Recently, the hostages between the Renamo guerrilla and the national defence and security forces fuelled the rural exodus. Rural communities and peasants and their relatives have been forced to leave their lands to give access to the megaprojects and international corporation operating in mineral resources and agribusiness. Consequently, it affects human rights.

To challenge these realities and call for social justice, local democracy, and to reduce the impact of the weak economic environment in Mozambique – particularly in the small towns and municipalities, civil society organisations have been demanding more involvement in the local decision-making forum and public accountability.

In response to such demands, the local governments have been reformed and applying norms and policies to improve public access to the definition of public priorities. Several reforms have been implemented such as participatory budgeting as well as the decentralised planning. However, these measures are yet to solve the problems of social injustice and inequalities.[23]

### 1.2.3. Citizens' participation and the right to the city

Given the fast-growing urbanisation in developing countries, human rights require grounding to flourish and challenge the contemporary political, social, economic and cultural structures. Both civil and political rights and social, economic and cultural rights are interconnected with the rights to the city.

---

[23] We discuss this point in the next chapters.

It is important to investigate how social configurations of the city as public space have been influenced by the colonial perception of what a city should be and to what extent such configurations work to boost the rights to the city from that of the individuals to collective rights.

The implementation of individual rights in the cities such as freedom of speech, assembly and protest, depends on the political tradition and the foundational jurisprudence (Donnelly 2013, p. 100). Thus, different jurisdictions would apply different evaluation of such rights according to their concept of human dignity. For instance, social justice, sense of belonging, healthy environment, diversity and common responsibility in constructing public space.

In attempting to bring a consensus towards the concept of rights to the city, and its relation to citizens' rights and human rights, the Global Platform for the Right to the City, based on human rights instruments and Sustainable Development Goals defined the rights to the city as "the right of all inhabitants, present and future, permanent and temporary to use, occupy and produce just, inclusive and sustainable cities, defined as a common good essential to a full and decent life" (GPR2C 2014, p. 3).[24]

The interpretation of the concept of rights to the city tracks down important features to the centre of individuals and a collectivity. First, is the fact that all inhabitants regardless their lifetime they own these rights (Lefebvre 1996; 2003). It means that rights to the city are universal to all city' inhabitant. Nevertheless, this point could raise concerns about what city means and their limits.[25]

There is a dialectic approach to universal rights that brings together the intimate relationship between citizens' rights and human rights. Such being the case of the right to a healthy environment, rights to water and sanitation, rights to sustainable development, rights to enjoy the public place and use public facilities, rights to historic places and culture and rights to participate in the local decision-making forum.

For a deep understanding of the universality of the rights to the city, the quoted Global Platform for the Rights to the City asserts diffusive rights and collective rights.

---

[24] For details, see Habitat III Conference - The New Urban Agenda at www. http://habitat3.org/ (UN 2016).
[25] In Mozambique for example, the current conception of city is that inherited of the Portuguese colonial era, where were distinguished two perspectives: The main city – 'cement city' and the surrounding or informal settlement. Recently, the composition of city applied to the mentioned characteristics yet shapes the way people and the national governments deals with.

### 1.3. From the State of Nature to the Modern State's Political Theories

In the classic *Leviathan*, Thomas Hobbes acknowledges the centrality of the social contract to securing peace necessary to 'felicity' within the *polis*. Given that in the 'state of nature,'[26] the logic of pursuing happiness and satisfaction differ among individuals and in certain circumstances it could erupt into conflict, Hobbes calls sovereign authority to reinforce law and maintain peace among individuals (Hobbes [1651]1986).

If we interpret Hobbes' thought, we find three important aspects at the core of that conflicting relationship. The first aspect is related to competition. It means that in the state of nature individuals compete with each other for the property. The second is insecurity which leads man to contend against another man to gain defence and success. The third aspect is that of the glory of the individuals who compete with each other to access power and prestige. The author 'invites' the superior authority to balance social interests and public control.

Although there is little doubt that Hobbes' assumptions are no longer valid for organising contemporary politics and social life, several nations follow questionable political practices. The important issue here is to stress the Hobbes' ideal of social and political organisation (Hobbes [1651]1986). This is relevant to establishing relations with modern States' politics, democratic accountability and power balance.

Leaving aside the analysis of the utilitarian relationship among peoples in the natural state, John Locke offers a different approach to the social and political relationship. Contrary to Thomas Hobbes, John Locke perceived the state of nature as synonymous with freedom and central to the understanding of today's political power (Locke 1823, p. 106 and 112).

A state of perfect freedom and equality is when men and women enjoy rights and liberty. All powers and jurisdictions are reciprocal – "no one has more than others." This state of equality creates a sense of belonging. However, the 'apparent' Locke state of liberty and freedom could not be perceived the total state of anarchy in which,

> "man have an uncontrollable liberty to dispose of his person or possessions, yet he has not liberty to destroy himself, or so much as any creature in his possession, but where some nobler use than its bare preservation calls for it" (Locke 1823, p. 107).

---

[26] This is detailed in chapter II of the second essay of Locke (1823).

It means in this regard that, natural norms will shape and guide the social and political life.

> "The state of Nature has a law of Nature to govern it, which obliges every one, and reason, which is that law, teaches all mankind who will but consult it, that being all equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty or possessions; for men being all the workmanship of one omnipotent and infinitely wise Maker; all the servants of one sovereign Master, sent into the world by His order and about His business; they are His property, whose workmanship they are made to last during His, not one another's pleasure" (Locke 1823, p. 107ss).

Hobbes' interpretation of the state of nature differs to that of Locke. The way both see the state of nature is different. Hobbes perceives it as a state of violence, competition and struggles. Locke sees it as a space of freedom, liberty and mutual development. However, the divergent structural position between Hobbes and Locke seems to converge on centrality of the law and authority to maintain social and political relationships.

Furthermore, if we move ahead of the state of nature and bring the notion of social and political space to the discussion, we find that Hannah Arendt perceives *polis* as a space of appearance where people live to make their appearance explicitly. This is the purpose of the social and political life (Arendt 2004).

Arendt's approach focuses on the intangibility of the notion of space or polis. She sees polis, not as a city-state or a physical platform of social and political interactions, but "it is organisation of the people as it arises out of acting and speaking together, and its true space lies between people living together for this purpose, no matter where they happen to be" (Arendt 1958, p. 198). This assumption emphasises social and political relations and the possibility of constant recreation of the public space of appearance through dialogue and actions.

On the face of it, Arendt's assumption of 'speaking and acting together in the space of appearance' only makes sense when addressed to discuss and deliberating public concerns. The space of appearance is that in which individuals gather together to discuss common projects, legislation and to solve common problems. It means the space in which individuals enjoy the right to participate in deliberating social, economic and political concerns.

Arendt views the space of appearance as an emancipatory social and political platform to grant power to individuals. This scope of acting together to safeguard social and political demands is what Arendt calls power. The more important aspect of following, is the way the author perceives and approaches the 'phenomenon' of power.

Hannah Arendt synthesises power as a product of action because it is based on balanced activities and diversified perspective and entirely rests on persuasion because it concerns the capacity to hold political consensus (Arendt 1972). This approach to power appeals to an essential disposition of legitimacy.

Hence the capacity of assembling individuals to discussing and deliberating public matters is at the centre of power legitimacy. Thereof, power is the capacity and rational persuasion among individuals who stand together in solving common problems. Thus, the other lens suggests that the Arendt's approach demands distinguishing power from violence, force and strength.

When discussing the ideology and construction of the state power and politics in Africa, Étienne Le Roy perceives the State as a 'mysterious entity' in constant interaction with citizens. In parallel with that, Le Roy debates the complex influence of the 'Western state model' to the postcolonial politics and contemporary state in Africa (Le Roy 1997).

The other aspect discussed by several scholars is the impact of colonial thought and tradition in postcolonial Africa.[27] Patrick Chabal and Jean-Pascal Daloz argue that "virtually all models of African politics are constructed on the assumption that development and modernisation are coterminous" (Chabal & Daloz 1999, p. 142). In this picture, both Le Roy' 'mysterious entity' and the Chabal and Daloz's view of African politics share the idea that whatever the political dynamics in contemporary Africa, there is a consensus about the influence played by the colonial legacy.[28]

The field of postcolonial studies criticised the way the idea of a recent state was implemented in the context of a conflicting political logic in Africa. In this respect, Achille Mbembe draws a 'low-optimistic vision' about the future of the process of decolonisation of Africa. Mbembe goes further and perceives the postcolonial African states as a mere recipient of the 'imported models' – such as political, economic or even

---

[27] See (Duignan & Jackson 1986; Mudimbe 1988; Bayart 1989; Badie 1992; Chabal 1992; Carrier 1995; Herbst 2015; Mamdani 1996; Bourmaud 1997).

[28] The situation of Africa today is questionable. It has nothing to do with the lack of intellectual capacity of the Africans in defining their future. So, the way in which the African poverty and ignorance is reinforced and perpetuated by the outsiders turns Africa to an infinity backward and vulnerability. For details, see (Rodney 1973).

social – therefore, there is obvious, the continuing consequences of the colonial legacy. In this term, the "sociology of colonising Africa" plays a central role in shaping the contemporary societies. This undeniable statement leads us to agree that Africa today is highly Westernised. Thereof, contemporary African state is the result of a radical attempt of rupture with colonial ties. However, in practice what remains strong is the logic of the colonial state paradigm (Mbembe 1992; 2001a).

The relationship between the colonial logic and the local-based political thought tends to accommodate popular demands by maintaining the boundaries of the state politics. It means that the state's model of the colonial past is locally adapted and perceived as a new model. However, the logic of inequality in some African countries and the ruling system (some are in constant militarised conflicts) shows that we are dealing with colonial practices. The modern African state failed to emancipate itself. It failed to create genuine African political models from the rupture with the colonial models (Bratton & Van de Walle 1997; Chabal 2009).

In these revealing assumptions, we find that most African countries expelled colonialists and acquired political independence (partial independence), but the colonial thought remains. Most of the former colonies adopted the language of their coloniser as an official language, the laws and judicial system and even the administrative system follows the colonial logic. Africa failed to expel colonialism to acquire genuine freedom, and the colonial thought and practices continue to shape African minds and societies.[29]

In this section, we do not intend to create a political theory of the modern African States or discuss the origins of the Africa state power or political apparatus, but engage in a theoretical discussion that could lead us to understand how politics in modern African states are being conducted and its interaction with the pillars of democracy.

Given the complexity and diversity of the African politics, its analysis demands a great amount of personal, cultural and normative precaution. This is not just because of

---

[29] The former colonised zones, now independent States yet continue to be divided in two. The dominant class and the rest of the citizens – the powerful vs. the powerless. So, the independence process failed to create a horizontal society free of class exploitation. The gap between the social politics and its implementation operates and perpetuates social inequality and injustice. Today, the government of the postcolonial Africa States has great challenges to adopt more inclusive models of politics in which their citizens can feel part of, to create local autonomy and reduce foreign dependency (political, economic and social), the African states should be more sympathetic for participatory models. Even thought is argued that citizen participation per se cannot promote development, but at least can contribute to horizontal social relations. This is why president Samora Machel who ruled Mozambique from 1975 to 1986 had vigorously punish corrupt officers and implemented revolutionary views in which people could be involved in popular assemblies, communal production.

the dimension of the continent, but also the diversity of local political tradition and a distinct colonial legacy. We will discuss the African subjectivities inherent to the interpretation and validity of the political theory.

**Figure 2: The Postcolonial African States theories**
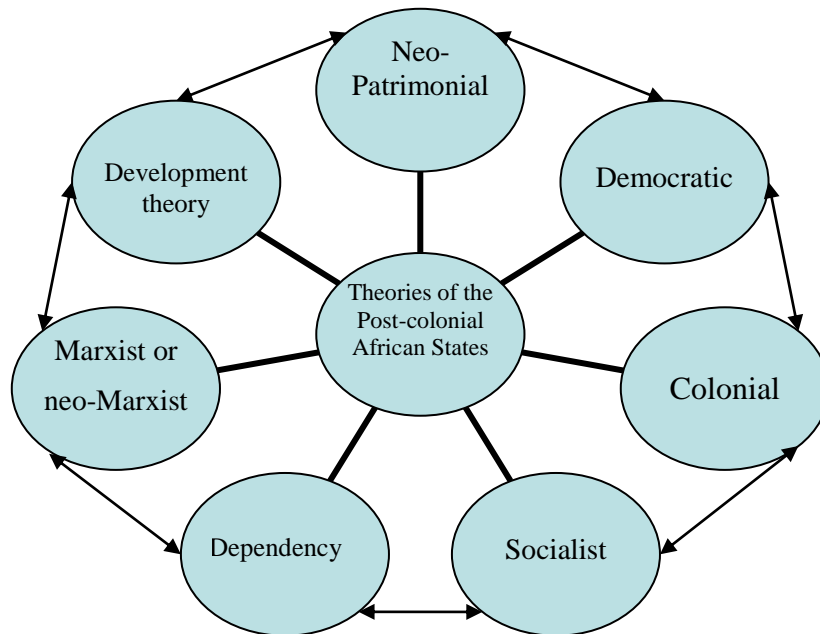
In the preceding discussion, we stress the theories substantive to explaining the politics of postcolonial Africa. It is important to remember that theory does not "stand in a vacuum; it is constructed throughout certain historical contexts and then applies in specific ways" (Chabal 2009, p. 2 and 3). In this regard, the theory is a general organisation of knowledge.

### 1.3.1. Theories of development

This section explores the question of GDP at the centre of the progress or backwardness of Africa's political process and development. Foreign thought and its social understanding of Africa have played an important role in destabilising the local-based social, economic and political life. It has made it impossible to think of Africa without associating it with external influence.

The literature on economic development comprises classic and contemporary theory. Classical theory is dominated by four stages (Dang & Sui Pheng 2015). The first stage began in the 1950s to 1960s. In this phase, economic growth was linear. This stage

emphasised the capital accumulation, the economic growth and a combination of domestic saving, investment or GDP. In this picture, development was viewed through the lens of material wealth. The other important aspect was the complacency towards social class inequalities, poverty, environmental issues and gender-based discrimination were ignored in the name of maximisation of income growth (Solow [1970] 2000).

The second stage, characterised by structural changes occurred in the 1970s. Years later, scholars and policymakers understood the fragility of the income growth approach to responding to matters of development. The 1970s marked the period of structural changes in the social, economic and political way of addressing development issues. Concerns about poverty reduction were central. Several countries had experienced a significant growth rate of per capita income and yet failed to changing peoples' life condition (Dang & Sui Pheng 2015). This starting point contributed to shifting development approaches to the next development stage. The third state is that of the international dependence of the 70s.

The fourth stage is the neoclassical or free-market that of the 1980s to 1990s. Competitiveness was the primary aspect of this stage. Economic competitiveness played a central role in providing new jobs, new consumption goods and improving well-being. New development objectives were established[30] and brought new elements into consideration – such as standards in delivering services and quality of life and individual freedom, focus on economic, social and cultural rights (Sen 1985; 1999).

The recent theories of economic development are dominated by the idea of interconnection among the economic growth, political liberties (democracy), freedom (human rights) and issues on climate change and environment (Sen 1999; Dang & Sui Pheng 2015).

Although both classic and contemporary theories aimed at providing strategies and insights into understanding development implications and to making development goals achievable, therefore. The contemporary theories incorporate issues in which the classical theory failed or ineffectively addressed contemporary concerns.

---

[30] The objective shifted from a simple economic growth to the reduction of poverty, inequalities and unemployed to the focus on quality of life. Therefore, quality of life become the central development objective. In this aspect, changes in income redistribution, public service delivering, education, health care, water and sanitation and environmental issues were applied at the core of the new objectives. The World Bank, states that, improvement of quality of life mainly of that living in developing countries should constitute the central objective of the government. The objective shifted from the promotion of economic growth to improvement of the quality of life.

Therefore, the contemporary approach of development is oriented to the sustainability of the process and the indivisibility of the 'human needs.' It means that the essential development elements and orientations which all countries follow are unveiled and 'soon Africa will eventually get there.' The question here is to what extent did these theories politically and economically favour Africa?

For instance, what Patrick Chabal and Jean-Pascal Daloz called 'the politics of dependence or the politics of mirror'[31] addresses foreign political language to the African realities. By doing so, these models reinforces the idea that "the outsiders (donors or foreign experts) knows and understands what Africa needs". Most of those models stated that in the long-term the logic of market could grow the economy and brings a better life to the locals (Chabal & Daloz 1999).

Critically, in the short run, that measure seemed to contribute to deteriorating the social situation by reducing the government duties, responsibilities and expenditures over social needs. In this case,

> "the benefits of the expansion of the market did not make up for the impact on the population of the sharp cuts in government spending on social and economic activities. Urban dwellers, in particular, suffered higher levels of unemployment and a serious fall in their standard living. Indeed, open borders and the export of primary products have not led to sustained development anywhere in the World. Privatisation has enabled highly dubious practices, favouring state elite and corruption" (Chabal & Daloz 1999, p. 121).

This perspectives of running politics trough liberalisation of the economy had reinforced the idea of "Africa as a mere receptive of imported models" and acknowledged the outside domination and controls. In this condition, market *per se* will not respond to sustainable economic growth in Africa.

Economic performance assessed through GDP and gross national product (GNP) and gross national income (GNI) per capita plays a central role in ranking countries in terms of progress and backwardness. These patterns drive the economic and political relationship (WB 1997). Therefore, the political stability and scientific research, internal and external market competitiveness linked to citizens' participation in the decision-

---

[31]The Bretton Woods structural adjustment delivered and implemented in Africa in response to economic crisis is a great example of these politics. For details, see Mosca (1999; 2002).

making process might provide a normative and empirical approach to economic development.

The present social, economic and political condition of Africa results from a long-term historical process with 'ups' and 'downs' – exploitation-oriented economy, slave trade impact, lack of industrialisation and infrastructure, small sized internal markets, lack of capacity to operate and compete in international markets, and the export of gross raw materials. The universal development theories had contributed to pushing Africa to the left side of the development equation. The vision of assessing countries through their GDP or gross national income per capita to tracking development steeped on dichotomisation of the world – developed countries and developing countries.

However, this principle will shape the way Africa is interpreted as a backward continent, or developing continent and the place in which measures should be taken in order to lift them socially, economically and politically. The lack of balanced conditions on foreign direct investment and economic cooperation between African countries and other economic actors outside Africa, as well as the 'restrictive' international market regulations, have been leading the continent to the position of the recipient of Western and Asian modernisation (Bayart 1989; Mbembe 2001b; Kabunda Badi 2000).

### 1.3.2. Neo-patrimonial theories

Although the question of the state power in Africa is complex and widely discussed in political and social science (Chabal 2009), we focus on the universal development perspective applied to African states and the native-based socioeconomic and cultural features along with their impact in the contemporary African states politics.

Given the patrimonial orientation of the state in Africa and its role as the main economic actor, the Bretton Woods loan conditions challenged African regimes. It exercised pressure to reward the African clientelism network, thus 'endangering' the continuity of most African government. A number of governments refused to implement such measures or even reversed them to adjust to their political aims.

The example of this parallel constellations is what Mahmood Mamdani called 'bifurcated state' (Mamdani 1996, p. 5), and Homi Bhabha called 'democracy de-

realised' (Bhabha 2003).[32] In this regard, Bhabha outlined the pre-existent division between embattled politics and the narrative without opposition.

If we enter into debates across this issue, we find that both Mamdani and Bhabha underlined the ways in which the Western patterns and politics have been exported to the entire world. For this reason, the logic of contemporary politics in Africa and elsewhere lie in the Western political and economic paradigm (Mamdani 1996; Bhabha 2003; Chabal 2009).

The other aspect is the way in which such politics are implemented in the host countries. Since the triumph and globalisation of liberal democracy, the business of political power in postcolonial Africa and across the world is shifting to the conservative and radical.

In the conservative African state orientation, the hierarchy of the modern local state power continued after independence means that the colonial ruling logic yet shapes the local power structures. They reproduced the decentralised despotism in the form of the colonial state in Africa (Herbst 2015).

Contrary, the radical states seemed to considerable changes thereby operating in distinctive perspectives. They sought to reform but failed to do so through democratic tools. In some cases, the customary-based law was discarded and seen as simple customary laws transcending tribal boundaries (Mamdani 1996). Therefore, there are two legal apparatus operating in parallel. One is that of the modern law for urban zones, and the other is that customary law applied to rural areas.

The radical reformists tended to centralise the power structure. They paved the ground for the local dispute over political power and narrowly connected to the central state. These new forms of wealth accumulation are anchored in the government's role of providing public services. Local elites captured local power and conquered their economic influence. Therefore, the political elite who control the state has major implications on the trade-off between their wealth accumulation and public interests (Bratton & Van de Walle 1997).

If on the one hand, the allocation of basic financial resources and the provision of public services helps to halt the public confidence and legitimacy, on the other, it serves to maintain the ruling elite in power to last the benefits and increasing private profits.

---

[32] When discussing the State in Mozambique, Boaventura de Sousa Santos proposes a concept of heterogeneous state (Santos 2006e).

However, the primary impact is the emergence of authoritarian regimes by which the opposition are not tolerated to 'disturb' the ruling regime. In this perspective, we see political leaders perpetuating their influence in politics and business without facing public accountability.

Mahmood Mamdani steps beyond a 'simple' dichotomisation of the African realities and seeks to offer a bold, insightful account of the legacy of colonialism. He argues the way the states pays off reforms in one socioeconomic sector against repression in the other, and the role of the state institutional reforms in reinforcing the tension between rural and urban (Mamdani 1996).

Mahmood Mamdani brings critical elements to the analysis. In discussing the way politics in Africa affect people, he acknowledges two logics in what he compared with colonialism and apartheid in the colonial territories. The ambivalence of the African state politics is similar to the indirect rule, characteristic of the British colonial empire and, direct rule characteristic of the Portuguese colonial administration and the Franch colonial administration, and later apartheid implemented in South Africa and Palestine.[33]

Both direct and indirect administration served the interests of the colonisers and negatively impacted the life, culture and development of the native populations. This is what happens in Africa today. With the connivance of the national government, the multinational corporation expels peasants and rural communities in the name of economic reforms, development and public-private partnerships. On the other hand, the citizens living in the urban areas are "governed" by the logic of the market. The primary government role in the provision of public services, such as education, basic health, water supply, electricity, and so on are being restricted to those who can pay for it. In this model, the interests of the grand capital 'speaks louder' than the government voice. It makes clear that the process of occupation and colonisation characterised by direct repressions and destructions of the native socioeconomic structure of livelihood made by the colonisers administrative and military apparatus and the local collaborators, today is taken forward by the postcolonial states.

The transplantation of the Western state political models and the continuation of the colonial exploitation dynamics are inappropriate. The second aspect adduces that the postcolonial African state necessarily reflects the patrimonial nature of local politicians

---

[33]Recently Jimmy Carter and many critics of Israeli occupation policy nominated apartheid for what is happening in Palestine (Donnelly 2013).

and corporate interests. It leads us to understand that the contemporary African states failed to provide new models for serving their citizens and the state institutions demonstrated their dysfunction towards local communities' interests.

### 1.3.3. Democratic theory

Today, democratic theory fits in some social, economic and political approaches. Therefore, democracy is universal and 'undeniable'. Democratic theory is sustained and lifted by the vision of liberal democracy as the only viable mechanism of modern politics (Chabal 2009).

It is not our intention here to discuss the theory of democracy in the politics in Africa and how justified and relevant democratic theory is and its impact on African economic and political models. In the process of attempting to interpret the causal factors across the inevitable democratisation of the world and the recent blooming of multiparty elections in Africa, some scholars find the simultaneity between the end of the Cold War and the emergence of economic liberalism at the centre of the democratic expansion (Chabal & Daloz 1999; Chabal 2009).

Both democracy and liberal capitalism were delivered to Africa aiming to provide an alternative model of political and economic development. However, the triumph of capitalism brought to an end all competing patterns. Today, the full implementation of democracy and economic liberalism scores high resistance and controversy among African leaders (El-Khawas & Ndumbe 2006). Many of them call themselves democratic, but the reality is different.

The implementation of both democracy and economic liberalism is endowed with the modernisation of politics and economics (Dahl 1971; Held 1995). We believe that democratisation of Africa results in a globalised movement of economic and political patterns[34] in which Africa has had nothing to say[35] (Mamdani 1983; Chabal 2009).

---

[34] See Santos (2007) for details. The author discusses hegemonic and counter-hegemonic globalisation and its impact in both global north and south. Santos defines hegemonic globalisation as a mainstream globalisation, a process of spreading the Western social, economic and cultural patterns, as well as politics to the rest of the world. On the other side, Patrick Chabal call these dynamics, the Westernisation of the world. Counter-hegemonic globalisation, has to do with the resistance, struggle and opposition of a certain actors in adopting the Western patterns (Chabal 2009). This process entails facts in which the marginalised cultures claim their original identity or negotiate it with hegemonic standards.

[35] As part of loan and foreign aid conditions, the Western donors and the Bretton Woods institutions were asking for reforms of the political economic system of African and Asian countries. The grants were conditioned and required democratisation and adoption of certain economic and political reforms. One of that, was to change the role of the government in the political economy.

Consequently, the questions of the economic and political dependence of Africa are widely discussed. Several concerns were raised, and the most challenging is the contribution of Africa to the hegemonic globalisation. It is undeniable that Africa exports primary good or raw materials and imports manufactured products and even food. It will be useful only if the government of African countries takes measures to secure local basic transformation of the basic products.

Although a modern definition of dependence – such as agency, international cooperation, programmatic assistance – is applied to overlap the idea of 'a receptor of foreign support' or to bring new actors into politics and economics, the issues of political and economic dependence remain problematic. It contributes to fuelling corruption in many African states (Hanlon 2004).[36]

Given the situation, we argue that the influence of African politics and realities made through different realities and theories. It is not to say that African states should be isolated or not cooperating in the international arena, but we stress the ideal of reciprocity and socio-cultural balance.

Thus, the issues of political or economic universalism could be considered while dealing with economic or political cooperation. For this reason, a significant number of African states attempted to reject the transplanted model of the state and economics on arguments of socio-cultural and economic incompatibilities.

The assumption that democracy is universal and represents a political modernisation rests on the idea that institutionalising democracy will eventually result in the emergence of democratic political culture (Chabal 2009). Democratic theory is universalist, teleological and steeped in a notion of modernisation as a variant of Westernisation.

## 1.4. The Highlights

The recognition of the citizenship status to Africans resulted in political independence. This perspective only makes sense if we read it with the concept of self-determination or humanisation of Africans. On this ground, human rights struggles play an important role in pushing the politics of humanising human rights in Africa.

The concept of citizenship had served colonial purposes and was essential to differentiate between locals and Europeans or outsiders. There were legitimate and

---

[36] Joseph Hanlon discusses the case of Mozambique (Hanlon 2004).

institutionalised social inequalities and racial differences. In parallel with the status of citizens, a low-level status was granted to the natives who learned European civilisation and abandoned their autochthonous tradition. The lowest status was the indigenous granted to the natives who remain ruled by their customary law.

Human rights, in theory, and practice, places human dignity at the centre of its aims. It reflects contradictions and ambiguities related to its interpretation, political and cultural traditions. Human rights are used both to support hegemonic political discourses and as a battle cry for marginalised groups. Some discriminated and marginalised groups have been using human rights to sustain and support their claims.

The modern African state is beyond the simplistic dichotomisation of the imported versus local-based state architecture. The African state dynamics are complex and involves different aspects and actors. We avoid taking for granted the arguments that Africa today means the presence of colonial thought. The states in Africa have recreated themselves to build an African political, economic and social paradigm based on a combination of both inherited modernity and contemporary dynamics.

Given the complexity and the fast-growing dynamics are driven by the hegemonic globalisation and challenged by the local-based paradigms, the future of the African government is riddled with a great number of challenges. These challenges can be traced from the demographic, environmental, social, economic, political, education and health to the creation of infrastructure to respond to demand. Such being the case of urbanisation of the cities for responding to the rural exodus.

However, the logic of social justice and self-determination may lead us to understand that there is an insignificant line that separates human rights, democracy and development. They are interconnected. Life under the umbrella of modern states means safeguarding human rights. We find that the right to the City is narrowly compatible with social diversity and social justice. Colonial divisions of a city remain and continue to shape the political and social context. It makes the rights to the city one of the most unfilled rights in Africa.

# CHAPTER TWO – DECENTRALISATION AND DECONCENTRATION: THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT

## 2.1. Introduction

Today, the concept of decentralisation and democracy are more present than ever in political and social science (Smoke 2003; Manor 2011). The current discussions on these topics usually present them as interdependent concepts. However, they can sometimes be concurrent or linked. They can peacefully coexist or even conflict.

The implementation of democracy in governance (political society and civil society) led to the evolution of new scientific concerns and concepts. Some of these concepts are decentralisation, deconcentration, local power and public participation. This chapter presents the relationship between decentralisation and democracy. It looks at how the devolution of power to low-level jurisdictions affects democracy (citizens' participation) and human rights (rights to participate in the local affairs).

This chapter is structured into two sections. The first section contextualises the process of democratic decentralisation. We discuss the concepts of decentralisation and deconcentration, the theories of decentralisation and its approach to the role of government. To deepen the discussion on this topic, the second section of this chapter presents the concepts of deconcentration and devolution of power and autonomy to the subnational level.

We conclude that the process of decentralisation can occur in a variety of social, economic and political contexts. To function well, decentralisation should be accompanied by a strong institutional capacity, political will, active citizenship and principles of democracy and human rights. Thus, decentralisation could allow local citizens to define the models of decentralisation and power-sharing they want.

## 2.2. Contextualising Democratic Decentralisation

Over the last two decades, changes in politics and public administration have been implemented in different parts of the World. One of the pivotal elements of these reforms concern the ways in which national governments share power and responsibilities with a number of different actors.

Theoretically, elected governments tend to be more power-sharing oriented than authoritarian regimes. However, there are a number of arguable aspects such as the

quality and degree of that shared power; the degree of citizens' rights and political autonomy of the new jurisdictions (created by sharing power) from the national government.

The process of power transfer from the centre to the periphery, widely known as decentralisation of the central state power, is an opportunity to democratise *de facto* the state-citizen relationship. It is a realistic form of getting citizens into local power structures. The materialisation of this process could happen in distinctive dimensions: political, fiscal and administrative autonomy of the local governments from the national government.[37]

The literature on this topic argues that political, fiscal and administrative decentralisation has its roots linked to the colonial administration' *modus operandi*. In this system, instructions were spread through different levels of jurisdiction to capture tax, revenues, and social and political control over local populations. This process of transferring power from the centre to the periphery in developing countries has encompassed the replication of the national state bureaucracy and the political control (Heller 2001).

As a product of political reforms and administrative reconfiguration, decentralisation falls into at least two distinct scenarios. The first scenario concerns the creation of significant local capacity through popular struggles, and civil society movements' demands. This can be influenced by the capacity of the locals to challenge and demand participation in the deliberative forums and the so-called 'exceptional' local government. Perhaps, its proximity to the left-wing ideology makes them much more receptive to the citizens' insights, opinions and contributions than others. It allows political diversity, enhances the citizens' autonomy and influences the cohesion among social actors.

The second scenario is much more complex and problematic when it comes to the government with roots on centralised ideology. The government grants the subnational government with a limited autonomy – to a significant jurisdiction to service delivery, waste and land management – but, concentrates all great decisions. We might say, for example, the decision over environment management, judiciary and infrastructure. By doing so, we see nothing wrong with that. However, it becomes problematic when the

---

[37] Although the political spectrum around bureaucratic state finds decentralisation central to making the government more efficient in delivering public service and more accountable, flexible and open to public participation, there is no granted reasons to state that low level government means more democracy.

national government interferes in the local democracy by which affects local business. Among other studies on the topic of decentralisation in Mozambique, the National Association of the Municipal Governments in Mozambique (ANAMM) and the World Bank reported the first decade of decentralisation in Mozambique. They showed how the interference of the national government into municipal government constraints the municipal planning and development (ANAMM; MAE & WB 2009).[38]

Moreover, international treaties and conventions, loans and foreign aid conditions have forced many national governments to transfer part of their responsibilities and primary duties to the low-level jurisdictions. In almost all democratised contexts – from developed to developing countries – we find that local governments are presently performing more duties than ever before (Rondinelli et al. 1983; Olowu & Smoke 1992; Olowu 2003; Manor 2011; Weimer 2012b). More and more governments are adopting decentralisation.

### 2.2.1. The concept of decentralisation and deconcentration

The decentralised units are those in which the centre shares responsibilities and autonomy with them. The low-level political actors play an important role in promoting local cohesion and the national state's aims. However, there is little consensus about what decentralisation means and to what extent it should apply.

In the history of political authority, political power-sharing seems inevitable because it determines the way in which the state power is exercised (Foucault 1982). In this regard, the state power involves different levels of political actors to responding to the different demands. It means that every measure or politics is oriented to a specific scale of implementation. Under this perspective, the process of power-sharing can occur either in democratic or authoritarian regime because it is useful to manage political power' interaction within national, regional and local scales.

Given the aim of straightening political control to subnational jurisdictions and given the devolving political power to the local communities, the concept of decentralisation only makes sense when addressed through a specific political context and pre-defined degree. In this aspect, decentralisation should be analysed from a number of perspectives and approaches. Scholars in the disciplines of political science, sociology and social science as a whole, who explored decentralisation from its antonym –

---

[38]We discuss this issue in the case study's sections.

centralisation – they converged on the idea that centralisation means to control and orientation to the centre of the power (Olowu 2003; Ndegwa & Levy 2004).[39]

However, the concept of decentralisation appears more problematic. If we consider a given political or academic tradition in the issues of power, we begin with people's sovereignty by which, every "individual has equal power, and participates equally in the government of the state."[40] This statement leads to the perception of decentralisation as a matter of allowing people to participate equally in the (local) government and to weaken the central state authority. In this, decentralisation can be determined by the degree of the local governments' autonomy from the national government, as well as the degree of the citizens' involvement in the state institutions at the local level.

The second approach to defining decentralisation consists of looking at the people's authority to influence local administration and manage the financial resources – that provided by the national government as well as those results of the local tax. Again, the present definition focuses on a partial aspect of a complex concept, in fact, defining decentralisation in such a way to reduce a complex concept into a simple utilitarian concept based on the state resources (Falleti 2005).

The third argument related to decentralisation is more pragmatic than the others. It involves a vast range of political, social and economic interaction among citizens and between them with the local government as well as with national government. We find some political and academic culture that includes democracy and market reforms in the definition of decentralisation (Weimer 2012a; 2012b; Manor 2013). Decentralisation requires a large look at the factors in which the citizens/state relation is based on and the social relations at different scales of administrative divisions.

While Alexis de Tocqueville finds double centralist spheres in American politics,[41] in modern Mozambique, we see a 'centralisation of the decentralisation of the government' institutions, duties and affairs'. This question leads us to understand that there exists a decentralised centralisation – equivocally perceived as a full decentralisation – which is necessary to be characterised with accuracy.

---

[39] See Pétric (2012) for detail.

[40] Tocqueville ([1835]1984).

[41] For further insights, see Tocqueville ([1835]1984). Tocqueville discusses decentralisation in America and underlines two kinds of centralisation. The first is that related to the national interests which should be managed and secured by the national governments, and the second is that of the peculiar or local interests. This aspect requires decentralised administrations and institutions.

Therefore, we might say that the national government reforms the public administration and implements a number of measures and public policies to respond to the public needs at different scales. Under the so-called gradualism,[42] the national government grants the local government with autonomy in fiscal resources, land and waste management in order to secure citizens' participation, reduce political conflicts, poverty and allow better public service. This approach to local communities can be perceived as an innovative way of addressing local demands.

Despite the progress in the citizens' approach to local democracy and public service, the national government still controls the local structure of power – thus, emerges the concept of deconcentration. The process in which the central government appoints bureaucrats to rule sub-province and local jurisdictions as well as to represent the national government' interests at the local level (Canhanga 2008; Zavale 2011; Weimer 2012b; Forquilha 2015).

Deconcentration is a process endowed to secure the national government' hegemony at different levels. Deconcentration is a simple administrative technique of transferring responsibilities within a hierarchical structure of the central government to secure the public service. This process grants local institutions full or partial autonomy towards certain duties and jurisdiction by maintaining order, and the authority at central scale appears problematic to advance decentralisation (Zavale 2011; Jamal 2014; 2015).

In this respect, we understand that there is only one legal entity that operates changes within its structure through a 'low-intensity authority-sharing' to advancing the state function. Tiago Fernandes identifies two main characteristics of deconcentration, a) the local authorities act like the central government; b) allocation of resources by the central government to serve national interests (Fernandes 2009). Deconcentration seen in such a way entails processes through which citizen participation and the degree of autonomy of the local power depends on the will of the national government reflected in the legal framework.

This concept is similar to decentralisation and has become a 'buzzword' in Mozambique. Deconcentration is commonly perceived complementary to decentralisation as well as a very important aspect of securing political cohesion and the national state's interest (Soirri 1999; West & Kloeck-Jenson 1999). Politicians from the ruling party and

---

[42] The process of decentralisation in Mozambique is conducted under the gradual logics the local districts with autonomy and resources to resolving their local business (Resolution 40/2012). For details, see Buur (2009).

the opposition[43], civil society and ordinary citizens view decentralisation and deconcentration synonymous with democracy. The positive values of local democracy, good governance and local economic development are taken for granted. What makes this assumption problematic is the fact that the relationship between decentralisation and deconcentration is not entirely clear (Jamal 2014). The success of the simultaneous implementation of decentralisation and deconcentration is a causal hypothesis to be empirically tested.

The effects of decentralisation and deconcentration can be on the side of the government institutions – internal procedures and the state/citizens relations through public services delivery – as well as on people's everyday life – through a sense of belonging to a certain area. Moreover, decentralisation could serve as a driving force for social harmony, political stability, tolerance and solidarity.

Furthermore, despite the confusion in establishing a consensus on what decentralisation means, there are common minimum standards of democratic decentralisation on which scholars, politicians and civil society agree. One such standard is the devolution of political power and resources from the central state and government to elected boards at the ground level (Manor 1999).

Decentralisation is a complex concept and involves a variety of other concepts, which must be carefully analysed before confirming its impact in securing democracy, human rights and local development. It means that decentralisation has to be followed by an intense public debate involving social, political and economic stakeholders to reach a consensus. Although its theoretical benefits are 'profitable', an empirical analysis is needed to ascertain the practical impacts and benefits.

### 2.2.2. The theories of decentralisation

Studies on democracy and decentralisation (Smoke 2003), and in development and human rights (Donnelly 2013) points to a new conceptual interdependence. Paul Smoke focused on democratising public governance by examining the role played by the process of decentralisation in public administration. Smoke's analysis begins with the universal

---

[43] Among all opposition party in Mozambique, only MDM – The Mozambique Democratic Movement has opposed the coexistence between deconcentration and decentralisation at district level. Recently, the RENAMO' leader has been announcing they interests to appoint provincial governors. This pretention results of controversies over the results on the 2014 general elections in which Renamo won six province, namely, Niassa, Nampula, Zambézia, Tete, Sofala and Manica.

premise of success granted by decentralisation. In such a way, decentralisation became very popular in many developing countries in the 1990s and is often seen as a solution to many of the problems that the public sector in Africa faces.

Theoretical approaches to democratic decentralisation focus on the state's relations with the citizens (civil society), locally elected power (democracy) and markets. This approach interprets decentralisation of the national government as a positive fact which benefits the state/citizen relations, promotes local democracy and promotes local economic development (Montero & Samuels 2004).

The Bretton Woods Institutions, multilateral institutions, scholars and policymakers agree on the positive impact of decentralisation. They acknowledge that the local government a generous to their citizens. Because of this, they are likely to address and respond efficiently to local demands faster than the national government and may benefit from local economic synergies. It means that decentralisation increases the efficiency of resource allocation, makes public servants and government more accountable and responsible, and reduces corruption (Heller et al. 2007; Gersovitz 2009; Manor 2011).

Given the theoretical impact of democratic decentralisation, essential administrative and political reforms towards the expansion of democracy and urban development have become pivotal discourses on institutional changes. However, there is a sceptical perspective based on empirical approach. This does not 'totally' share the opinion on the granted benefits of decentralisation and sustain its position in two dimensions. The first empirical dimension stands in parallel with the theoretical approach of democratic decentralisation and agrees that decentralisation makes the national and local government more accountable to the citizens (Rondinelli et al. 1983; Falleti 2005; Manor 2011; Jamal 2014). However, this benefit of decentralisation is determined by the degree of democracy and the current political traditions and the power of civil society. Thus, repressive governments are likely to extend their authoritarian measures in the name of what they call democracy and human rights. Either regional or local government are obliged to follow a pre-defined logic of orientations of the national government.

Contrary to that is the second dimension in which decentralisation gravitates along the process of centralisation vs. decentralisation and recentralisation vs. decentralisation (Rondinelli 1989; Samoff 1990; Montero & Samuels 2004; Chiziane 2011; Faguet 2014). It means that there is no pure decentralisation; each process of decentralisation somehow

involves recentralisation.[44] The defenders of this approach perceive the local government as being weak towards local demands and powerless against locally-based political power.[45]

If we analyse decentralisation and centralisation, public administration studies focus on public accountability, transparency, corruption, power-sharing and public service delivery (Blair 2000; Falleti 2005). On the other hand, economists are interested in the efficiency of the national and local market and social equity. At the national level, they highlight the role of the national government in securing the macroeconomic function of the national state and economic cohesion. At the local level, they claim that local governments should concentrate on local specificities.[46]

This perspective captures centralisation/decentralisation and the recentralisation/decentralisation of the state. It means that to avoid this confusion and to maintain the national state homogeneity and control, we refer to the case of the government of Mozambique. It implemented the 'central state administrative control'[47] over the decentralised institutions and the local offices of national government.

Paul Smoke draws attention to the crucial controversies over the role of decentralisation in democratic societies, and critical studies are needed to make clear the multiplex demand and outcome of decentralisation (Manor 1999; Smoke 2003; Salee & Tulchin 2004). Decentralisation is not a guarantee for citizen participation, power-sharing, protection of human rights, poverty alleviation, neither promotion of local development.

---

[44] For further contributions on this paradigm, see Montero & Samuels (2004). When discussing the political determinants of decentralisation in Latin America, they identify recentralisation reforms as part of decentralisation process. Furthermore, they underlined the cyclical ongoing process of centralisation/decentralisation and recentralisation/decentralisation.

[45] The case of Mozambique is a good example. As a result of internal pressure as well as in accordance with the logic of gradualism on the Mozambique decentralisation, the recent reforms on 2/97 law of 18 February 1997 and on public administration had granted the status of municipality and district to a number of villages without acknowledging basic conditions, such as human resources, finance and infrastructure. For details about gradualism, see Buur (2009).

[46] See Olowu (2003) for detail.

[47] In Portuguese, *Tutela Administrativa do Estado*, is a concept based on public administration principle. It has to do with the need for securing the political and administrative national cohesion by following up administrative procedure among local governments (decentralised institutions) and deconcentrated state representative. In Mozambique, this process is proclaimed by the 7/97 law of 31 May 1997, and is held by the national government through the ministry of finance (national audit department), administrative court; and the ministry of public administration.

### 2.2.3. Decentralisation approach to the role of government

By casting the dynamics of the process of decentralisation, we approach decentralisation through a multidimensional process and a political process. As a multidimensional process, decentralisation encompasses a variety of political, social and economic factors that may or may not occur simultaneously (Montero & Samuels 2004).

In responding to social needs through the provision of public services and social assistance, a national government may decentralise fiscal resources to provincial and local government institutions "but be distributed according to the national government's priorities". Decentralisation cannot be taken as synonyms to democracy because it may or may not necessarily happen following democratic patterns, such as provincial or local elections, citizens decision-making forum, local and free assemblies.[48]

The multidimensionality of the process of decentralisation is linked to the ideal of decentralisation as a political, social, and economic process. Decisions to decentralise the central state administration may be the result of political aims and factors (internal and external), social demands, and corporations or market orientations.

It leads us to assume that decentralisation is not necessarily linked to democracy, economics or social demand. It is not meant to have a direct relationship with these concepts. Decentralisation can involve democratic and non-democratic choices within a given period and it can be reversible leading to recentralisation.[49]

According to Smoke's analysis, decentralisation/recentralisation of the central state and public administration is not necessarily a problematic issue. Decentralisation may be used at two different levels and purposes. At the national level, it may be used strategically to increase the supervision of the political economy and political control by national authorities over citizens and economy. At the local level, it may lead the local elite to 'capture political power' and promote the autonomy of the locals (human rights) and local economic development (Smoke 2003).

What then is the outcome of the interactions between democracy, decentralisation, human rights and development? To answer this question, research suggests a focus on the core of their relationship between democracy and human rights (Donnelly 2013). For some scholars, the most important achievement on the relationship between democracy, decentralisation, human rights and development is their practical effects and impacts in

---

[48] For further details, see Montero & Samuels (2004, p. 8 and 9).

[49] Montero & Samuels (2004, p. 9), provides empirical insights into the concept of recentralisation, while discussing this dimension in Latin America.

the life of powerless people (Sengupta 2000; Kaufman 2005; Sen 2009). While others are more focused on administrative dimensions, mainly those related to public participation and redistributions, and resources allocations through public services. These scholars also address the way in which expenditure allocation and public services are tailored to local demand (Fung 2006; Manor 2011; Weimer 2012b).

Hence, democracy, decentralisation, human rights and development are seen as desirables and universal, because unanimously "we 'believe' that empowering people is the best political mechanism we have yet devised to secure all human rights for all and to pursue economic development and guarantee a substantive democracy"[50] (Donnelly 2013, p. 234).

## 2.3. Decentralisation and Deconcentration: Key Aspects

The literature presents theoretical evidence to show that the links between democracy and decentralisation (Heller 2001; Smoke 2003; Fung 2006; Hetland 2016), and human rights and development (Sengupta 2002; Zeleza & McConnaughay 2004; Sen 2009; Crawford & Andreassen 2016) can be valuable to extend the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens to enjoy social, economic and cultural rights (Arnstein 1969). On the other hand, those connections could promote civil and political rights (human rights) which are necessary for development.

Theoretically, the interconnections between democracy and decentralisation on the one hand and human rights and development on the other could reinforce public accountability and transparency. Both are necessary for social justice and wealth redistribution. It could allow citizens to participate in the local affairs, brings quality to the public services supply, boosts social justice and stabilise the political relations.

However, the practical evidence shows that the relationship among them is complex and varies considerably by context, place and time. The impact for democracy, and of democracy for decentralisation, has not led to better governance and economic performance unless it distinguishes different forms of decentralisation (Gersovitz 2009).

Literature on decentralisation is centred on at least three aspects which are: a) the territorial scale of the power devolution; b) the utilitarian function of decentralisation

---

[50] Boaventura de Sousa Santos called the 'high intensity democracy' (Santos 1998a). This is a form of government oriented to the citizen interests. In this form of democracy, people participate actively in different stage of making the government reality. People plays a important role in electing the government and in its functions.

which is related to public service delivery and assistance to the local citizens; and, c) the scale of autonomy of the low-level government (Rondinelli 1989; Falleti 2010). We focus on the scale of autonomy of the local government from the central government.

The pro-decentralisation scholars acknowledge that the decentralisation of the delivery and financing of public goods might improve the allocation of resources, and save operational costs, as well as discourage corruption through public accountability (Putnam 1993; Blair 2000; Manor 2011). Decentralisation is considered desirable and powerful to granting citizens with tools, skills and vital information to intervene in their communities. On the other hand, decentralisation fails in the contexts where the state lacks minimal capacity to effectively work beyond urban centres, as well as to secure substantial devolution of power – through local elections – and resources to the local units, and promote horizontal[51] public accountability – the bureaucrats to the representatives and vertical accoountability[52], that of the elected representatives to the ordinary people (Manor 2011, p. 2 and 3).

The way decentralisation is structured according to the country contexts and a number of factors. Some of those can be historic, socioeconomic and political factors (domestic and international). According to the literature on this issue, decentralisation encompass a mixture of three essential forms: deconcentration (administrative decentralisation), fiscal decentralisation and devolution or democratic decentralisation (Rondinelli et al. 1983; Smoke 2001; Falleti 2010)

Decentralisation may function well in contexts of low injustice and group domination. Instead of securing right and liberties, development and active citizenship, social inequality and promote justice, decentralisation could catalyse grievances and promote domination of some group (the power-full) over others (powerless). Because of the capacity of decentralisation in creating a local power structure, it can pave the way for the power-full groups to capture power and authority to rule over minorities. In this perspective, decentralisation could not be a political solution, nor an emancipatory mechanism for the powerless.

Therefore, the central government' role has to be the protection of powerless groups and prevent them from the misconduct and abuse of power by the powerful. Indeed,

---

[51] The state's prerogative to question and call for responsibility of the official, as well as to assess the performance of the institutions (Manor 2011).
[52] The capacity and mechanism through which ordinary citizens and civil society organisations use to demand good governance (Bovens 2006). For details, see Jamal (2014).

recentralisation can be the solution. It means that the central government can recall the autonomy granted to the local government.

### 2.3.1. Deconcentration

Deconcentration is the lowest degree of decentralisation. It is a simple technique of sharing responsibility and duties within a state structure (Falleti 2010). This technique is applied in direct and indirect public administration. To ensure and promote the internal efficiency of public administration, the delivery of public services and management of local issues, many governments implement deconcentration. The central government share the responsibility of a given task with local officials without allowing them powers of full decision-making. In other words, the scale of autonomy is limited to the level hierarchically assigned (Zavale 2007, p. 35).

The relationship between the object of decentralisation (administrative procedures and public service), the actors involved (the central government and local officials), the time-space conditions and the social, political and economic contexts are essential to understanding deconcentration. What we see here is a legal person operating changes in its structure. In this respect, the local authorities (state representatives and institutions) represents the central government and behaves as such.

Deconcentration occurs when part of the central government's role, duties and resources are disseminated to subnational authorities, and the state authority kept at central level (Fernandes 2009, p. 45). In this perspective, the 'great decisions' are on the central government' hands. Moreover, the state representatives and institutions at the lower level will rule under the lens of the central government.

The central government creates local institutions hierarchically linked to the structure. It replicates the central government architecture of power at the local level. This aspect varies from country to country. Those with a centralist government – when pressed by international stakeholders and domestic demands, usually open for deconcentration, but hand over the legal and political authority. On the other hand, the progressive governments tend to incorporate new forms of sharing power, granting authority and autonomy to the local institutions.

As part of making the public administration functioning, deconcentration serves administrative purposes. This process compels the local institutions to rule in the particular way and follow the top-down orientations. The minimum amount of autonomy granted by the central government aims to secure the central government hegemony and

control. In this respect, James Manor perceives the central government as an essential feature of deconcentration. He sees the presence of the central government at the local level as the primary meaning of deconcentration and a clear evidence of replication of 'power without authority' (Manor 2011).

This view leads us to understand that the local representation of the central structure of power means a lack of jurisdictions over important matters. It means an empty and fragile power. The absence of full authority and autonomy to rule can sometimes conflict with local dynamics. We are referring here to the contexts in which the central government implements deconcentration and hands over legal and political authority at all levels. At this point, it may conflict with the civil society initiatives towards emancipation, as well as the traditional practices. The case of Mozambique illustrates the tension between the central government, locally elected boards and some local authorities and customary practices.[53]

The other problematic issue in deconcentration is the lack of democratic features (Olowu 2003). When deconcentration is pursued without democratic practices and mechanism, "the result tends to be centralisation" (Manor 2011, p. 2). Thus, the autonomy granted to the central government representatives at the local level will be exercised in a way to re-centralise the power. Contrarily, decentralisation, when operated under the formula of democracy, could promote social and political cohesion at the local level. It avoids the anarchy of local ruling elite.

**2.3.2. Devolution**

Decentralisation needs the central government to flourish. The presence of the central government at the local level may lead to national unity and political cohesion. Devolution implies power-sharing over local jurisdiction. The central administration transfers the managerial and administrative autonomy to the lower level government or public enterprises (private legal entities). The administrative authority, in this case, belongs to the central administration. However, to make it work, the local governments are granted part of such autonomy. This autonomy is extended to collect tax (fiscal autonomy); contract goods and services; invest and deliver public services. On the other hand, the central government keeps control of legislative power and authority in order to avoid anarchy (Fernandes 2007; 2009; Machava 2013; Jamal 2014).

---

[53] For further insights, see Meneses (2007), Meneses & Santos (2011) and Jamal (2014).

This form of decentralisation is mainly accompanied by mechanisms of public participation in decision-making process. Thus, devolution leads to a constant search for genuine public participation mechanisms which may secure accountability and active citizenship (Blair 2000; Manor 2013). This form of decentralisation requires full engagement of a vast array of stakeholders who operates changes in the socioeconomic and political environment at the local level. These can be the local NGOs, traditional authorities, religious leaders, the private sector and civil society organisation (Jamal 2014).

Devolution has led to the partnership (the so-called Public-Private Partnerships). This entails sharing of power and responsibilities between the state and private sector. Nevertheless, either the state and the private sector have to secure and ensure the citizen contributions on decisions concerning their communities. The articulation and mediation of the interests of the stakeholders involved, as well as the responsibility of the state at all levels over power devolution, can be the greatest challenges of the current democratic governance.

The decentralisation' approach to partnership allows a presence and cohabitation of multiple political and economic actors. Different and conflicting interests are interrelated and experienced in such ground. It is important to tune the vast array of such interests, which can be, for example, economic interests of the private sector, socioeconomic of the local citizens, and the political and economic of the government.

Devolution should not be isolated; it has to be discussed and implemented extensively to allow broad discussions on matters of public concern. For example, a broad discussion on public infrastructure investment, natural resources exploitation and management, environment issues, public transportation and local finance, health care and education, water supply, electricity and public security.

Democratic decentralisation can be useful to connect the state and citizens and influence a local network of stakeholders. A strong civil society (vertical accountability) and state institutions (horizontal accountability) is required to restrain unlawful procedures to ensure a quick response to arbitrary use of power by the representatives.

## 2.4. The Highlights

In conclusion, decentralisation and deconcentration are commonly applied to the vocabulary of modern public administration literature. The current discussion of governance and public management shapes the concept of democracy by incorporating

elements concerning rights and liberties. It means that the so-called 'good governance' fundamental for modern public administration entails processes related to power-sharing through local elections, transparency and public accountability.

The concept of decentralisation gains meaning when associated with democratic principles of devolving power to the low-level jurisdictions. In this perspective, decentralisation is desirable to be democratic to work well (Manor 2013). Since its inception and presence in policy, the concept of decentralisation entered into a political debate and gained visibility in democratic governance by the great contributions of Alexis de Tocqueville on democracy in America (Tocqueville [1835]1984). In strong democracies, decentralisation may serve to enhance and ensure more local democracy and, contrarily the less open system in some cases applies decentralisation as a substitute for democracy (Manor 2011, p. 1).

It is proven to be a universal concept which can be applied to different forms of government. Decentralisation goes beyond political, social and economic contexts. Authoritarian and democratic regimes developed and developing countries and the countries lacking civil society structure and institutional capacity have also decentralised (Falleti 2005; Manor 2013). It means that the connection between decentralisation and democracy should be perceived as being the consequence of a mix of variables. For example, the political will, the territorial extension and economic and managerial objectives. In this dimension, decentralisation is an independent variable.

The other important aspects linked to decentralisation are deconcentration and devolution. The first concerns diffusion of central government' role, duties and resources to the local representatives. The particular aim here is to expand the central state power and control over subnational jurisdictions. The second process encompasses mechanisms and policies oriented to transfer a certain amount of administrative autonomy, from the central administration units to the third party agents, for example, the public enterprises.

By aiming to create a local political structure based on citizen participation in public policy and public investment priorities, the implementation of decentralisation may positively impact on society. To this end, it should be accompanied by the principles of democracy to promote development and human rights.

# CHAPTER THREE – SINTOMER AND ARNSTEIN: CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN URBAN DEVELOPMENT

## 3.1. Introduction

Given the objective of this thesis is to analyse the role of citizen participation in municipal development in Mozambique, it is essential to explore the theoretical framework and all relevant aspects and techniques to achieve the objective. To this end, this chapter discusses the transnational models of citizen participation developed by Sintomer et al. (2012; 2013) and the rungs of participation presented in the Arnstein' ladder of citizen participation in urban life.

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first part presents and discusses the implementation of the Sintomer transnational models of citizen participation in urban development. We analyse the components of the Sintomer' typology to connect the empirical analysis presented in part II of this thesis.

The second part of this chapter explores the rungs of the Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation. We discuss all relevant aspects of this ladder – from the non-participation level to the citizen power level. The lowest rung of this ladder represents the low-level of citizen participation, known as the non-participation level. This level involves the manipulation and the therapy. The second level is the tokenism divided into three ranges: the process of informing citizens; the consultation and the placation. The highest level represents the power of citizens. This is divided into three ranges: the partnership; delegated power; and the citizen control. For Arnstein (1969), this upper level represents citizen emancipation and a high degree of local democracy.

Moreover, we understand that the process of citizen participation in local affairs is a complex issue. To deepen the understanding of a given process, for instance, participatory budgeting or participatory planning, it is essential to combine different approaches and methods.

## 3.2. Sintomer's Models of Citizen Participation in Urban Development

In 2012 and 2013, three experts in participatory democracy – Yves Sintomer, Carsten Herzberg and Anja Röcke – released the results of their empirical research on transnational experiments on participatory budgeting. Several variables of democratic innovations were analysed and carefully matched with participatory budgeting to form a

transnational model of citizen participation in local issues. This is the case of participatory democracy; grassroots democracy; participatory innovations; multi-stakeholders' participation, the local community-based development and the neo-corporatism.

The literature on participatory democracy shows how complex the consensus about citizens' demands and their articulation with the government function is. The theoretical interpretation through empirical analysis and the practical implementation of citizens' engagement in the urban affairs may diverge among distinctive contexts. Because of its distinctive characteristics and particularities, understanding of each process requires a deep analysis. There is a need to contextualise and conceive models which make them unique and better defines their particular characteristics. These experts made a global journey in the world of participatory budgeting to understand the primary characteristics, goals, forms of actuation, the driving forces and the contexts as well as the collective action in the name of the local community. On behalf of the citizen involvement in the deliberation of city affairs, six issues (and some of them quite similar models) were drawn from what the authors consider to be transnational models of citizen participation in the urban development.

However, the practical involvement of the ordinary citizens in the decision-making process based on general rules of distributive justice discussed and approved by the institutional boards of participation is a great challenge for the needs of a majority of ordinary citizens. The arguments for mass involvement in this forum of public deliberation require not just rhetoric or egalitarian discourses because neither the citizens nor the decision-makers are homogeneous groups. Both powerful and powerless are characterised by complex articulations of different views and divergent objectives and ends. Instead of following the public needs in practice, the powerful (officials and the bureaucrats) may work to secure their benefits. On the contrary, the powerless (the ordinary citizens) is a body made by divergent points, opinions and cleavages among its parts which makes it hard to achieve consensus (Arnstein 1969; 1975).

Bearing this in mind, we see for example that, in order to avoid weakness, deprivation, or depression caused by loneliness, and to maintain social, economic and political relations, similar individuals tend to come together in alliances and partnerships. They coordinate actions and strategies to address and defend common interests based on either singular or shared responsibility. Even when the question of common interest is on

the table, there may occur controversial views and divergent positions leading to different viewpoints.

Generally speaking, the idea of the participatory approach to citizens may be applied to the urban development and almost all social and political structures. However, the discussion on participatory development and planning of legal decisional structure is confronted by the questions on the role of the government and the governability when the power of institutions are discussed (Pløger 2001). What remains important here is the need to achieve positive results based on an understanding of individual specificities, the role of the state institutions and its incumbents as well as the limits of the legislation.

### 3.2.1. Participatory Democracy

The term democracy has its roots in words *demos* and *kratos* from ancient Greek. It means that people have the power to rule and to define their way. By taking this idea, we see all democracy as a process by which citizens are in power (Pateman 1970; Dahl 1971; Held 1995). In practice, there are different forms of getting people into political affairs such as by representation and direct participation.

Deepening democracy and the claim for consensual decisions among citizens and politicians is today a real-world social and political challenge. Because of the modern crises of representative democracy resulting from the deficiencies of the concept and the ambiguity in its implementation as well as the complexity of collective interactions and learning process, there is a need to develop an optimal method which is substantially more democratic (Santos 2006c) – this is a participatory democracy.[54]

According to Mansbridge, the term participatory as a direct adjective applied to democracy came into widespread use after 1962, when the Students for Democratic Society (SDS)[55] protested and demanded a new society organised to encourage self-determination, and a democracy based on individual participation which brings the powerless into the decision-making process related to the quality and direction of their

---

[54] For details, see Kaufman (1960), Pateman (1970) and Macpherson (1977). Peter Bachrach criticises its predecessors those who focused on elitist arguments on democracy. He brings an alternative view about democracy which remains important ever since. Thus, the Bachrach see the citizen political participation essential to counterbalance the elite influence in the United States (Bachrach 1980).

[55] This social movement created by American students was protagonist of a great opposition to the war in Vietnam. Established by a young people from diverse background and social class, this association had associated the voice of their members in demanding a fair treatment in the state/citizen relations. Details on SDS, see http://www.sds-1960s.org/, last accessed in 6/4/2017.

life.[56] This picture exposes what they call participatory democracy. In the beginning, this desired scheme, as well as its theoretical foundation, was not clear, and it progressively becomes less clear afterwards. Recently, the term is associated with a tendency of social justice, equality and consensus resulting from the citizen assembly in relation to the local government (Mansbridge 1983).

As a product of a collective deliberation by which both representative democracy and direct democracy[57] are part of it, participatory democracy is taking root in different parts of the world. Citizens are involved to deliberate on public policies and the implementation of such policies is on hand of the representatives (Sintomer et al. 2012). Because the representation is usually seen as the delegation of citizen autonomy to certain individuals, a fair and transparent political participation of the ordinary citizens in addressing their concerns and contributions into decision-making process requires full engagement of both, citizens and the representatives (Floridia 2010). What is important here is to emphasise that participation seen as a simple delegation could promote the apathy and passivity of the individuals and retreats the active citizenship.

The democratic participation we invoke here is that which allows the have-nots and the helpless to access the information and resources which helps them to fairly take decisions on their behalf. It means that a participatory democracy should promote the knowledges access to every individual to take part of active society as an active member. This political thought inspired not only the 1960s generation, but it remains alive and inspires the contemporary struggles.[58] The Porto Alegre' participatory budgeting is a great example of the continued influence of 1960s thought to today's struggles.

### 3.2.2. The Proximity Democracy

Proximity democracy may be defined as the horizontal-based political relations among local neighbours and with the local' state authorities, who voluntarily establish a group of interests to take collective actions to solve their concerns. By benefiting from

---

[56] For details, see the *Port Huron Statement* published by the Students for a Democratic Society – The Student Department of the League for Industrial Democracy in New York in 1964. This statement is available here: http://www.progressivefox.com/misc_documents/PortHuronStatement.pdf, last accessed 19/7/2017.

[57] We name direct democracy as the process through which the citizens participate directly in the local decision-making forum by proposing laws, public investment priorities, policy changes, and constitutional amendments. It can happen at national, regional and local scale and also for different purpose. The other relevant aspect to take into account is the idea that citizens are powerful and their deliberations are taken seriously. For details, see (Dahl 1971; Held 1995).

[58] For a historical perspective on participatory and deliberative democracy, see (Floridia 2008; 2010).

administrative and political decentralisation to bringing the state authority and institutions near to the local citizens, the local actors – the citizens; public administration officials and local authorities find the possibility of changing in acts and institutional routines to accommodate the residents' demands.

According to Sintomer et al. (2012; 2013), the grassroots or proximity democracy is commonly occurring in countries whose local government has a considerable amount of political power and autonomy towards the central government. Thus, this model is based on listening to the citizen groups' opinions and idea, but at the end, the official decision-making boards reserves the right to select the opinions aligned to their manifesto, and to the government plans to take into public policies (Sintomer et al. 2013, p. 17). This is what happens in almost all municipalities in Mozambique (Faria & Chichava 1999; Weimer 2002a; Zavale 2011; Jamal 2014; Forquilha 2015) where local citizens, and civil society organisations holds a marginal autonomy to deliberate on the local concerns and turn their demands in public policy, but the final decision is taken by the officials and the representatives.

It is merely a top-down consultative process targeting local NGOs, community organisations, grouped citizens to take part in the local discussions on public issues. The community-based actors (NGOs, individual and grouped citizens and community organisations) are powerless to operate changes and influence the top-down decisions. In fact, the objective here is basically to strengthen the communication between local citizens and local governments (Sintomer et al. 2013; Traub-Merz et al. 2013).

The primary consequence of this model is the citizens' disaffection and distrust toward state officials and representatives because of the unbalanced expectation created during the consultative process and the results it generates. The arbitrary selection of the demands and citizens' opinions made by the policymakers often ensure the gap between the representatives and the ordinary citizens. In some cases, the local citizens are granted by the local governments the autonomy to deliberate on low impact decisions.[59]

### 3.2.3. The Participatory Innovations

The globalisation of political practices allows new public management strategies and methods. As results of the so-called 'Westernisation of the world politics' characterised by the adoption of the liberal democracy patterns, Western political

---

[59]For extra details, see Alves & Allegretti (2012).

economy and the international community' *modus operandi* on the one hand, and the local demands for changes and reforms on the other, several countries, particularly those of the global south have adopted innovative political patterns and a number of mechanisms in their institutions. The citizens' political participation in the local affairs is one of those innovative mechanisms adopted to modernise the relationship between the local citizens and public administration in many countries (Abers 2000; Avritzer 2002; Santos 2002b). The effective implementation of those practices requires essential changes within the government institutions and some internal procedures, as well as the adoption of reforms in the political economy. Some regimes, however, require more time and resources to overlap their political traditions which may or may not conflict with liberal democracy and modern political practices. It means that some governments are more flexible than others in assuming and incorporating changes in their political roads.

The pro-changes regime performs a little more open and free politics in which citizens are a part. This is what happened at the beginning of the independence in Africa, where the ruling party, emerged from the previous nationalist movements has oriented its political aim to an excessive criticism of the remaining logic of colonialism into the African politics and realities. Therefore, local-based politics were created to allow ordinary citizens to fully participate in the construction of a new nation and the '*homem novo'*.[60] Many of those regimes have drastically increased their popularity. By contrast, the political regimes not sympathetic to the changes remained oppressive to their population. While people are demanding more open and accessible public policy in terms of provision of public services, basic rights and liberties as well as their participation in political life, they have mainly received repression from the state.[61]

---

[60] *Homo novus*, or new man in English. In the early post-independent Mozambique, the *homem novo* was applied to characterise the desired identity and profile of those Mozambicans who identifies themselves as being free of colonial ideology, practices and in sum, all colonial domination. Under the Samora Machel presidential era, those men and women who fought colonialism and engages in the construction of a new country deserves to be a *homem novo*. Among other African countries, Ghana led by Kwame Nkrumah from the independence in 1957 to 1966; Mozambique of Samora Machel from 1975 to 1986 pursued, and promoted inclusive politics based on idea of independence as a common good. The political system conceived under the Machel administration aimed to stand a new view and orientation for the new Mozambique. The main and notable characteristic of this regime was the idea of involving ordinary citizens to the construction, enjoyment and management of the country. From the small peasants, workers, and the combatants to the nurses and teachers, all were asked to give their direct contribution to the education system, agricultural production, textile industry, transforming industry and health system of the country. These practices did increase the citizens' political participation. However, at that time, most of those countries were under domain of a one party ruling system. For details see, (Machel 1975b).

[61] The military oligarchy, such as Burundi, Burkina Faso, Chad, Guinea, Liberia, Sudan and Uganda, and the exclusionary authoritarian regimes, such as Equatorial Guinea, North Korea, Democratic Republic of

Both, pro-change and those reluctant or inflexible regimes need time to implement political reforms and to effective institutional arrangements upon citizen involvement in the decision-making process. Because they believe the government has a duty and responsibility for its populations, most of the democratic regimes place the political representation and representative democracy at the top of the government action and relationship with the citizens.[62] Rarely are the citizens consulted in decision-making in urban issues. If they are did so, it happens through a single party logic and is restricted to elite with considerable social capital (Bratton & Van de Walle 1997, p. 72).

Therefore, each political orientation tends to circumscribe into a distinctive performance towards its institutional relations with its local citizens. This aspect may or may not be conceived as a mere top-down process. In this dimension, the ordinary citizens have considered clients and their engagement in local consultations and deliberation forum are marginal. The participatory modernisation is a cross scale-oriented model which is not interested in the integration of socially excluded group neither implementation of inclusive social policy. Therefore, the civil society organisation and the ordinary citizens are powerless to influence social policies (Sintomer et al. 2012; Traub-Merz et al. 2013). However, the middle and upper-class citizens are targeted in this model because of their capacity and power to influence the political decisions through lobbies and economic and political alliances.

### 3.2.4. The Multi-Stakeholders Participation

Starting from the idea that the involvement of all citizens into a discussion of local priorities on budgeting and plans is quite challenging. This model focuses on restricted groups in the name of the participatory process. By doing so, those who participate are considered the representative sample of the entire local community (Bryson 2004; Bryson et al. 2009). This model is widely disseminated by the international organisations such as the World Bank, GIZ, UN-Habitat as they believe could involve the amount of organised citizen' groups to facilitate the social consensus on the one hand, and make the local government easily accountable on the other hand (UN-Habitat 2006; 2007; Afrimap 2009).

---

the Congo (1965-1997) implemented repressive practices to the political opponents and their local populations (Bratton & Van de Walle 1997).

[62] To this end, the national government establish institutions through electoral process to serve and represent the nationals.

The majority of the participants in the participatory process are from the middle-class (Sintomer et al. 2013; Traub-Merz et al. 2013), which leads to the understanding that the participatory forum is a privileged space for well-informed citizens. In this dimension, the non-organised citizens are excluded. The other actor included in this model is the private. Because of its relevance to the local economic development and its power to influence decisions, the private companies and NGOs tend to take a significant advantage over other stakeholders. The NGOs and the private sector have greater autonomy to place their resources and 'reinforce' their will.

In the case of Mozambique, the World Bank and GIZ support the costs of the technical assistance related to the participatory process and make available their financial resources to enhance the institutional capacity of the municipalities. On the other hand, there is the UN-Habitat which places its financial resources for both the municipal' technical assistance and the product of the participatory process. In practice, the infrastructure and services resulting from such support provided by the external actors serve the interests of the local communities, or at least, the interests perceived as of the local community. This is commonly registered in the contexts where the participatory process is narrowly associated with decentralisation of the national state.

### 3.2.5. The local community development model

The idea and the process of citizen participation in this model are driven by the bottom-up dynamics of social and political struggles. The community associations, as well as the NGOs, are decisive to address the community demands, especially when they demand the rights of the excluded groups and the minorities (Sintomer et al. 2013, p. 20). This approach to citizen participation tends to dissociate from the state politics and other local institutions. It is focused on the emancipation of the local citizens to stand for a well-informed and fair decision over public investments. The citizens' autonomy and the need for independent community-based institutions to respond the deficit created by the inefficiency of the 'traditional' political representation in the municipal forum and local assemblies is the main aim of this model.

The idea of granting ordinary citizens a real emancipatory capacity and tools to produce a qualitative deliberations about public municipal investment is the decisive factor. For the purpose of community development, the local leaders mobilise their people as much as they can, to raise their voice. The most active participants tend to be the middle-class members, working class, and some educated person. What makes a

difference here is the fact that, different from the conventional participation through a state politics (top-down state political representative), the community development is not closely linked to institutional procedures, neither, the polarisation of bottom-up power. It produces internal dynamics and regulations to achieve fair decisions.

This is the case for example of the Porto Alegre participatory budgeting in which local community leaders driven by the need for public accountability and development of their local priorities, as well as the historical and political context at the time, had originated participatory budgeting.[63] As result of grassroots organisations, the preservation and continuity of community development via participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre had to deal with the inexpert public officials in the participatory processes on the one hand, and the inexperienced community leaders on the other hand.

The other example of this model is the case of Dondo's participatory budgeting. The way the local citizens are involved is significantly influenced by the Brazilian model of participatory budgeting where the local communities represent a considerable voice in the discussion on the budget plans (Nguenha 2014; Dias 2015). Consequently, the interaction among them and with the public servants is balanced by the connections with investments that are co-decided by citizens and private sector actors. In this dimension, the community development model is quite similar to the multi-stakeholders' model (Traub-Merz et al. 2013).

Finally, citizen participation in urban affairs is characterised by social and political interactions among a vast range of different actors from diverse motivations and backgrounds. The political interaction means the power relations settled into the participatory process where the powerful actors 'imposes' their opinions to the powerless and influences the final decisions in the process. However, the need for a strong community is needed to challenge this tendency due to their relative emancipator capacity to negotiate the common demands.

### 3.2.6. The Neo-corporatism

The initial *neo* brings us to the question about something that preceded. In recent years, we witness a number of concepts incorporating the term neo in its initials to refer the 'reincarnation' of the concept in modern terms. What is particular in this aspect is the

---

[63] For details on Porto Alegre participatory budgeting, see Fedozzi (2001), Avritzer (2002; 2006) and Santos (2002b).

fact that the reincarnated concept applies significant differences that allow them to exist. Therefore, it makes sense if we describe and discuss the original term first.

Neo-corporatism is inspired by the primary concept of corporatism. The concept of corporatism emerged in the late 1960s as one of the most influential approaches in the field of political science and sociology, comparative development and policy studies in Latin America and Western Europe. Inspired many case studies in different parts of the world as a result of a process of accurate re-thinking and re-examination of the previous presumptions as well as the way phenomena was addressed, interpreted and the approach applied (Wiarda 1997).

Howard J. Wiarda devoted a significant part of his life studying political phenomena and fundamental changes in the political environment in Latin America and Western Europe. He helped establish a conceptual paradigm to interpret the phenomena observed in the interconnections among political actor, corporations, customary practices and political systems (Wiarda 1997; 2009). Thus, the scholar perceives these linkages as

> "a system of social and political organisation in which major societal group or lobbyists (business, farmers, military, ethnic, political party) are affiliated to the government system and influence the state decisions" (Wiarda 1997, p. ix).

While responding to his challenge of discussing corporatism in a comparative approach, Wiarda arrives at the conclusion that corporatism varies according to the local specificities and political orientation. It means that the countries are driven by corporatism to achieve what they mean national development is going to be different to those not 'corporatism binding'. Also, the author sees that there are some factors which characterises corporatism. For instance, the "quasi-medieval in Latin America; ethnic or clan-communal in Africa and the Middle East; Confucian-communal in Asia and modern and participatory in Western Europe" (Wiarda 1997).

What is problematic in this approach is the fact that the author discusses the concept based on essentialisms. The author fails to contextualise the scope of the region he speaks of. As we know, not only from Chabal (2009) but also from Mamdani (1996), Mbembe (2001b) and Mudimbe (1988), the great risk of mistake when speaking of traditional African practices is the generalisation, essentialisms which leads to a generalisation of distinctive aspects. The other risk of misinterpretation is the failure of translation of specific reality into a foreign language (Santos 2002a). In our understanding, perhaps,

Wiarda as an experienced scholar in comparative politics, brought this view as a pin of the widespread idea about tradition and culture in Africa. Despite the Wiarda' though, the term participation, modern, communal and ethnic for example, can fit in Europe, Asia or Africa.

Given the current shift in politics, economics and social interactions leading to the shifts in the way scholars see the societies and interpret the events, new approaches and paradigms were raised. The existing modern practices similar to the earlier paradigms of social and political institutions (corporatism) encouraged scholars to re-conceptualise these paradigms and re-define the subjects of the disciplines. Therefore, the idea of *neo* came as a result of re-interpretation of concepts and practices similar to those already known.

Neo-corporatism emerges primarily in the globalisation and consolidation of liberal pluralism in governance, economic and social patterns. This situation has varied from context to context and depends on the degree of the domestic government commitment to secure national stability. There are some governments (either authoritarian or democratic) pro-ethnic and clans' divisions than others. However, what makes them quasi-similar is the fact that both are inevitably imprisoned in the class divisions and market/state interdependence.

Neo-corporatism is associated with the idea of corporation or group's interests, mainly driven by the philosophy of mutual gain or win-win paradigm. In this model, the local government perform its function through constant interaction with organised groups (NGOs, trade unions, professional associations) and social groups (informal groups of migrants, LGBT community,[64] migrant associations, student unions, and so on) and a number of local institutions (Sintomer et al. 2013, p. 20).

Through this model, the local government aims to achieve a maximum and a great social consensus. It encourages coordinated interventions from all community members because it is perceived that only grouped stakeholders can establish an audible platform to negotiate their demands and operate sustainable changes which could make the local demand more democratic. On the other hand, it could allow the local government to consult those who 'matter' instead of mixing different actors with different claims and objectives. In fact, each has her interests and concerns. However, the articulations and

---

[64] A community constituted by lesbians, gays, bisexuals and transgender persons. The term derives from the previous initials of LGB in the 1980s in reference to the gay people. Firstly accepted, and foremost contested of not precisely represents all groups it supposedly targeted.

harmonisation of those demands are in the hand of local government. To make it easy, the grouped citizens are more likely to produce a communication platform and harmonise their demands and opinions then present it to the state representative. Thus, the local citizens are highly encouraged to stand together in the cause of their group.

The neo-corporatism model places the consultation of the grouped citizens on the top of the governance priority' ladder, even though the formal consultation presented in this model remains essentially a top-down process in which the local government invites the local actors to discuss local problems (Arnstein 1975; Sintomer et al. 2009). Interestingly, civil society organisations are more likely to gain significant visibility and autonomy to negotiate their opinion, particularly when they are grouped into associations and forums.[65]

---

[65]For details, see Santos (2005).

**Table 2: The six models in perspective: the key aspects**

| | Participatory democracy | Proximity democracy | Participatory modernization | Multi-stakeholder participation | Neo-corporatism | Community development |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1. Context** | | | | | | |
| Relationship between state, market and third sector | Central role of state | Central role of state | Central role of state | Hegemony of the market | Central role of the state | Hegemony of the market, assertiveness of the third sector |
| Political leaning of local government | Left-wing | Variable | Variable | Variable (but no radical left) | Variable | Variable |
| **2. Frames and goals** | | | | | | |
| Normative frames | Participatory democracy, post-authoritarian socialism | Deliberation-oriented version of republicanism, deliberative democracy | Participatory version of New Public Management | Participatory governance | Neo-corporatism, participatory governance | Empowerment, community organizing, pedagogy of the oppressed, libertarian traditions, left-wing liberalism |
| Social goals | Social justice, inversion of priorities | Renewal of social relationships, solidarity without redistributive policies | Social peace, no re-distributive objectives | Social capital reinforced, economic growth, increased redistributive goals | Consensus and social cohesion | Empowerment of subaltern groups, affirmative action, no overall redistributive policy |
| **3. Procedures** | | | | | | |
| Rules, quality of deliberation | Clearly defined rules, good quality deliberation | Informal rules, deliberative quality weak or average | Rules may be clear, weak deliberative quality | Clearly defined rules, average to good deliberative quality | Rules may be clear, variable deliberative quality | Rules may be clear, average to high deliberative quality |
| Procedural independence of civil society | Strong | Weak | Weak | Weak | Variable | Strong |
| Fourth power | Yes | No | No | No | No (at local level) | Yes |

| 4. Collective action | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Weight of civil society in process | Strong | Weak | Weak | Weak | Strong | Fairly strong |
| Top-down vs. bottom-up | Top-down and bottom-up | Top-down | Top-down | Top-down | Top-down | Top-down and bottom-up |
| Consensus vs. cooperative conflict resolution; countervailing power | Cooperative conflict resolution Countervailing power | Consensus No countervailing power | Consensus No countervailing power | Consensus No countervailing power | Consensus No countervailing power | Cooperative resolution of conflicts Countervailing power |
| 5. Others | | | | | | |
| Link between conventional and participatory politics | Combination | Instrumental use of participation | Weak (participation is a management tool) | Weak (participation is a management tool) | Strengthening of conventional participation | Substitution (participation develops outside conventional politics) |
| Strengths, weaknesses, challenges | – Combining strong participation with social justice – Very specific conditions – Linking participation to modernization; avoiding risk of co-opting mobilized citizens | – Improved communication between policy-makers and citizens – Selective listening – Combining participation with formal decision-making process; and with state modernization | – Linking participation with modernization; broad political consensus – Low level of politicization – To increase participation and autonomy of civil society | – Inclusion of private corporations – Dominance of private interests – Balancing the weight of stake-holders; autonomy of NGOs | – Creation of social consensus – Exclusion of non-organized citizens; asymmetric power relations – Linking participation with modernization; autonomy of civil society | – Fits in contexts with weak local governments and strong community tradition – No overall vision of the town – Limiting Managerial influence; going beyond the micro-local level |
| Countries | PB: Latin America, Spain, South Korea | PB: Europe, North-America, Korea, Japan, countries of Global South | PB: Germany, Northern Europe, China | PB: Eastern Europe, Africa | PB: Limited | PB: Anglo-Saxon countries, Japan, Global South |

Source: Sintomer et al. (2013, p. 22;23).

### 3.3. The Arnstein Ladder of Citizen Participation in Urban Affairs

In the late 1960s, Sherry Arnstein published reflections on the relations between citizens and their government. In this short article, Arnstein argued the way the citizen power is directly influenced by the top-down actuation of every scale of the government. The question of citizen power is usually associated with total control of the citizens over their government and vice-versa. This misperception is a total utopia because total control is impossible; neither the President nor the citizens can have this (Arnstein 1969). What is important here is the relations established under the social contract between the local

citizens and their government upon elections or other mandates. Because of limited institutional mechanisms to deal with diversity and to perform the social contract requirements, citizen participation in the decision-making process is confined to a small and privileged group. Citizens' participation seen in this perspective, means an end *per se*, instead of a continuous process of citizen autonomy and bottom-up social emancipation.

The articulation of the citizens' demands and the response of the government towards those concerns are determined by the (in)flexibility of both, the government and the citizens in performing their role and functions. Some political regimes which allow citizens enter the local forum to discuss public policies are much more tolerant of the opinions in lines with the central government orientation. Otherwise, it could remain unrealised. In this relation, there are different forms of citizens' participation based on distinctive particularities of the non-participation level. This encompasses the manipulation and therapy. This is the lowest rung of the ladder usually characterised by a continuous education of the citizens. At the middle ladder is tokenism, constituted by a simple process of delivering information, consultation and placation. At the top, there is the citizen power. This stage entails processes through which citizens acquire a considerable autonomy to discuss their concerns with their governments. This is divided into partnership, delegated power and citizen control.

### 3.3.1. The non-participation

This stage is characterised by institutional methods of social manipulation and therapeutic mechanisms conducted by the government officials towards the local citizens. The objective here is not necessarily to equip the ordinary citizens with the tools to negotiate hands on hands and at equal circumstances, with the local government. The aim is to enable the powerful to educate the participants about a given aspect (Arnstein 1969; 1972). This level of non-participation is established in the name of citizen participation and is usually applied by both democratic and non-democratic regime. To some extent, it represents the influence of the post-colonial regime in Africa.

The problem here is not necessarily the manipulation or the therapy, but the way we see participation and the notion we have of citizen engagement. The 'eyes' we use to see citizen political participation in Africa impacts on our perception towards it. If we see it from the Western political tradition, for instance, the 'one man, one vote' or the whole philosophy of liberal democracy, based on the idea of representative institutions and the

state regulations, we risk to be incoherent with the local context which is determined by different logics, political traditions and practices.

As such, the formal institutions and its internal procedures – the belly politics (Bayart 1989), raised from the Western imagination and settled in the colonial zone as an extension of the colonial domination, expresses itself rhetoric that shapes and obstruct local-based politics in Africa today (Bratton & Van de Walle 1997). Thus, the citizen's participation in the urban affairs in the African cities is influenced by the legacy of the colonial thought and institutional practices as well as a mix of the custom-based political tradition. For political tradition, we understood ethical and moral norms based on tangible and intangible elements characteristic of a certain community and settled to secure social and political control. These norms are determined by a sense of belonging to certain values, language, thoughts and practices which are preserved since early times. At the end, this thought enters state institutions and shapes the way the national and local political power is exercised.

### 3.3.2. Tokenism

The main characteristic of this level of participation is the opportunity the citizens get to be informed about a certain process; the chance citizens own to give an opinion on a given process and the opportunity citizens benefits to advice on boards of communities. As such, the ordinary citizens are allowed to raise their hands and to speak, up to the limits of the program designed. This variant is divided into three ranges: a) at the level of information; b) the level of consultation and; c) the level of placation.

Because informing citizens of their rights and liberties are an important form of securing citizen rights to information, this variant is sometimes observed in a high degree of citizen involvement in urban affairs. The information/knowledge is the basic requirement for a social, economic and political change in all societies. If citizens are provided with a significant amount of information, it means that they are supposedly equipped with tools to influence decisions and to co-produce public policy. However, too frequently, the information is top-down oriented, the representatives, bureaucrats and the public participation professionals deliver superficial information, discourage citizens' questions, and in case of an answer, it is irrelevant and ambiguous. There are no chances to negotiate opinion, neither the opportunity to get feedback (Arnstein 1969). It means that information is usually presented in one-way monologue 'communication'. In the name of delivering information to ensure citizens' involvement in the urban affairs and

the government performance, the radio, newspaper, pamphlets, and inquiries are privileged forms due to their capacity to obstruct a direct interaction between the power-holders and the ordinary citizens.

The other form of participation presented in this variant is consultation. Consulting people about their feeling towards, for instance, the government performance, their opinions about public policies and public services or even assessing the citizen sensitivity about the decisions taken by their representatives can be a step forward to enhancing the citizens/government relations. The most frequent forms applied to involve people in urban affairs through consultation are attitude and public hearing through mass meetings (Arnstein 1969; 1972). Those methods work effectively if combined with other modes of participation. The questions regarding the combinations of participatory methods to ensure a genuine citizen contribution to the public debate and the outcomes of the public policies require a greater opening from the government and all stakeholders involved.

The other relevant characteristic of this rung is related to how the power-holders perceive the ordinary citizens. The powerless represents simple *statistical abstractions,* and it leads to a participation 'without subjects'. The very important aspect to underline here is the fact that, participation is a mere formality measured by the number of people who joined a certain meeting and answered the questionnaire, therefore,

> "the power-holders achieve the evidence of the required motions of involving "ordinary citizen" in urban affairs and public policy and in contrary, what citizens get in turn is the illusion that they have 'participated in participatory process"' (Arnstein 1969, p. 219).

As we can see, instead of creating and promoting genuine participation through consultation, the citizens are reduced to a passive subject who come to attend meetings or those who should answer the questions about their problems and hopes. The way citizens are involved in urban affairs is one of the key challenges confronting the contemporary urban development in Africa (Myers 2010). For this reason, the implementation of municipal planning results of a complex interrelationship among different stakeholders, such as agencies, the private sector, the urban planners, bureaucrats and the citizens (Silva & Bucek 2017). Even though the national and local state administration and also the municipal government continue to be one of the most important stakeholders in urban development.

### 3.3.3. The Citizen Power

The third level of citizen participation is the citizen power. By this, Arnstein (1969), refers the variant where citizens have a strong autonomy and the high degree of influence throughout: a) the partnership, b) delegated power, and, c) citizen control. The citizens' autonomy is hierarchically distributed throughout the ladder and begins at the low, passed to the moderate and raises to the highest rung.

At the low-level, there is the partnership rung. The citizens share the power and responsibilities with the power-holders. Together, they agree to find shared solutions of the local problems and decisions over public policy and service delivered. They stand hand-in-hand with their representatives to form a local deliberative forum where a joint consensus is issued. Therefore, there are no unilateral decisions because citizens are powerful enough (through community organisations) to make their leaders accountable.

The other situation where partnerships can effectively flourish is the context of active citizenry inspired by historical traditions, the influence of active community leaders and local citizens financially well-furnished who are interested in the issues of their communities. Those primary conditions associated with a mass mobilisation of the rest of ordinary citizens, the joint policy decisions could be in favour of the local community. Nevertheless, there are specific situations in which the final veto is in the hand of the state administration.

The second rung in the level of citizen power is the delegated power. While negotiating public plans or policies with public officials, citizens may acquire a dominant position in the decision-making process which makes them powerful to decide and determine the plans row (Silva & Bucek 2017). Sherry Arnstein finds that the delegated power is achieved when the citizens secure a majority of seats in the township assemblies (Arnstein 1969). In Arnstein's perspective, every situation where citizens hold a loud voice through raised-hand and approve and disapprove is necessarily a condition for delegated power.

Despite the greater analysis by Arnstein on the pre-conditions of citizens emancipation, the author failed to provide a comprehensive approach to stabilise the balance' structure. In contrast, the author discussed the citizen side and centred his attention on the idea of homogeneous groups. It is not our intention to deny the Arnstein precondition on the effective citizen emancipation. In analysing delegate power, usually, we reproduce the idea of political participation through the representation of the local citizens in decision-making processes (Bratton & Van de Walle 1997). So, we found that

the equation of delegated power is needed to be complete with the side of state administration. What pushes the delegation of power is not the citizen power through the privilege of the majority in the city assembly, but a weak state administration allows citizens to grow community power.

Although Elinor Ostrom (1996) finds no important evidence of a genuine coproduction of public policies (between the state and citizens) when the question is mega infrastructure in urban and peri-urban zones, the top of Arnstein's (1969) ladder of participation differs. There is a citizen control in which ordinary citizens get autonomy to run their business and destiny with minimum state interference independently. This is not to say that citizens will have total control of the political, economic and social facts. Hence, the control we refer to here is about the continuous engagement in the process of searching for more autonomy and impact in the conception, implementation and monitoring urban affairs.

The central characteristic of this rung is the involvement of citizens in the process of governing institutions, producing goods and social services, influencing and defining public policies to enhance the autonomy of a specific helpless group. The idea of citizens' autonomy is at the centre of a number of NGOs operating in developing countries. These international actors put their focus on citizen emancipation and the creation of community capacity to economic autonomy through funding the community activities and providing direct technical assistance to the community organisations in enhancing the managerial capacity of running productive services, enterprises, and local development projects.

**Figure 3: Arnstein's ladder of participation**
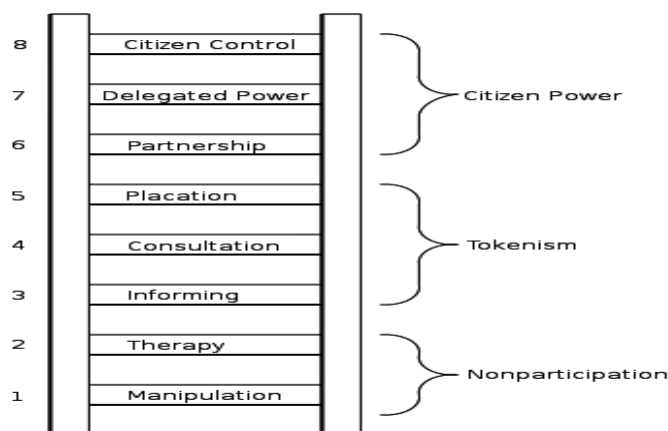


Source: Arnstein (1969, p. 217).

### 3.4. Urban Development Planning: The Key Phases

The relationship between human beings and space is a challenging task. Since the settlement of a number of nomadic groups attracted by natural conditions to develop agriculture, the human socialisation demanded more and more natural resources and land (Taylor 1998). The socialisation motivated by a number of factors such as, the need for mutual protection against natural hazards, new forms of agricultural productions, and so on, had originated the ancient human civilisations usually observed through the margins of a great rivers, such as the Nile River, Euphrates, Indus and Huang He or Yellow River. The margins of these rivers were homes to the earliest human civilisations through which the human settlement resulted in ancient cities.

According to Susan Wise Bauer, the Indus river valley is home of the first planned city built in 2300BC. Therefore, the history of cities converges with the history of urban planning. As we see, the availability of the essential natural resource[66] to basic needs had influenced human settlement, the social stratification and the creation and development of cities (Bauer 2007).

If the ancient cities were directly influenced by the availability of natural resources fundamental for human settlement, the modern and contemporary cities – mainly in the Western – were fuelled by the industrial revolution in the 18th century. In this stage, the transition from a hand production method to manufacture and some innovations in energy and water consumptions as well as the efficiency in mass production has directly influenced how we live. The introduction of industry attracted labour forces and influenced the development of urbanisation and territorial planning.

In Mozambique, the five years term plans are often based on the previous budgeting and manifesto of the political party on power. The basic law on municipalisation[67] proclaims the jurisdictions of the local municipalities over public service delivering, public security, municipal policing, public infrastructure, health system, education, water supply. On the other hand, the law on land and town planning[68] exacerbates the municipal responsibilities over urban and peri-urban land management, through town planning. However, the politicisation of the local debates (party-oriented debates) and the weak institutional capacities, and also the lack of experienced technical officials to deal with

---

[66] A great amount of water and fertile land for agriculture and livestock, and also the favourable climate for human settlement.
[67] 2/97 law of 18 February 1997.
[68] 19/2007 law of 18 July 2007.

the process of growing human to discourage citizen engagement in the process of local planning.

### 3.4.1. Stating the objectives of the plans

*"A journey of a thousand miles begins with a single step."* This famous proverb is usually ascribed to Laozi, a Chinese philosopher. He teaches us that, if we are willing to finish, then, we must begin doing. Everything in life is guided by the questions on why; how and when – for example, why should we begin this thousand-mile trip? How can we reach the finish line? Or; when should we begin our trip? Here, we can simply note that defining the goals is essential to answer these questions. By setting the purpose, we mean orientation and the base in which the future questions rest.

Every plan must deal firstly with the conception of the objective. At this stage, the objectives of the urban plans are set to guide all phases and actors who directly participate in the plans. However, the local objectives should be in line with the central objective to avoid objectives overlay.

According to the legislation on land and town planning as well as on decentralisation in Mozambique, the objectives of the plans should be set by the local municipalities. At this level, there are the principles of social and environmental sustainability as well as the local priorities for urban development. There is also established goals on the social, territorial asymmetries as well as spatial justice over public infrastructure and public service delivery. Moreover, there are principles and models of town planning (19/2007 law 18 July 2007).

The process of municipal planning in Mozambique is expected to involve local citizens, the municipal government, private sector, the planners and NGOs (ANAMM; MAE & WB 2009). However, the local context proves that this aspiration requires time, political will and some social and economic conditions in order to turn into reality.

### 3.4.2. Diagnosing the situation

This phase entails situational analysis of internal and external factors to identifying the practical conditions for a participatory process. The political, social and economic variants, as well as the institutional capacity for a participatory urban planning at municipal level, are read from both, community and public participation professional's eyes.

On the one hand, a group of municipal experts, consultants and advisers from diverse backgrounds are involved to form a municipal technical team. For the purpose of the current analysis, we call them Public Participation Professionals (PPP). This group has the responsibility to take stock of the existing situations and elements targeted by the plans (Fischer 1992; Delgado 2011). Therefore, they apply instruments to allow a clear view of the city. This is the case of the thematic maps, archaeological maps on culture, maps of urban infrastructure, housing and social equipment, legislation, previous research, reports and all relevant information about the territory and social variants are brought together and systematised to make easy the next stages.

In addition, there is the citizens' intervention in providing insights into the planning. The PPP team drives to the ordinary citizens to ask them about the crucial information, for instance, that related to the customary practices, which entails sacred land and forest.[69] The issue of local tradition in African societies should be carefully addressed because of the respect on, both material and spiritual world (Asante 1969; Mudimbe 1988; Falola 2003).

Therefore, the PPP team has to have a minimum knowledge of the context in which they are working. Not on all customary practice, but at least on some cultural anthropology and sociology in order to avoid social conflicts which erupt from a mix of incompatible aspects or separation of complementary questions.

### 3.4.3. The plans' data analysis

This stage is oriented to analyse the data collected in the previous stage. In this stage, citizen participation is secured by the law. Both laws on land and town planning and law on decentralisation proclaim that in the process of local planning and data analysis, the local citizens must be involved, though public session to identify the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats of their neighbourhood. It means that the process of engaging ordinary citizens in defining they local priority is beyond a simple generosity or the will of the local power-holders. Rather, it is legally and politically compulsory.

The PPP' team brings essential information into the context of local demands. In this dimension, the ordinary citizens and the experts may arrive at a consensus over

---

[69] The relevance of this aspect is described in the next chapter. When discussing the case of Mabil 2, we explore the relevance of the topic of customary beliefs in the life of rural communities in Mozambique, and its impact in the relation with the local government.

coproduction of results. Meanwhile, the ordinary citizen influences the planning inputs through public sessions as well as the data' outcomes. In this important stage, two aspects enable high performance of data analysis. The first is about citizen motivation to participate and the second is about the resources available for the conception and implementation of the local planning process.[70]

A motivated citizen could produce a set of inputs to operate changes in all process of urban management. However, the reality shows that many local governments follow a top-down approach to urban management in which citizens are excluded in the great decisions on the city affairs. The deliberations are excessively taken by the bureaucrats and experts (Comiche n.d., p. 51), and those involving a low amount of resources are extended to the ordinary citizens.

### 3.4.4. Evaluating the alternatives

This is the stage where a range of alternatives and priorities are listed and evaluated to reach sustainable ways of addressing spatial and territorial justice. The most significant way to organise a city or municipality is territorial planning. This is an instrument of spatial management and land use, which establish criteria of municipal territory management, and the norms and parameters to govern the land tenure. This dimension takes into account the current use of the municipal land for public infrastructure, facilities and equipment (Pløger 2001).

This phase consists of processes through which the technical team (PPP) presents to the citizens the first draft of the territorial planning. They are invited to present their opinion about the priorities on public infrastructure, facilities and social matters for the coming draft. It means that there is a focus on both the publication of the first draft and the public audition towards new plans.

Very often, the interpretation of what can be considered priority depends on the effects of the trade-off between the will and power of the decision-making boards (top-down structure) and the citizen power – bottom-up structure (Monteiro 2011). Theoretically, the possibility of co-definition of priorities is half equally for both side. However, the question remains in the hands of those power-holders. With reference to the role of development in the politics in Africa, Michael Bratton and Nicolas Van de Walle

---

[70] In Nampula city for example, the UN-Habitat provided financial resources to the conception and implementation of local plans. For details, see Macuane et al. (2012).

point out that most African regimes have instituted the "dictatorship of development" to impose their will on their citizens and to stop the public demands for political participation in the local government (Bratton & Van de Walle 1997).

Therefore, in a large number of countries in Africa, in the name of development and poverty alleviation, a large amount of land is exploited and occupied by private firms on agribusiness, mineral and forest resources exploitation (Alao 2007). This approach leads to forced migrations and displacement of local populations which exacerbates the vulnerability of those powerless. Thus, the land use relations among different social groups may conflict over land.

### 3.4.5. Approving the plans

This level concerns the approval of plans. Each jurisdiction has its structure to approve the plans. At the municipal level in Mozambique for example, according to the 11/97 law of 31 May 1997 and the 19/2007 law of 18 July 2007, the local municipalities have jurisdiction over the conception and approval of local development planning and urban planning. Analytically, the task of planning approval is in the hand of the municipal assembly, and further ratification is set by the state representative in charge of the matter.

The urban plans are approved by the local technical team (technical credit) and then submitted to the municipality or the neighbourhood assembly for political validation. Afterwards, this process is ratified and published by the regional or provincial departments in charge of coordinating environmental affairs, land use and housing and – this conception is proclaimed by the law on land and town planning.[71]

Nevertheless, the idea of citizen involvement in all stages of urban planning is proclaimed in the first guideline on planning rural settlements conceived by Mozambique's Ministry of Public Works and Housing (MOPH) in 1976, and later recommended to all subsequent regulations on planning land use, public infrastructure and budgeting (Robson et al. 2007).

In this dimension, the citizen involvement in the local decision-making forum may occur at different levels. At the level of the local consultative councils and local forum – at this point, people are represented by their traditional and administrative leaders, and local influent individuals. The other dimension of citizen representation is the municipal

---

[71] Precisely, this is enshrined in article 18 of the 19/2007 law of 18 July 2007.

assembly – at this level, people are represented by the locally elected boards through a political party.

As a result of simple political representation, the government's hegemony and power to reinforce political and social control is constantly questioned and challenged by those who advocate for direct citizen participation. The current literature on this topic has promoted the logic of political representation through a political party or civil society organisations. What is problematic in this approach is the fact the last decades are shaped by the so-called the crisis of representative democracy (Fung 2006; Fung & Wright 2006; Santos 2006d) which emerges and grows with the popular sentiment of dissatisfaction and distrust towards their representatives.

This results in the failure of the elected individuals and political boards in addressing common interests as representatives. It leads to an increasing gap between the reference model of democratic representation and the current performance of the representatives in many parts of the so-called democratic world. Therefore, the need for alternatives determines the incorporation of the ordinary citizens to discuss and deliberate the public interests. As we pointed out earlier, the peaceful relationship between the representatives and the direct citizen participation in decision-making processes is yet to reach the top.

The idea of citizen involvement in approving urban plans remains a formality. It is presumed that the technical expertise needed to read the specificities of the urban plan and the legal conditions imposed by the norms and regulations determines the responsibilities of the PPPs' and the bureaucrats and elected boards to approve the urban plan.

### 3.4.6. Implementation

Implementation is one of the most important phases of the urban planning. This is the stage where the community-devolved implementation and management plans take place. The phase of implementation of the urban plan combines the commitment and participation of all stakeholders.

The collaborative action between the state institutions, the elected boards, the PPP and the ordinary citizens can be of three perspectives: The first concerns the social relationship among stakeholders involved. This attribute aims to facilitate and improve the reciprocal trust among the actors involved in the process of implementation of urban planning. Thus, the urban planning as a social, spatial and political mechanism which

brings together the urban planners, architects, engineers (PPPs); bureaucrats and elected boards (municipal assembly members); ordinary citizens, civil society organisations, NGOs, and private sector, the attribute of *confidence* is one of the most influential device in the stakeholders' relation (Fischer 1992; Cheng et al. 2015).

The second attribute consists of knowledge and information sharing. This is usually associated with the fundamental right to information. Many countries had assessed this attribute (right to information) in the Constitutional law[72] and the ordinary legislation.[73] The law bounds the state institutions and the local municipalities. It proclaims that ordinary citizens have a right to assess, explore and share the information under the frames of the law. The right to information consists of citizen participation in the construction of their society through direct involvement or representation in the decision-making process.

The third attribute focuses on the continuous development and flexibility of the decision-making process for integrating new views, ideas and opinions of the stakeholders involved in the process of urban planning. It means a collaborative action among all stakeholders involved in the urban development.[74]

The phase of implementation of urban planning needs the mutual understanding of all actors involved. This process may occur through an ideal speech situation made by the better argument and the respect for diversity (Habermas 1996). In line with this idea is the coproduction of urban planning and infrastructure to secure common affairs (Ostrom 1996). For example, the construction of facilities to provide safe water and sanitation to the citizens living in a specific municipality requires collaboration and combination of technical expertise work with active involvement of ordinary citizens.[75]

---

[72] This is the case of article 48 of the Constitution of Mozambique (2004), article 5 of the Constitution of Federative Republic of Brazil (1988), and article 37 of the Constitution of the Republic of Portugal (1976).

[73] Right to information in Mozambique is enshrined in the Constitution and in the 34/2014 law of 31 December 2014.

[74] More insights about collaborative action can be found in Chigbu et al. (2017).

[75] Ostrom (1996, p. 1074) discusses this aspect based on a case study of Brazil. By quoting the engineer Jose Carlos de Melo, Ostrom calls upon attention to the institutional factors which fuels the problems of developing countries and also shape the relationship between national and municipal government. Among those factors are the centralisation of infrastructure provision at national level which relies the local municipal to a position of a mere audience. To solve the situation, de Melo brings a new approach endowed to produce a coproduction of goods and services. While focusing the coproduction of urban infrastructure, de Melo emphasises and advocates a combination of specialised working skills of the engineers in sanitation and the active involvement of the ordinary citizens.

### 3.4.7. Monitoring and Evaluation

This process is oriented to follow up the process and assess the results of the planning process. The central aim of this stage is to match the objectives to the results. In other words, we might say that this stage examines the relationship between the objectives drawn on the conception of the planning process and the outcomes of the implementation of the project.

In Mozambique, this democratic principle is proclaimed in the Constitution as the right to information.[76] For the low-level jurisdiction (regional and municipal or local), it is also secured by the 11/97 law of 31 May 1997, and the 8/2003 law of 19 May 2003. At this point, there are different actors who interact to resolve concerns about the gaps between the planning objectives and the results.

Analytically, who is in charge of monitoring and evaluating urban planning in Mozambique? The task of monitoring and evaluating a given public action and the performance of the government (national, regional and municipal) concerns public accountability which can be generically defined as the obligation and responsibility of giving explanation and justification about the distance between the objectives and the final expectations and outcomes, and eventually the consequences on that behalf (Tetlock 1985; Cummings & Anton 1990).

The most influential way to seeing accountability in the political context is presented by Mark Bovens in four macro categories: a) that based on the nature of the actor[77] – it can be corporative, hierarchic, singular and communitarian; b) that based on the nature of the forum – can be political, legal, administrative, professional and social; c) that based on the behaviour – it can be of funds management, procedural, and of the results; d) that based on duties or responsibility – this last can be vertical, horizontal and diagonal (Bovens 2006).

For the objective of this section, we speak of the duties and responsibilities of both: the local citizens and the government institution or the PPP. As stated earlier in the law on land and planning, the law on decentralisation and local government,[78] the

---

[76] Despite the unclear specification on public accountability in Mozambique's legal framework, the civil society organisation applies the right to information to demand public accountability and transparency in the public administration.

[77] The complexity on this domain is commonly linked to the degree of contributions; the complexity on electing those who are really involved in specific issue within a public policy because of the huge number of actors involve. For details, see Bovens (2006).

[78] 2/97 law of 18 February 1997.

involvement of the local citizens may lead to consensual decisions and conflict reduction between the state and the citizens.

The social accountability oriented towards opinion makers, media and interest groups and the diagonal accountability to the investors, clients and market are very often in conflict with the public and political accountability to the ordinary citizens. This can be observed in Africa and elsewhere in Latin America (Wiarda 1974; Faehndrich & Nhantumbo 2013; Jamal 2014). It leads to the conclusion that the degree and the form of accountability are more likely to vary according to the local political orientation.

On the other hand, there is the rise of neo-patrimonial practices and the increasing clientelism, patronage and political intolerance within the national and local government. The primary consequence of this approach can be captured in the frame of political participation in which most cases the ruling party uses the state power to intimidate and repress the opposition leaders and inhibit those who attempt to question the hegemonic power (Bratton & Van de Walle 1994; 1997). Thus, the institutionalisation of this dynamic in the context of low-intensity democratic practices represents the evident breakdown of public accountability, and it may risk the quality of the local democracy.

By reading the political participation in Mozambique, Adriano Nuvunga sought to measure the representativeness in the local consultative councils.[79] The scholar encountered a significant amount of difficulty in finding those members of the local consultative councils who are not connected somehow with the ruling party. The local government vets the involvement of the citizens in this mechanism of public consultation based on their relations with the ruling party. Therefore, Nuvunga concludes that the expected plurality and independent political tendency is yet to come true in Mozambique (Nuvunga et al. 2007).

The degree and form of political participation in these mechanisms depend on the proximity and ties with ruling party. The common situation here is the weakness of the local democracy and the quality of citizen participation in the local decision-making forum. Nonetheless, a major strike in the run-up to democracy is the increasing demand for direct involvement of ordinary citizens in the deliberations over public policy (Bratton & Van de Walle 1994; 1997). In contrast is the context of a strong democracy which makes institutions strong enough to increase public confidence in the government.

---

[79] In reference of the representation of ordinary citizens in the Institutions of Participation and Community Consultation (IPCC).

As a mechanism of legitimacy and conflict reduction, the idea of public accountability and citizen participation in the decision-making process are accepted by the elected boards, the appointed bureaucrats and the public participation professionals in Mozambique. This view is on the line with that emphasised by John M. Bryson and Barbara C. Crosby who actively called upon collaborative action comprising consensual public policy (Crosby & Bryson 2010). In this aspect, the local government interacts with local citizens (mainly those who share the common goals) to monitor and evaluate the project. What is new at this point is the fact that Bryson and Crosby go further, and see the process of collaboration beyond a simple act of participation. Therefore, the idea of common goals is central to differentiate collaborative action from the simple process of participation.[80] It is not our intention here to enter into debates on similarities or divergences among both concepts; what is of importance in this section is to understand how it can provide a framework for jointly managing, monitoring and evaluating urban planning (Chigbu et al. 2017, p. 1625).

## 3.5. The Highlights

This chapter describes the conceptual contribution by Sintomer et al. (2012; 2013) and Arnstein (1969) to the urban development. We present both the transnational model of citizen participation conceived by Yves Sintomer and the ladder of citizens' participation in the decision-making process suggested by Sherry Arnstein. Afterwards, we describe the key phases of an urban plan.

The core argument presented in this chapter consists of the social and political relationship that enables consensual deliberations in the process of urban development. This dynamic uses a combination of skilled and specialised public workers and the ordinary citizens as well as the local government representatives and the private sector. All actors are involved in the conception, development and management of urban planning.

In this chapter, we found that genuine participation of ordinary citizens in the urban development and the fulfilment of the right to the city occur when we discern three important aspects, such as:

a) Citizens as an important ally in the construction of social and political cohesion throughout urban development can be of extreme importance for government legitimacy,

---

[80] For details on collaborative action, see Bryson et al. (2009) and Chigbu et al. (2017).

decrease protests and conflicts through reduction of bottom-up political pressure. Indeed, citizen' involvement in the urban planning has to be followed by accurate coordination of all actors involved in the process.

b) Each social group has to be involved in discussing and deliberating on their specific concerns. For example, when addressing measures to regulate street vendor activities, the local government should interact, discuss and take consensual decisions with this social and economic group. Nevertheless, this practice can be extended to other stakeholders directly involved in this process.

c) The citizen deliberation (direct participation) in city affairs is not incompatible with the role of elected boards (representative democracy). For a better judgement and a consensual decision as well as to ignite a good relationship between the state and local citizens, there is needed a political platform to share decisions and responsibilities to a strong control over the ruling process. A view of citizen participation in the public policy, public service design, natural resources management, waste management, public infrastructure and other variants mean a political, social and economic gain for the political incumbents as well as for the local citizens.

# PART II – MOVING TO MOZAMBIQUE

# CHAPTER IV – DECENTRALISATION: LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE FRAMEWORK

## 4.1. Introduction

For the past three decades, two dynamics played an important role in African and Asian politics. The first is the "pressure" for democratisation and decentralisation by Western governments and multilateral institutions as loan and aid conditions. The second is related to domestic factors such as citizen demands to participate in the decision-making process and public accountability of their representatives.

Both dynamics led to a new approach to local governance and demanded a new form of political engagement in many countries. On the other hand, these paved the way for debates and discussions on participatory public policy. In this regard, a number of studies in political and social sciences concentrated on the degree of local autonomy from the national government's "interference", as well as the role of local citizens in national politics (Fung & Wright 2006; Santos 2006e; Monteiro 2011; Weimer 2012b; Fung 2015).

While the previous part of this thesis sought to present and discuss the theoretical framework, this section discusses the implementation and the problems of decentralisation, participatory budgeting and urban planning in Mozambique.

The chapter analyses the social and political impact of local autonomy within the legal and administrative framework. It is divided into three sections. The first section explores the legal and administrative framework of the current decentralisation process in Mozambique.

The second section explores the dimensions of the national government's decentralisation and the degree of local autonomy. We explore the political, administrative and fiscal decentralisation which allows citizens to secure their rights to participate in the urban development. Therefore, we analyse how local autonomy is applied and the actors involved.

The third section discusses the decentralisation approach to economic development. It presents the main problems of Mozambique's decentralisation, the actors involved, and the current micro-power structure.

We conclude that Mozambique's decentralisation does not occur in a vacuum. It encompasses distinct processes of deconcentration, and somehow the recentralisation of the state's decentralised role and functions. Decentralisation deals with some top-down dynamics, such as the rule of law principles, the legacy of the later Marxist-Leninist thought and the customary structure of political power (Nguenha 1998). As it results in sharing of power, Mozambique's decentralisation has a great potential to involve people. However, it should be maximised to achieve a high-intensity local democracy.

## 4.2. Democratic Decentralisation: The Legal Approach

Mozambique in the 1990s was characterised by changes in the economy, politics, social issues and legal framework. The adoption of a modern Constitutional Law in 1990 and the Peace Accord signed in 1992 in Rome marked a great starting point for reforms in public administration and the judicial system. These achievements are the most important events in Mozambique's postcolonial history (Weimer 2012b).

The Constitutional Law of 1990 was the first to introduce the rule of law and presents Mozambique as a democratic country based on a principle of separation of powers and pluralism. It was amended in 1994 and then in 2004. It thus established a legal framework for democracy. Ensured the sovereignty of the people of Mozambique, allowed freedom of speech, respect for rights and liberties and public participation in the decision-making process (CRM 1990).

The Constitution of 1990 shaped a new era of social, economic and political development. Citizen engagement in political life was secured through democratic elections, the first being the general and parliamentary elections held from October 27 to 29 in 1994. This was in contrast to the elections held in 1977 and 1986: elections for people's assembly was based on mass meetings by a single party, throughout the country (Isaacman 1978).

However, an effective participation of citizens in the construction, development and control the local governance requires more than elections. It should involve other democratic mechanisms (participatory processes, referendum, freedom of political association, freedom of speech) and legal instruments (Mazula 1995). Among these, was the 1991 reform on public administration called *Programa de Reforma dos Órgãos Locais do Estado* (PROL). This, was implemented by the *Ministério da Administração Estatal e Função Pública* (MAEFP) – The Ministry of State Administration under the Aguiar Mazula administration (Mazula 1998).

The reforms of public administration benefited from valuable contributions from José Guambe[81] and Aguiar Mazula. Both played an important role in enacting the 3/94 law of 13 September 1994 – the first law on decentralisation approved by the national assembly (Faria & Chichava 1999; Weimer 2012b).

In 1978, the national assembly approved the 7/78 law of 22 April 1978 which established local executive councils and granted them jurisdiction of water and electricity supply, waste management, and urban planning (Pinsky 1982; Sidaway 1993).[82] Due to the shift in socioeconomic and political paradigm in 1980-90s in Mozambique, several reforms were implemented in public administration and judiciary system. In 1994, the national assembly repealed the 7/78 law of 22 April 1978 and approved the 3/94 law of 13 September 1994. This law upgraded the executive councils into municipal councils while retaining all previous tasks and responsibilities, it improved the autonomy of the democratically elected local government (AWEPA 1997). This law aimed to modernise and democratise the structure of public administration through democratic elections for mayor, local administrators and municipal assemblies in 128 rural districts and 13 urban districts.

This transition to democracy under a multiparty approach to local governance has raised significant tensions between Frelimo and Renamo. There was no consensus about the model of decentralisation. The outcome of general and parliamentary elections of 1994 which favoured the opposition party (Renamo) in rural north as well as the costly logistics of decentralisation 'forced' Frelimo (the ruling party is the single party in the parliament) to present an approach to subnational governance based on parallel cohabitation of the central government (deconcentration) and the elected local government – decentralised[83] (Pereira et al. 2005; Fernandes 2009, p. 116; Jamal 2014).

The newly elected national government headed by Joaquim Chissano of Frelimo claimed the 3/94 law of 13 September 1994 unconstitutional and proposed a Constitutional amendment. They proposed changes to articles 188 through to 196 and the adoption of local power or local government. As a single party represented in the national parliament, the changes were approved. The 3/94 law of 13 September 1994 was

---

[81] The former national director of local administration.
[82] The 7/78 law of 22 April 1978 sets up the local executive councils *(conselhos executivos das assembleias municipais e conselhos executivos das assembleias das cidades).*
[83] In reference to the autonomy of the local elections (citizen' rights to elect their representatives and to participate in social, economic and political life).

superseded by the 2/97 on 18 February 1997. The logic of power-sharing supported by the 2/97 law of 18 February 1997 is part of a set of laws essential to decentralisation.[84]

The 6/97 law of 28 May 1997 established the basis for local elections. The first local elections were held in 33 municipalities. From then on, there were regularly scheduled general and local elections every five years. The Constitution establishes the local power or municipality and grants them enough autonomy, under heading XIV, articles, 271 through 281. On the other hand, we see the article 8 of the Constitution promoting state unity and indivisibility. Therefore, two different actors came to parallel coexistence at the local governance level: a) the state administration at the lower level – in reference to article 8 of the Constitution, and, b) the municipal government or local power to materialise the contents of article 275 under heading XIV (CRM 2004).

The main role of the state administration at the lower level is regulated by the 8/2003 law of 19 May 2003 and the 11/2005 decree of 10 June 2005. It concerns the promotion of local development and well-being of local communities. Including the pursuit of the central state policy and planning, as well as the ruling party's manifesto. It entails the organisation of local communities at different administrative levels: district; administrative post; the *localidade;*[85] and the *povoação.*[86]

The other power structure is the municipality or township government. It was established by the 2/97 law of 18 February 1997 and the 10/97 law of 31 May 1997. The Constitution under articles 272(1;2); 275; 276 (rules on the municipal finance system and assets), and 278 (rules on local regulations and norms) defines municipality as a sub-regional legal person governed by public law. This entity is furnished by an executive unit (the mayor and municipal council) and a legislative body – municipal assembly (CRM 2004).[87]

There are two realities to take into account: One is composed by an entity equipped with authority and legitimacy to 'protect local citizens and their interests'. The other consists of local populations who deserve respect and the right to participate in discussing

---

[84] 2/97 law of February 1997; 6/97 law of 28 May 1997; 7/97 law of 31 May 1997; 8/97 law of 31 May 1997; 9/97 law of 31 May 1997; 10/97 law of 31 May 1997; 11/97 law of 31 May 1997; 6/2007 law of 9 February 2007; 15/2007 law 27 June 2007; 21/2007 law of 1 August 2007.

[85] The lowest unity of the state administration structure.

[86] The rural territorial micro-unity. It includes a number of families (mainly, peasants). This is the lowest administrative unity recognised by the state administration as a ground for public participation. Therefore, there are the consultative councils and local committee, representing the *povoado or povoação* (villages). See section 4.3.2 for details.

[87] See section 4.3.1 for details.

and finding solutions to their problems. Also, there is the responsibility to respond to the public needs and the protection of the citizens' interests without prejudice to national interests (CRM 2004). In this respect, national interest can be perceived as being strictly linked to the presence of central state representatives at the lower level.[88]

The idea of expanding and maintaining central state hegemony throughout the country is common in every ruling system (Wiarda 1973; Bratton & Van de Walle 1994). Authoritarian or democratic, decentralised or centralised, all regimes show some aspects of the central state's direct influence in the jurisdiction of local government. In general, national governments aspire to set influence, authority (soft or intensive)[89] and hegemony over the national territory, in order to maintain what they call *national sovereignty* (Bratton & Van de Walle 1994; 1997).

In Mozambique, as part of a political strategy to maintain state unity, the national government creates institutions and appoints officials to represent the central state's interests at subnational jurisdictions, coordinate activities and supervise the locally elected officials and institutions. Although such nominations of state representatives are made by an elected government, its replication at the lower levels lacks democratic principles and acknowledgement.

## 4.3. The Administrative Approach of Mozambique's Decentralisation

The current decentralisation process of Mozambique's central state began in the 1990s. It aims to create local institutions to respond to public aspirations by actively engaging local populations in the decision-making process. The current decentralisation is oriented towards local development, human rights and democracy.[90] It also aims at increasing vertical accountability of public servants and the efficiency of public service coverage (CRM 2004).

The 1990s, legal framework allowed local elections in 1998 and resulted in 33 local municipalities. Each municipality consisted of an elected assembly and mayor for a five-year term. The candidates came from Frelimo and Renamo, and MDM later in 2011. The creation of new municipalities will gradually happen when the conditions are favourable,

---

[88] These aspects are protected by the Constitution and other legislations. See footnote 84.
[89] What is meant by soft authority is the minimum influence and interference of the national government in sub-regional government affairs.
[90] 2/97 law of 18 February 1997.

such as an increase in socioeconomic performance and institutional capacity (Weimer & Fandrych 1997; Soirri 1999; Buur 2009; Faehndrich 2012).

The current process of decentralisation in Mozambique is bimodal. It means it follows two logics:

a) The logic of deconcentration of the central state power or the so-called administrative decentralisation (Weimer 2002b). This logic is politically and administratively dependent on the central government. There is a minimum autonomy at the lower level. The state representatives at the sub-regional level are appointed by high-level officials (president and ministers), and their working plan must be narrowly linked to the state's broad planning instruments (the five years term planning, agenda 2021, agenda 2025).

b) The logic of decentralisation of the state power is based on regular elections for the local municipality. This logic is based on the widespread idea that elections are synonymous with democracy.[91] In supporting this approach, there is a belief that holding regular elections builds a fair political unit at the different level of the state – national, regional and sub-regional or local (Montero & Samuels 2004). The local municipalities elect mayors and municipal assemblies or local legislatures. This power-sharing approach to subnational territory allows the existence of local institutions to support the political and administrative structure.[92]

The table below presents the difference between the state administration at the local level and the local power.

---

[91] Apart from elections, there are other important mechanisms of democracy, such as referendum, public meetings, freedom of speech, freedom of associations, right to information, etc. For the relationship between democracy, elections and referendum, see Canotilho (2005).
[92] See Table 3.

<p style="text-align:center">**Table 3: The State Administration vs. Municipal Government - Key Aspects**</p>

| | Lower Level State Institutions | Municipal Government |
|---|---|---|
| Legal person | The state (subnational, provincial and district level). | The municipality (at sub-provincial level). |
| The legal person at the provincial level (regional) | The government of the province; the head of the government of the province; the provincial assembly. | Not applicable. |
| The legal person at the district level (local) | The government of the district; the head of the district's government; the head of the administrative post; and the head of *localidade*. | Mayor, municipal council and municipal assembly. |
| How is power shared? | Governors, administrators and chiefs are appointed by the head of the state or high state officials, according to the level of administration. The members of the provincial assembly are elected in the general elections. | The mayor and municipal assembly are elected by the citizens; The members of the municipal council are appointed by the mayor. |
| Degree of Interest | National, provincial (regional) and local. | Local |
| Territory | National | Municipal |
| Institutions at provincial level | Provincial Departments | Not applicable |
| Institutions at the local level | District Department | Municipal Departments *(Vereações)* |
| Degree of autonomy | Some autonomy in finance, administration and assets. | Some autonomy in finance, legislature (the municipal |

| | However, it is strictly dependent and connected to the central state administration. | assembly rules on matters of municipal jurisdictions), administration and assets. |
|---|---|---|
| Ends | Promotion of democracy, human rights and development, by following the state's planning instruments at district, province, and national level. | Promotion of democracy, human rights, development and the well-being of the local populations by following the manifesto of the municipal ruling party. |

Source: 2/97 law of 18 February 1997; 8/2003 law of 19 May 2003; 11/2005 decree of 10 June 2005; Fernandes (2009, p. 127); Jamal (2014, p. 67;68).

From Table 3, it can be concluded that both the state institutions at the lower level and the municipal government aim to promote a local socioeconomic and political well-being of their citizens. However, their methodologies are quite the opposite (Fernandes 2007; Forquilha 2015).

The state institutions at the district level (administrative decentralisation) have been shaped by the continuous process of decentralised planning of the central state administration.[93] The *Programa Nacional de Planificação e Finanças Descentralizadas* (PNPFD) – National Program for Decentralised Planning and Finances was the state's pivotal project in this matter and later, the *Estratégia e Polítical Nacional de Descentralização* – National Policy and Strategy of Decentralisation (PEND).

In this regard, the decentralised planning in Mozambique concerns the ways in which people living in district jurisdiction are consulted over local priorities. It includes administrative and political mechanisms of engaging the locals in defining the priorities of public policy and investments. This is the case of the local consultative councils, local committees and forums of civil society. These are responsible for representing local citizens in the dialogue with the state administration. Nevertheless, the head of the state at the lower level has a legal prerogative to consult and interact with locals directly.

---

[93] High dependence of central state administration. The processes are much more inflexible because of top-down/bottom-up information dynamics. Nevertheless, there is significant local autonomy to operate changes and make the local processes more flexible.

To some extent, this mission of open and inclusive governance is associated with vertical accountability. Sometimes, state officials consult local populations to gather information about the government's performance (especially near the elections). These processes of public consultation are based on mass meetings under the shade of big trees at the administrative posts or *localidade's* yards.

On the other hand, the municipal government utilises methods of public participation inspired by the principles of democracy. For example, the municipal assembly (representing the political party elected in a free and democratic election); civil society organisations, religious leaders and participatory budgeting are assumed as representing the locals. The main objective of gathering municipal citizens is to discuss local planning processes and objectives democratically. In this regard, citizens are represented by the people they elected, and, very often they are directly engaged in participatory budgeting.

The process of participatory budgeting in Mozambique was adopted in 1997 and has since gone through several adaptations. The first dynamic of public management involving local citizens and later named participatory budgeting was initiated in the municipality of Dondo in central Mozambique. The Dondo participatory budgeting has spread across the country through the implementation of many programs aimed at introducing the concept and practices of good governance into public administration in municipalities and local districts.[94]

The experiment on public participation, initiated in the municipality of Dondo had inspired the national initiative of promotion of public participation (National Program for Decentralised Planning). The model of Dondo was characterised by the involvement of citizens in discussing local development plans (*Plano de Desenvolvimento Municipal*) without incorporating the financial aspects. As part of the cooperation' plans, the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation supported in 2001 the municipal decentralisation through the Programme for Municipal Development (PADEM). The PADEM initiative was fundamental to replicating Dondo's model to other municipalities: Cuamba, Metangula, Mocímboa da Praia, Montepuez and Island of Mozambique (Dias 2015).[95]

---

[94] Details of the Dondo experiment can be found in Vedor & Cardoso (2010) and Machohe (2015).
[95] For details of the Dondo experiment, see section 5.3.

Today, new approaches to public participation in local municipalities have flourished. The most notorious being that supported by UN-Habitat, GIZ and the World Bank. This approach is materialised in the draft of the National Strategy on Participatory Budgeting in Mozambique.

### 4.3.1. The Local Power

As previously mentioned, the local power in Mozambique refers to the municipal government. This structure is based on principles of democratic decentralisation.[96] The current concept of the municipality and the responsibilities of its government were adopted in substitution of the previous denomination of the local executive councils (Pinsky 1982). To state it in perspective, the 2/97 law of 18 February 1997, defines municipality or township government as a public administration unit encompassed by a local structure of political representatives responsible for responding to public needs and the protection of citizens' interests without prejudice to the national interest.

The local power represents the sub-provincial government elected from local elections. Due to administrative and political reforms, there are three levels of government: the national government; the local state institutions at the provincial and sub-provincial level, and the local government at the municipal level. Both, municipal government and the local state institutions tend to operate as central state representatives (bureaucrats) do. It means the institutionalisation of power-sharing and its internal processes to better serve the citizens (CRM 2004).

Such an approach to service delivery, social well-being and citizens' participation in local development are relevant only if it seeks to address the basis on which citizen autonomy can be exercised. Thus, among a variety of terms and specificities linked to decentralisation, we opted to speak of those with direct impact on public service delivery and social and economic structures.

Therefore, we focused on the elements of local power derived from power devolution and conceived to provide public service and to promote local development, democracy and human rights through citizen involvement. These are the mayor; municipal council and assembly (article 275, CRM and article 38 of the 2/97 law of 18 February 1997).

---

[96] The principle of local autonomy, and the citizens' rights to elect local representatives and to participate in local development.

**The mayor**

This is the head of the municipal council with executive authority in the municipality. This cabinet position is elected in regular and democratic elections for mayor every five years (article 3; 7/2013 law of 22 February 2013).[97] The citizens[98] living within municipal borders are invited to elect their mayor out of the political party nominees, civil society representatives and ordinary individuals.

The elected mayor is then sworn in by the president of the municipal assembly in a public inauguration ceremony (article 61 (1); 2/97 law of 18 February 1997). The main responsibility of the mayor is to manage and coordinate the daily workings of the municipal government. The mayor has a legal prerogative to appoint and dismiss the members of the municipal council – *vereadores* (article 62c (2); 2/97 law of 18 February 1997). It also includes the coordination of the municipal budgeting and planning process and the public security system.

In the events of proven and declared inability or disability of invalidity, prolonged illness, death or resignation of the mayor, the office is headed by the president of the municipal assembly (article 60 (1) of the 2/97 law 18 February 1997). According to article 60 (5) and 61 (2); both, of the 2/97 law of 18 February 1997, in the event the presidency lasts 12 months or more, interim elections must be conducted. It means that within the period up to the elections, the president of the municipal assembly will take office and handle the managerial activities. From then on, the electoral process will choose the new mayor.

**Municipal council**

The municipal council is an executive body of the municipality, headed by a freely and democratically elected mayor and appointed officials, for five years (article 49; 2/97 law of 18 February 1997). According to the 2/97 law of 18 February 1997, the municipal council consists of: a mayor and five officials out of 50,000 inhabitants; 7 officials out of 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants; 9 officials out of 100,000 to 200,000; and 11 officials for

---

[97] This law establishes the legal framework for municipal elections.
[98] According to the article 4 of the law on municipal elections, all citizens who live in the municipal jurisdictions are bounded by the rights to vote. However, there legal restrictions for specific cases such as the age, legal and mental health conditions of the individuals. Chapter II of the 7/2013 law of 22 February 2013, devotes articles 10 and 11 to electoral eligibility.

more than 200,000 inhabitants. These officials represent the municipal departments installed to respond to the municipal mission.

The main role of the municipal government is to pursue the social, economic and political interests of local populations under the municipal jurisdictions. This executive body of public administration is oriented towards public service delivery and the promotion of the well-being of the local citizens. The role is extended to support the mayor in following the municipal assembly's deliberations and recommendations. Also, the role and duty of the municipal council entail actions of public space management (waste management and cleaning public places, gardens and yards), rehabilitation of roads, agriculture promotion and assistance, and public security in collaboration with the State Police Department at the district level ( MASC 2011a; 2011b).

This unit is responsible for licensing economic activities and building public infrastructure. Moreover, it cooperates with national state' administration at local and regional levels on issues of public health, education, culture and sport, tourism and industry as well as small businesses. To these ends, the municipal council involves ordinary citizens to give a contribution and opinion on public issues.

The major role of the municipal council is to ensure democracy, social justice and harmony, economic and cultural development of local citizens. Public service delivery, public security, social and administrative organisation are among the responsibility of the municipal government.

### Municipal assembly

This is the representative institution of the municipal council. It is furnished with the authority of their members who are elected in democratic and free elections for a five-year term (article 34; 35; 37, 2/97 law of 18 February 1997). According to article 36 of the 2/97 law 18 February 1997, the municipal council consists of 13 deputies out of 20,000 voters or less; 17 deputies out of 20,000 to 30,000 voters; 21 deputies out of 30,000 to 40,000 voters; 31 deputies out of 40,000 to 60,000 voters; 39 deputies, when voters are more than 60,000.

The jurisdiction of the municipal assembly is established by the article 275 of the Constitution and by article 45 of the 2/97 law of 18 February 1997. The assembly's jurisdiction is extended to rule on issues under the municipal's domain. It entails deliberations on the economic, social and cultural development of the local citizens. In this respect, the assembly approves and follows-up the municipal administration's

planning and budgeting. The assembly is responsible for validation of municipal loans and investments.

The municipal assembly also rules on urban development planning, land tenure regulations and building criteria and local tax and fees for public services. Regarding environment protection (article 46, 2/97 law of 18 February 1997), the assembly rules for waste management, renewable energy, natural resources and forest management.

From this scenario, we learn that the public participation enshrined in the Constitution and the other laws: 2/97 law of 18 February 1997; 8/2003 law of 19 May 2003; 11/2005 decree of 10 June 2005 focus on a representative approach in the local assembly. It means that the standard way of making citizens participate in local governance is via their representatives. Nevertheless, few direct-participatory mechanisms were adopted and implemented: participatory budgeting, open and inclusive presidency and mass meetings.

### 4.3.2. Deconcentration of the central state

The idea of citizen participation in the local decision-making process in Mozambique is desirable (Jamal 2014). Along with this idea, there are the state duty and responsibility of providing public services and promoting the well-being of citizens without discrimination. To this end, the central state administration had created institutions at different levels (national; provincial and district).

The state administration and hegemony represented at three levels derives from the process of deconcentration of the state authority and power devolution to the lower level administration. As we mentioned, this process in Mozambique follows two perspectives. The decentralisation (based on local elections) and deconcentration (based on nomination by the higher-level officials). In this picture, many institutions and actors have been shaping the administrative *nomenclature* of current Mozambique. Some are the product of the colonial past (for example the governor; the district administration and administrator), and others results of current reforms in policy, judiciary system and economic framework.

For the objectives of this section, we present and describe the institutions and actors improved through the process of deconcentration of the central state administration. We speak of those at the district level. The approach we opted for is descending from the district level up to the *povoado* (villages) level.

**The district**

The current administrative framework in Mozambique establishes 11 provinces and 129 districts. A district is a socio-political unity based on state administration' structure. These territories include administrative post, *localidades* (locality) and *povoados* (villages). The central state administration at the district level is represented by an official appointed by the ministry of state administration upon nomination by the Governor of the province (article 34 (1;2) 8/2003 law of 19 May 2003). The head of the district (the administrator) has a responsibility to manage the state' planning on social, economic and budget and the whole district departments.

The role of the district administrator includes the promotion of citizens and community leader's engagement in social, economic and cultural development. Therefore, coordinates actions of prevention on natural disasters, security services, and may propose the creation of new services and termination of others.[99]

The other important element of the state administration at the district level is the government district. This institution has a prerogative to pursue the central state program and the social, economic and budget planning. The district government replicates the central state model of governance to the lower level jurisdictions (Faria & Chichava 1999).

The current process of decentralisation in Mozambique conceives a district as the hub of social, economic and cultural development and planning (CRM 2004). Therefore, there are district departments to fulfil this legal vision of transforming the district into a central square of development and planning. The structure of these departments follows the central state structure of governance. For example, if at higher levels, there is the ministry of education to deal with national education' issues, at the district level, there are local directors of education' affairs.

These departments are hierarchical under the district administration and the ministries. It means that the district departments are under the technical tutelage of the ministry and regional department assigned to that end. There is a hierarchical dependence on the state administration at the lower level. In sum, the district departments deal with double state tutelage at different levels (Jamal 2014).

---

[99] For additional role, see the article 35(1;2;3) of the 8/2003 law of 19 May 2003.

In addition, the district entails the local consultative councils.[100] These platforms serve as a consulting and advising body of the local administration in finding solutions for local problems (article 111 of the 11/2005 decree of 10 June 2005). The local councils represent public participation in the discussion of the socioeconomic and budget planning. Their role in the representation of the local citizens is to discuss and give opinions to the government' matters and promote popular participation in a wide range of local issues. The number of members ranges from 30 to 50 (Faehndrich 2012; JustaPaz 2012; Monjane 2014).[101]

The most important role and the decision that this platform has are to select and approve the projects to be financed by the budget for local initiatives and District Development Fund – FDD (12/2005 law of 12 December 2005). This fund was created under the administration of the former President Armando Guebuza and aimed to place finance resources at the disposal of the local citizens living in the district. In the view of the president, the district is the developmental driving force (Faehndrich 2012, p. 7; Orre & Forquilha 2012; Weimer 2012b).

Many sources are available to finance the district development planning and socioeconomic programs. The central state administration transfers funds for regular activities (funds for administrative duties) and public investment (for public building constructions, roads, hospitals, and funds for poverty relief projects). Also, there are the local collected tax and fees derived from the use of public services (article 133; 134; 135 of the 11/2005 decree of 10 June 2005), and direct support from the NGOs and international agencies.

The administration of such funds is regulated by the 9/2002 law of 12 February 2002. The head of the district administration has the legal prerogative to allow the use of funds. However, the implementation of development planning process has to be in harmony with the district government's goals and objectives. Nevertheless, the local citizens will be consulted or asked through local consultative councils to give their opinion.

Moreover, the central state administration can audit the district administration' planning, budget and program through the provincial department of economics and finance or even by the provincial administrative court. In specific cases, the ministry of

---

[100] Further details in the next chapter.
[101] Further, we discuss local councils, their role, relations and internal dynamics.

economy and finance or another ministry (depending on the matter) can go directly to audit and monitor the process at the district level. What is important to remember is that the state scrutiny over the district level institution and activities assures the legality and controls the possible anarchy on the use of power.

### Administrative post

This is the sub-district administrative territory and is headed by the *chefe de posto adinistrativo.*[102] The head of the administrative territory represents the central state administration at the sub-district level and is appointed by the ministry of state administration. The head of the administrative post connects the state administration at the district, province and national level with local communities. He is supported by a secretary of administrative post composed of two or three public officials (article 46 of the 8/2003 law of 19 May 2003).

Since independence, the administrative post represents the territory under district jurisdiction. It entails the sum of the *localidades* in the administrative post's territory. In some cases, the territory of the administrative post matches with the municipal territory.[103] It may exacerbate tensions between the state administration and the municipal government. High tensions can occur in the context of municipalities ruled by the opposition party. The state administration is headed by Frelimo.[104]

The head of the administrative post secures the public participation process on issues involving the state administration and local citizens or even private sector and citizens' interests. For example, in the process of public consulting for a private investment which affects a significant extension of land or natural resources, the head of the administrative post will take part of the event.

### The *localidade*

The *localidade* is the smallest administrative division of the state's territorial administration. The 8/2003 law of 19 May 2003 establishes an executive council

---

[102] The head of the administrative post.

[103] For example, the main administrative post of the district of Massinga, match with the municipal territory. More examples can be found in almost all provinces of Mozambique.

[104] High tensions were spotted in the municipality of Beira, Quelimane and Nampula under the MDM' administration. In a near past, there were observed some tensions in Nacala, Island of Mozambique and Angoche, under the Renamo administration. More in this matter, see Fernandes (2009), Jamal (2014).

composed of the lower level state officials and headed by the *chefe de localidade*[105] (a state-appointed official). The head of *localidade* represents the central state authority at the *localidade* level. His role is supported by an assistant or a cabinet (article 49 (1;3) of the 8/2003 law of 19 May 2003). At this bottom-scale, the locals interact with administrative post and district administration.[106]

The central government's current strategy for development and poverty reduction adopts the sub-provincial scale as the base for social, cultural and development planning in Mozambique (article10 (2) of the 11/2005 decree of 10 June 2005). However, the *localidade* is below the provincial scale and is the most unprivileged in the state's resource allocation (finance, human and logistic). This contradiction leads to question the vision in the written law.

Of the *localidade* we know today, many of them are established in the transition period in 1974. Later in 1975, with the proclamation of national independence and the adoption of the first Constitution of Mozambique' post-colonial, these units became legal[107] and served as a backbone between the State, represented by Frelimo and the local communities (Chichava 1999; Jamal 2014).

The role and jurisdictions of the head of the *localidade* include promoting the state's planned actions oriented to operate social, economic and cultural development. The head also has the responsibility to mobilise and organise local communities in solving their social problems (article 50a; b (1) of the 8/2003 law of 19 May 2003). Therefore, the head of the *localidade* meets with community leaders, healers, religious leaders and ordinary locals to pass down information get from the administrative post (Gonçalves 2006). This information can be of the matters of the state administration or by Frelimo' directives and orientations. Even though the *chefe de localidade* should secure the interests of all members of the community regardless political affiliations, the reality shows that the *localidade* tends to operate as ruling party cells.

This fact is among a number of earlier independence past legacies. After independence in 1975, the Portuguese colonial administration left behind a chaotic public administration, economy and territory (Mosca 1999; Francisco 2003b; Fernandes 2009; Castel-Branco 2010). In this scenario, something needed to be done, and President

---

[105] The head of *localidade*.
[106] The *localidades* include *povoado*. These are grouped families in rural settlements.
[107] CRM (1975) and the 6/75 Decree-law of 18 January 1975.

Samora Machel established the *grupos dinamizadores*.[108] These groups were tasked to motivate and organise people to engage in the construction of a new Mozambique. Their role included social justice, dissemination of Frelimo propaganda, law enforcement, mobilisation for *machambas do povo*[109] (Chichava 1999).

This strategy aimed to involve people to participate in the food production. One of the greatest targets of President Samora Machel was to achieve food sovereignty. Very often Samora Machel highlighted the role of agriculture production in the continuity of the struggle against poverty, oppression and the legacy of colonialism in Mozambique (Machel 1975a).

The government created the local councils at the level of district, administrative post, *localidade* (locality) and *povoado* (villages). As a result of the current process of decentralisation, the local council of the *localidade (Conselho Consultivo de Localidade)* serve as a platform for community consultation and connection with the state administration (MASC 2011c; Monjane 2014).[110]

This council is constituted by members of civil society elected at the *povoado's* level and represents the social diversity. Their role is to discuss problems of the *localidade*; the way to increase the agricultural productions, or even to confirm the eligibility of the local candidates of the state funds for local initiatives.

### The *povoação/povoado* (villages)

This is a social and political sub-settlement beyond the *localidade's* level. It entails various settled families and the temporary settled groups.[111] This territorial organisation has existed since the colonial era as a traditional structure. In the colonial past, the *povoado* headed by *cabos* and the *regulado* headed by *régulos* was essential to tax

---

[108] Dynamising groups (Pinsky 1982).

[109] The community's agricultural fields. These fields were part of the Frelimo socialist strategy of engaging people in the food production and security. In parallel, there were implemented also the *lojas do povo* – the community's shop.

[110] See the 8/2003 law of 19 May 2003; 11/2005 decree of 10 June 2005 and the 67/2009 MD of 17 April 2009.

[111] Natural resources such as mining and exploitation of forest resources has been attraction various groups of men, children and women. Many of them left their community and settled in the mining regions in order to maximise they work and opportunity. For a certain amount of time, the mining surrounding regions have been hosting temporary inhabitants. The other reasons also linked to temporary settlement, are the natural disasters, megaprojects on mining and forest exploitation and arable land. Mozambique is systematically hit by the natural disasters which makes people to move almost every five years, from one place to another (mainly in the rural areas). Therefore, people are forced to leave their home and lands to non-productive territories lacking infrastructure and basic services. At the end, they search for arable lands and fix temporary *povoado* to look and maintain their agricultural production.

collections, tributes and forced labour' recruitment. Soon after independence, the *régulos* and *cabos* were banned by Frelimo, as they operated in collaboration with the colonial administration (Gonçalves 2006).

The Frelimo administration changed the previous territorial division upon the 6/75 decree of 18 January 1975 and further legislation. Despite the dismiss of the *cabos,* at sub-district level, the new established administrative division incorporated the *povoados.* New mechanisms and procedures for hiring the head of *povoado* were created, and the roles assigned to them were updated.

Frelimo cell's leaders at the lower level were elected the head of *povoado.* The process consisted of 'hand raised' in a mass meeting. The local communities were asked to provide names of those they trust to be a leading example. Because of the role played by the former head of *povoados* in a colonial system, they were ineligible to run for the presidency of the new *povoados* (villages)*.

Ordinary people with certain charisma, social prestige and skills in speaking Portuguese were among those elected secretaries and head of *povoados*. They represented the backbone of their communities and the state administration/ruling party. Similar to the *localidade* (locality) level, the *povoado* (villages) established a dynamic group.

The role played by this group of men and women was to represent the interests of the ruling party at the *povoado* (village) level. It included mobilising local communities for public meetings and production in farming and fishing. Usually, the messages, orientations and the call for the meeting were passed upon door-to-door; local markets and local radio; or at the funeral ceremonies and weddings (Chichava 1999).

As a result of reforms of public administration and the attempt to re-connect with local communities, the government of Mozambique established and recognised a group of community leaders as community/state representatives (15/2000 decree of 20 June 2000). According to article 1 of the mentioned decree, the community leaders can be traditional chiefs; secretaries and religious leaders. The role and responsibilities assigned to them includes delivering the state orientations on land management; food security strategy; civil and patriotic education; public health; education and road maintenance.

The leaders are chosen by the local communities. Furthermore, the state recognises them by granting the state authority. The community leaders enjoy the state prerogatives to use the state symbols and uniform; participate in the state' official ceremonies and meetings (article 5 of the 15/2000 decree of 20 June 2000). Also, they get compensated for their contribution to the tax collection – National Reconstruction Tax (IRN).

### 4.4. The Dimensions of Decentralisation in Mozambique

The process of decentralisation in Mozambique is oriented to the political, administrative and fiscal dimension (Weimer 2012a), and is associated with the provision of public service. It is widely perceived, even without empirical evidence, that decentralisation secures better public services (Forquilha 2015). In this regard, at least two aspects are relevant to underline. First, is the idea that decentralisation brings people into the decision-making arena, influence official decisions, make the bureaucrats more accountable (enhance citizen/government confidence) and promote local democracy and citizenship. The second is the idea of geographic closeness. Because of the geographic and communicative closeness between government and citizens, there is a focus on the priorities of the local citizens. It means that the local government is likely to understand the local citizens' feelings, demands and concerns and address practical measures to solve it.

### 4.4.1. The political dimension of decentralisation

The central aspect of political decentralisation concerns the direct and democratic elections of the provincial and local government to build a subnational representative political unit (Rondinelli 1989; Olowu & Smoke 1992; Montero & Samuels 2004; Manor 2011). The success of decentralisation related to the success of holding regular subnational elections is widely taken for granted.

The process of decentralisation in Mozambique is linked to both local elections and the central state institutions. It is widely agreed that provincial and local elections provide substantive democracy and secure decentralisation. Indeed, the cross-national governments and the opposition party, as well as the civil society organisations, share the belief that elections bring democracy.[112]

In the sphere of political decentralisation, the central government grants political autonomy[113] to the low-level jurisdictions to initiate local governance. Thus, subnational elections, pivotal to the creation of a specific local political structure of legislative and executive officers, may be at the centre of political decentralisation (Chichava 2008; Orre

---

[112] Elections are essential to democracy. However, several other mechanisms should be promoted in order to secure a genuine local democracy. Not all elections bring democracy and not even all elections are based on democratic principles.

[113] Through direct elections and power devolution to the local officials.

& Forquilha 2012). In this regard, the first sub-provincial election for mayors and municipal assemblies in Mozambique took place in 1998 in 33 municipalities, four years after the first general elections. In 2009, the country stood again to vote, this time for provincial assemblies.

However, viewed in that way, it means that we place elections on top of the decentralisation procedures, right before the political will and the legal reforms. In such a way we assume democratic elections as enough and 'all we need to make the government function'. As we can see in Mozambique, events happening in quick succession such as the Constitution of 1990 and 2004, the 1992 Peace Accord, the reforms in public administration and then the electoral processes without allowing people to fully understand and follow up the process. With 54.8% of the total population being illiterate (Tsandzana 2010),[114] people found no practical meaning to the elections.[115] Nevertheless, there was historic mass participation in the poll because people were afraid of returning to the civil war and obstructing the process of peace not because people understood the electoral process (Mazula 1995; Fernandes 2009). It could be better, to begin with administrative and fiscal decentralisation at the provincial level and then move to political decentralisation.

Perhaps this is the reason why political decentralisation in Mozambique is a weak process and oriented to the local elections. Moreover, the process of legitimating local government and creating local political unit acquires public legitimacy only if it allows citizens to get fully informed and leads them to direct democratic participation (Jamal 2014). In this context, subnational elections benefit ordinary citizens, political actors and institutions.

The interest in local elections is not restricted to municipal business and the local communities' demands. It may also be in the interest of the central state to pursue macroeconomic and social functions and to acquire public legitimacy. Mozambique is a good example in this respect. There is a high interest of the central government in legitimating its control over the local elected government to secure national interest and avoid federalisation which can result from total autonomy. Even though, the central state

---

[114] The provinces of centre and north have the highest illiteracy rates – Zambézia, Tete, Nampula, Pemba and Niassa, followed by Sofala and Manica. The lowest rates are found in the south side of the country – Inhambane, Gaza and Maputo (Tsandzana 2010).

[115] Nothing is more manipulative to the people, who expect to have a voice for their demands, than the reception of an empty and formal democratic election package, just to legitimate the subnational decision-making forum (Montero & Samuels 2004).

bureaucracy and institutions yet to represent the national interests in which subnational government deals with the local specificities. Such extension of state control emphasises the idea that political decentralisation makes the political business more popular and 'theoretically' accessible to the ordinary citizens, but, this is a 'small piece' of decentralisation.

### 4.4.2. The administrative dimension of decentralisation

Administrative decentralisation concerns the devolution of policy autonomy or responsibility to create, implement and manage resources (Rondinelli et al. 1983; Weimer & Fandrych 1997; Falleti 2005; Manor 2011). As part of the ongoing decentralisation in Mozambique, the local elected government and the local state officials acquire responsibility and autonomy to define local procedures and policies (decentralised policy autonomy), manage resources at their disposal, draw development plans and promote sustainable urban development.

In this respect, the administrative dimension has a mutual relationship with fiscal decentralisation. This concerns the administrative autonomy to decide on how much revenue to spend and on what. Perhaps, this is why the Mozambique central government pointed out administrative decentralisation as the central principle of the domestic public administration.

Therefore, the Constitutional Law of 1990 is based on democratic principles, fundamental liberties and human rights in which people are allowed to participate in the construction, development and monitoring local affairs. On the other hand, the 2/97 law of 18 February 1997 enshrines the implementation of such citizen participation. In this picture, the administrative autonomy at subnational scale is essential to secure the citizen engagement in social, economic and political life, and also contribute to modernising the administrative procedures within the public administration structure.

This process occurs at two important dimensions: a) the implementation of plans and actions in low-level jurisdictions. Precisely, this is the level of policies assigned to the Constitution and specific legislation.[116] This level encompasses issues about municipal

---

[116] Nevertheless, a number of isolated law assigned to this matter also regulate the mandate of the Municipal Assembly. Among a vast range of municipal assembly's role on behalf of the present legislations, its policy autonomy is limited to the municipal jurisdiction issues, mainly, that of the social, economic and cultural aspects. In the other hand, there is a duty to ruling over the municipal service supply departments.

tax, regulations and internal procedures; and b) the organisation, and control of the public services at the municipal level. At this point, the administrative decentralisation deals with the trade-off between scarce fiscal resources, a fragile legislative framework and the constraints derived from the coordination between different levels of government over the implementation of the national government's five-year plans and the local planning system (Zavale 2011; Macuane et al. 2012; Weimer 2012b; Forquilha 2015).

These aspects constitute the starting point of municipal regulations issued at the local level. To ensure the municipal provisional function of public service delivery through tax collection, the municipal assembly is in charge of stating and regulating the so-called "informal market" and "precarious activities" at municipal jurisdictions (Chiziane 2008; Orre & Forquilha 2012; JustaPaz 2012; Jamal 2014). By establishing regulations on tax collection and municipal investments priorities, as well as on administrative, fiscal and political dimensions of the municipal assemblies and the local consultative councils[117]can be defined as a platform in which people stand and participate in their municipalities.

### 4.5.3. The fiscal dimension of decentralisation

The fiscal dimension of decentralisation aims to support local government functions such as providing public services, managing land and housing and urban waste treatments. Fiscal and financial autonomy, as well as fiscal decentralisation, are central features of decentralisation in Mozambique (Weimer 2012a).

The decentralisation of financial and fiscal autonomy implies that the local government (the municipality) enhances its autonomy and authority in the territory administration by supplying public service. The municipal autonomy can be divided into two fields (Nabais 2007). The first is in the revenue field. This aspect is related to a degree of autonomy held by the local governments to control the sources of their revenues mainly composed of local taxes and the national government transfers. The second is the expenditure. This second aspect tends to be more proactive. It sets goals, plans and strategies to spend local revenues. It means that this concerns the local government's

---

[117] For details, see the next chapter.

prerogative to autonomously[118] determine how much and when to spend their revenues (Montero & Samuels 2004; Nabais 2007; Weimer 2012b).

Moreover, we found fiscal decentralisation closely attached to administrative decentralisation. This is the point in which participatory budgeting emerges to be a political platform in which local citizens gain the opportunity to discuss public investment and budget allocation made by their local authorities to ensure and promote sustainable urban development. Both, citizens and local government co-produce policies, define local priorities, set up goals, administer resources and implement development plans.

Deepening fiscal decentralisation, however, entails either the translation of policy responsibility – from one level of government to another – to set public policy in an area "where central government coverage is lacking by an entrepreneurial public official".[119]Although the local governments widely exercise this autonomy in Mozambique, its efficiency remains one of the great challenges of fiscal decentralisation (Nuvunga et al. 2007; Weimer 2012b).

---

[118] Although Mozambique's central government inspect the local government to maintain policy stability and territorial equity (7/97 law of 31 May 1997). The autonomy we are referring to, is that independent of the central government guidelines.
[119] For details, see Smoke (2003) and Montero & Samuels (2004).

**Figure 4: The interrelationship among dimensions of democratic decentralisation**
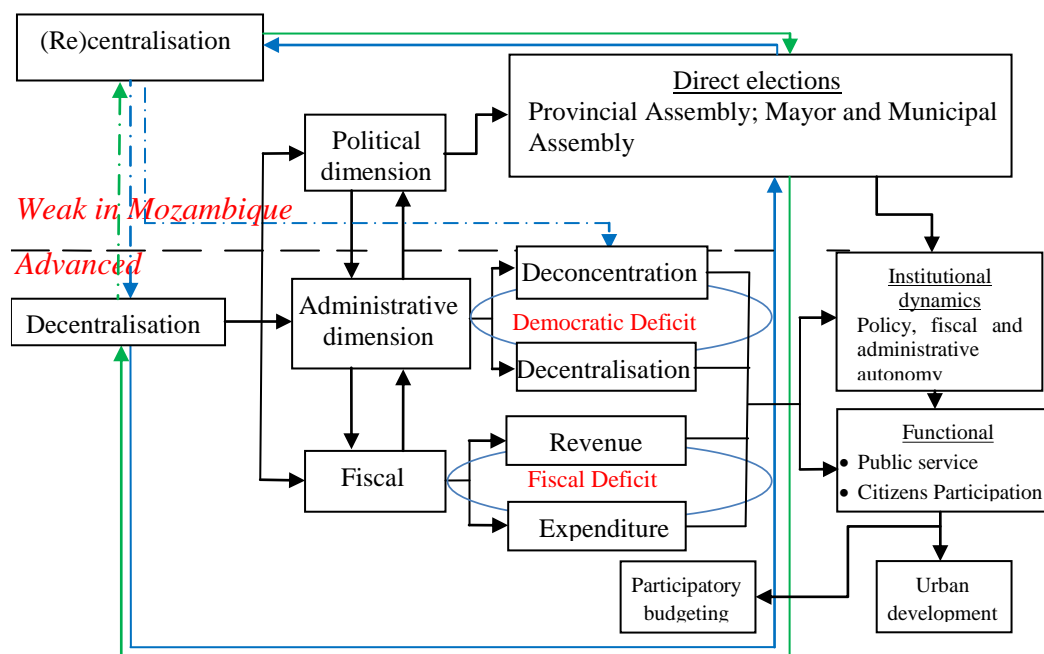


Source: based on Montero & Samuels (2004, p.7) and, Nabais (2007, p.16).

From Figure 4, we conclude that decentralisation does not occur in a vacuum. It occurs in a complex environment of institutional and functional processes which are determined by the electoral process to create policy autonomy as well as to respond to public needs. In this regard, the success and rewards of a democratic decentralisation process are determined by the degree of autonomy of the local government from the central government.[120]

## 4.6. Economic Approach of Decentralisation

The 1980s is a remarkable decade to understand the recent process of democratisation and decentralisation of the developing countries. At that time, most of those countries were attempting to recover from the effects of liberation wars and the impacts of a weak economic structure, international oil crisis, civil war, famine and poverty (Mosca 1999).

---

[120] Both are determined by the central government's degree of control, towards provincial and local governments. On the other hand, it is also determined by the level of autonomy of the local governments towards the central government and the decentralised dynamics and functions.

In Mozambique, the scenario was characterised by the government's efforts to halt the economic contraction, external and internal credit, poverty, and the effects of high inflation (Fernandes 2009). On the other hand, the diplomatic boycott and the reduction of the support provided by the Soviet Union had joined the long list of challenges in which the recent postcolonial administration dealt with.[121] In parallel to this concern was the military insurgency, which took ground in the country and contributed to sparking the citizens' vulnerability.[122]

Under these circumstances, reforms were needed in the politics, economy and the legal framework. The first economic reforms were oriented to alleviate private sector regulations to grow the transport sector, small business and agriculture sector – in response; the national government granted farmlands to a mass of peasants. The second dimension of this reform concerned the restructuring of the state enterprises, and this contributed to relaxing the 'traditional' state functions towards business intervention (Mosca 1999; 2001).

However, even with the relaxed government regulations accompanying the market liberalisation process, the domestic private sector did not have the investment capacity to respond to local market conditions. Unfavourable macroeconomic factors, the deterioration of social structure as well as the socioeconomic effects of the civil war pushed the local economy to a catastrophic situation[123] and, as we mentioned earlier, the social conditions deteriorated as a result of the contraction of domestic economic production, high external debts, inflation and debasement, and the lower GDP (Francisco 2003a; Fernandes 2009).

---

[121] The conditions were more deteriorating because of the impact of the petrol crisis and the reductions on loans and donations from the socialist countries. The internal credit topped 150% of GDP from 1981 to 1986 (Mosca 1999; Roodt 2008; Fernandes 2009).

[122] In order to control the Mozambique central region, the South African apartheid regime and the Rhodesia carried out strategies and financed military campaigns to destabilise Mozambique. The Rhodesia's Central Intelligence Organisation gathered a number of former well-trained Mozambican combatants and established the MNR – Mozambique National Resistance. This group pumped their militants to the field of central provinces of Mozambique. For details on this aspect, see Tajú (1988), Hall & Young (1997) and Mosca (1999).

[123] The social and economic environment in Africa saw a high level of decline and stagnation. The World Bank placed Mozambique as the ninth poorest country in the world with GDP *per capita* falling from $170 in 1987 to $90 in 1989 (WB 1989). On the same topic, Tiago Fernandes points out that Africa had faced a catastrophic decade of civil war and economic instability, calling it a 'continent in crisis' (Fernandes 2009). In addition J.H. Mittleman, while discussing marginalisation and the international division of labour in Mozambique presented evidence to sustain the idea of catastrophe in Africa. He showed that in the 1980s Africa's industrial production went lower and the export of manufactured goods was insignificant when compared with their Asian counterpart (Mittleman 1991).

These reforms achieved considerable progress and provided a minimum decent lifestyle to the local populations. However, they failed to reverse the wider impacts of the economic crisis. João Mosca highlights two important aspects. The first is the social dimension taken by the economic crisis. It means that the crisis went beyond economics and entered into almost all social dimensions. The second aspect is the weakening of the central state function. The social and economic crisis lead to weak state sovereignty because it failed to provide basic health services, education, justice, mainly in the conflict zones, in fact, the central state consigned their mission of securing social well-being to the INGOs (Mosca 1999).

Given this scenario, the Mozambique central government acknowledged the need for a second package of reforms in politics and economics. Thus, significant improvements in legislation and political orientation were made in order to gain international support – this resulted in a notable increase in food aid provided by the donors in the post-reform period (Mosca 1999; 2001).[124] We, therefore, see that the diplomatic efforts and reforms in politics had a considerable positive impact on famine alleviation and opened access to international markets as a viable way out the crisis.

To accomplish the goals of social and economic improvement, the central government of Mozambique set up strategies in two perspectives: a) one is the diplomatic efforts to reach Peace Agreements and promote social stability. Before the 1992' Peace Accord held in Rome, they signed the N'komati Deal between the government of Mozambique and South Africa to stop mutual aggressions[125] – this agreement established the limits of Mozambique's interference into South African domestic affairs and vice-versa. From then on, it arrived into a Peace Accord in Roma between the Mozambique government and MNR – Mozambique National Resistance, to end the civil war; b) the second was oriented to economic reforms. This strategy aimed to reverse the effects of the domestic crises, and the remarkable engagements on this matter were the adoption and implementation of the Economic Rehabilitation Programme (ERP) in 1987 and the

---

[124] For details, see Francisco (2003b).
[125] For N'Komati Deal, see Mosca (1999, p. 159). Mozambique stopped supportin the South African anti-government movement of the African National Congress (ANC) as well as the apartheid regime stopped funding the MNR/Renamo. The African National Congress is a movement constituted mainly by a group of black South Africans, Asian-origin or descendants. Turned into a political party, ANC is a ruling party since the defeat of apartheid regime in South Africa. Among others, Nelson Mandela, was one of the prominent and notorious activist of the contemporary ANC. See Holland (2012) for details on ANC.

Mozambique external debt relief renegotiation under the Paris Club[126] towards the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank loans (Mosca 1999).

In fact, the first economic reforms had paved the way for the implementation of the *structural adjustment measures.* This policy is based on two dynamics: a) one is the need for a break on the domestic demand through budgetary and monetary restrictive policies. It was implemented in favour of the income and salaries' reduction and also the rise of the interest tax by which aimed to increase the exportations and decrease the importation of goods (Mosca 1999). Thus, the internal demand was fragilized, and the national currency was depreciated, and the domestic production was affected by the structural adjustment measures and the effects of the civil war; b) the second dynamic is the liberalisation of internal markets and the shift of the state function – from the direct economic producer to the regulator and facilitator agent. This initiative had an impact on the job market. Tiago Fernandes argues that the privatisation of the vital sectors and state enterprises which employed the majority of the labour force in Mozambique resulted in a reduction of the income available for spending and a higher cost of living (Fernandes 2009).

It is plausible to underline that the structural adjustment measures were implemented under the World Bank modernisation theory and concerned the efforts done by both the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank to relief the developing countries' economies through a series of reforms (WB 1997; Mosca 1999). Therefore, the philosophy across the Bretton Woods modernisation theory brought on stage a number of private investors attracted by the incentives on access to the productive resources, economic and financial profits as well as the favourable political and legal framework which made the domestic economy more competitive.

To address the economic rehabilitation programme through a globalised economic approach, international organisations becomes the pivotal implementation agents of the structural adjustment. Therefore, João Mosca joins the contingent of scholars like Edward Morris Bernstein who find essential the alliance between Bretton Woods Institutions, domestic and foreign capital and the local government to implement the Economic Rehabilitation Programme (Bernstein & Black 1991; Mosca 1999).

The African and Latin American countries, specially Mozambique, is a good example in which the structural adjustment of the Bretton Woods Institutions helped in

---

[126] It is a group of commercial banks from the major creditors countries created from 1956 oriented to find sustainable solutions to the payment difficulties experienced by debtor countries and renegotiate the debit they hold on sovereign debtors. For details, see http://www.clubdeparis.org/

pushing and advocating for changes in politics and legal framework they believe could revitalise the local economy, create a better business environment and boost private initiatives (Mosca 1999; Francisco 2003b). Because of its approach to economics, and less to social, those measures failed to address the social well-being of the majority of Mozambicans under the poverty line.[127] In parallel, João Mosca goes further and finds that the theoretical pillar which sustains the economic rehabilitation programme also contributed to the failure due to its inconsistency (Mosca 2001; 2002).[128]

In response, the government of Mozambique and the Bretton Woods Institutions set out a new programme in which the social dimension was incorporated (Mosca 1999; 2005). It was named the Social and Economic Rehabilitation Programme (PRES). This programme followed the design of the previous model, but, brought a new vision to reshaping the income saving and the wage distribution in a domestic economy (Soirri 1999). Thus, this economic approach to social well-being allowed significant progress in basic social needs as well as in poverty reduction. However, its effects had failed again to address the fullness of the economic, political and social stability (Mosca 1999; Macamo 2014; Castel-Branco 2015).

So, why did it fail again? What we see here is a multiple of factors. First, we can start from the fragility of the theoretical foundation of the rehabilitation programme, pointed by Mosca (2001). The second aspect can be associated with the domestic capacity in dealing with successive changes in political orientation – from socialism to liberal market (Mosca 1999; Abrahamsson & Nilsson 1995; Francisco 2003a; Macamo 2014). The abuse of power, a weak accountability mechanism and corruption (Chabal & Daloz 1999; Nuvunga et al. 2007; Bratton & Van de Walle 1997).

In fact, both PRE and PRES were established under three assumptions. The first advocates that private initiative was capable to effectively benefit the economy due to its aim in utility maximisation. The second highlights the need for free markets, and the third sees markets as the "benevolent" agent in supplying resources. This last assumption considers state intervention in the domestic economy a constraint on economic development. In this aspect, the reasons for the failure of the structural adjustment measures remain controversial among scholars and institutions.

---

[127] For further details, see Mosca (2001) and Francisco (2003b).
[128] For details, see Mosca (2001).

There is a group who sees the high level of corruption and the weak institutional capacity to establish a coherent legal framework, as well as the small size of the domestic market as an eventual reason for structural adjustment "failure" (Abrahamsson & Nilsson 1995; Chabal & Daloz 1999; Francisco 2003b). On the other hand, João Mosca (2001) and Dornbusch et al. (2014), see the failure of the structural adjustment model as a result of multiple factors such as the philosophical foundation, and the core objective of the model as well as its practical social benefits for the host countries.[129]

The epistemological foundation of the structural adjustment aims to build a normative and ontological pattern conceived. In this aspect, the structural adjustment is oriented to social reproduction through emancipator social discourses, such as citizens' participation; poverty alleviation; social capital that could defeat all kind of criticism (Macamo 2014). Therefore, in Mozambique, successive reforms took place addressing the specific case of poverty – it is the case of PARPA I[130] and PARPA II, then PARP (Government of Mozambique 2006; Bolnick & Byiers 2009; Castel-Branco 2012).

Nevertheless, the phenomenon of poverty proved to be persistent and, on several occasions, registered an increase. It means that the implemented measures failed to stabilise the local economy and provide social justice and stability. Thus, corruption and debt were galloping, and the disinvestment in vital fields was decreasing. However, the 1992 Peace Deal and the subsequent reforms in politics and the public administration approach to local governance lead to a new perspective of local power-sharing as well as a citizen-based commitment to the local affairs.

## 4.7. The Multi-actor Local Power in Mozambique

One of the most essential, if not the most important aspect of the process of power-sharing in Mozambique, is the "*Micro dual state.*" This aspect concerns the combination of different and somehow conflicting political actors – the state bureaucrats and

---

[129] For further details, see Castel-Branco (2010) and Forquilha (2010).

[130] Action Plan for Poverty Alleviation, in Portuguese *Plano de Ação para a Redução da Pobreza Absoluta* is a Mozambique government' plan to reduce poverty, the first PARPA I – 2001 - 2005 aimed to reduce poverty in Mozambique from 54% in 2003 to 47% in 2009. The second, PARPA II – 2006 - 2009 had followed the same objective (Government of Mozambique 2006; Castel-Branco 2012). However, it goes beyond by prioritising the national economy integration and productivity. Therefore, it aims to strengthening peace, democracy and human rights; social stability, security and private property essential to economic development and poverty alleviation. In this dimension, this is a governmental effort in legislation reforms and finance of productive sector to reduce poverty and increase domestic production. As we see here, the interdisciplinary approach to poverty relief came to light and the implementation of coordinated actions were fundamental to maximise the utility and resources. For details, see (Bolnick & Byiers 2009).

150

administrative structure (the central state representatives in the low-level jurisdiction); the municipal boards (elected officials – mayors and assembly members); and the customary apparatus of local power – traditional chiefs and authorities (Santos & Trindade 2003; Meneses & Santos 2009).

Maria Paula Meneses and Boaventura de Sousa Santos call for a deep analysis of all elements of the heterogeneous state' matrix. Therefore, they argue that it is essential to draw special attention to how local power is negotiated and how it impacts on people's lives. On the other hand, they also consider the relationship between the local political actors and the central government prerogative. They argue the way in which the impetus of the local power through the devolved national power to the municipal level is balanced; the "traditional" state authority tends to be challenged and compressed at low-level jurisdiction (Meneses & Santos 2009).

Many studies on the topic of local power emphasises the needs for cooperation among those categories of local actors to respond to citizens' demands. However, in recent years, Mozambique has witnessed an increase in community voices through civil society' groups and social movements to pressure for the democratisation of public issues and a new reconfiguration of the local power.

**Figure 5: The rings of micro-power in Mozambique**
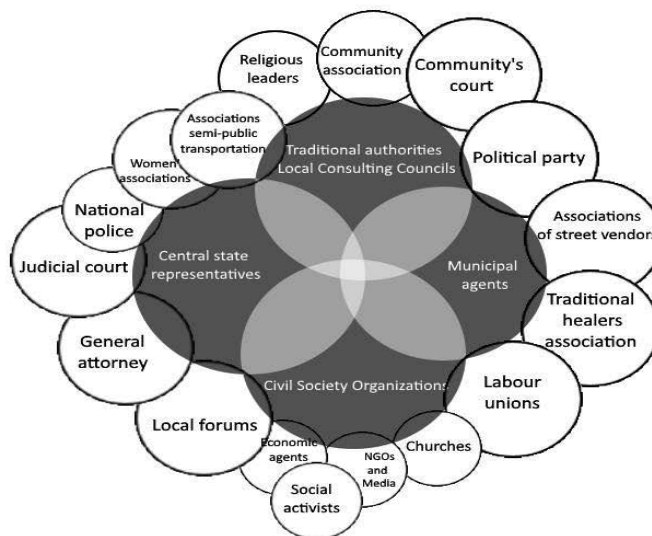


Source: the author

The mentioned categories place political representation at the core of the relations between the micro-power and the people, in which local citizens choose their representatives. On the other hand, the customary practices and the current political tradition are responsible for appointing the traditional chiefs and the central state representatives at the local level. Nevertheless, the public participation approach to citizens direct involvement in local governance tends to move further by advocating for a convergent point between mass engagement (direct participation) and indirect participation (via political representation).

The institutionalised local decision-making hosts local political actors, both customary and official, as well as the direct citizens' participation in negotiating and deliberating matters of public aspirations such as public investments and services. On this matter, the literature reveals that citizens' involvement in public issues, could enhance the confidence of the political actors and institutions (Ostrom 1996; Fung 2006).

The dynamics of citizens' involvement in public issues interferes both positively and negatively in the local governance (Salee & Tulchin 2004). Positively, by enforcing mechanisms that may increase political responsibility to good governance, and it might push government more accountable. On the other hand, it reduces public confidence in politicians and democratic institutions, increases political disputes, and spreads the focus of public accountability (Tetlock 1985; Paul 2011).

The case of making the local/customary power authorities accountable for their acts is quite complex. The literature on this issue has devoted less or at least avoided conflicting with several cultural aspects. Although, the modern state apparatus and laws are in charge of regulating every single social and political aspect – thus, the state law supremacy is applied to reinforce accountability and overcome conflict (CRM 2004). The contemporary democratic societies, yet claim for more secular rights that government fails to provide –this picture is observed in Mozambique' decentralisation framework in which the local citizens demand participation in local governance, and in response, they receive 'therapy'.[131]

## 4.8. The Problems of Decentralisation in Mozambique

Many factors, both domestic and international, influence the current process of decentralisation of Mozambique's central state. The current engagement of

---

[131] Example of this can be found in the case of Mabil 2 in Maxixe.

Mozambique's civil society, opposition party, traditional authorities, women groups and peasants, labour unions and NGOs, academics, international donors and agencies, as well as the thought of the 'soft side' of the Frelimo ruling party have pressured the central state to decentralise power (Weimer 2012b).

There are other reasons as well. For example, the impracticality of centralised administration in an international political conjecture of democracy and human rights. Mozambique as a member of international organisations and signatory of international instruments on democracy, good governance and human rights, there was no other way to deny decentralisation (Weimer 2002b; Hanlon 2004).

Decentralisation led to local democracy and elections, and it allowed ordinary citizens to elect their representatives and enjoy a diversity of political ideology without fear. They are engaged in discussing local priorities and in solving the problems of their districts and villages. Access to public services is maximised through annual transfers from central government, citizens' contribution to tax and fees and financial support from international agencies. In doing so, there was significant progress in promoting local democracy. However, the current decentralisation process still faces challenges (Nuvunga et al. 2007).

For the objectives of this section, the problems of decentralisation will be described concerning four dimensions: management policy, operational patterns, delivery of public services and development planning. We propose alternative strategies to mitigate problems. As mentioned previously, the problems of decentralisation can differ.

Almost all local government institutions in Mozambique are concerned about fiscal and financial autonomy. The limited autonomy assigned by the Constitution and the 11/97 law of 31 May 1997 (*de jure*), as well as the central government's administrative control and inspection,  may be one of the major constraints and weaknesses of the local governments. In addition, the lack of institutional capacity[132] and skilled human capital capable of building a concrete local policy structure, as well as the fragile system of tax collection, management, monitoring and control (*de facto*)[133] of the process are the main factors behind decentralisation problems.[134]

Table 4 presents a set of selected problems and their potential solutions. It is necessary a full commitment and engagement of all stakeholders to work hand-in-hand

---

[132] See, Machohe (2011) and Weimer (2012a).
[133] For further details, see Nuvunga et al. (2007), ANMM (2009), Weimer (2012a), Machava (2013).
[134] Details are given in chapter 5. We bring evidence based on the case study of Mabil2 in Maxixe.

with the government at different scales to resolve the problems of decentralisation in Mozambique.

**Table 4: The problems holding back decentralisation in Mozambique**

| Problems | Recommendations |
|---|---|
| 1. <u>Management policy</u><br><br>• Vertical fiscal imbalance<br>• Democratic deficit<br>• High dependency on foreign aid<br>• Gradualism<br>• The logic of political party into the governance<br>• Lack of institutional capacity | • Reduction of fiscal asymmetries.<br>• Improving mechanisms of public accountability to recall members of parliament and institutions (strengthen the recall system).<br>• Enhance local capacity by promoting the autonomy of the lower level government through local economic development synergies; apply strategies to create and promote special economic zone in the municipalities and rural villages (free tax zone for small and medium-sized enterprises and large businesses).<br>• Set up legal measures to manage, monitor and control the party's (ruling and opposition) influence in the government.<br>• De-bureaucratise public administration and promote local emancipatory initiatives matching local contexts. |
| 2. <u>Operational patterns</u><br><br>• Cohabitation: decentralisation *vs.* deconcentration.<br>• Corruption<br>• The primacy of the political party-oriented accountability over others | • Reformulation of the current model of deconcentration; empowers the decentralised structure and enhance the central state administrative control – to avoid federalisation. |

| | |
|---|---|
| (vertical and horizontal accountability). | • The national government representatives at a sub-regional level should lower the current jurisdictions and focus on main state services.<br><br>• Promote and enhance the judiciary system (punishment) and moral education (persuasion), to stop corruption.<br><br>• Ensure the right to public accountability in the Constitutional Law;<br><br>• Set up indicators and clarify the models of political party-accountability approach. |
| 3. <u>Public service delivering</u><br><br>• Internal bureaucratic procedures<br><br>• Lack of skilled human resources<br><br>• Weak revenue structure | • Enhance institutional capacity by using the technology platform to simplify the process and reduce operational costs; use local languages to make public administration more accessible.<br><br>• Promote specialisations and empower local assembly members.<br><br>• Maximise the use of tax base. |
| 4. <u>Development plans</u><br><br>• Weak involvement of citizens<br><br>• Focus on short and mid term planning<br><br>• Unrealistic planning and reports<br><br>• A weak planning follow-up<br><br>• Lack of specialists in planning | • Make public participation in local government a mandatory request and set up clear indicators (through legislation).<br><br>• Ensure a high commitment of all stakeholders in the planning process.<br><br>• Ensure professionalism and ethical commitment to reporting activities.<br><br>• Criminalise 'fake reports'. In other words, it means the adoption of legal |

| | and administrative measures to condemn and punish officials who falsely reports. • Focus on seminars, short courses and educative measures to enhance local skills in planning and management. • Cooperation with Universities and Institutes to training public servants. |
|---|---|

## 4.7. Key Elements

The process of democratic decentralisation as a political orientation goes beyond a simple power devolution through local elections. Its substantive meaning and content derives from a set of complex political, social and economic aspects and thought (Ndegwa & Levy 2004). This, results in convergence between the central state authority and the local government autonomy at the lower level jurisdiction. Decentralisation makes sense only if public administration is performed through citizens' engagement by direct participation and representation. In other words, the scale of autonomy is reshaped and transferred from the national scale to the local scale.

The interpretation of local in Mozambique remains unclear and problematic. This is evident in its geographic and administrative approach which is divided into urban and rural contexts. The formal administrative architecture restricts the process of decentralisation into the sub-regional (provincial) municipalisation. It means the allocation of administrative, fiscal and some political autonomy to the cities and towns (Mazula 1998).

The idea of citizens' engagement in local affairs and the need for articulation with public officials to promote urban development requires time and effort on both sides (Valá n.d.). In this important process, however, not all elements that could potentially be able to ignite local development are under full control of the local government and the local citizens (Ostrom 1996, pp. 1077;1079). Such in the case of the *top-down* logic sets at central administration level to operate at the lower level jurisdictions. In many regards, the local governments' autonomy and the citizens' commitment suffer the misallocations of political, administrative and fiscal decentralisation. On the other hand, there is the impact of the central administration's interference in the local jurisdictions and business.

The process of decentralisation in Mozambique entails three dimensions. First is the political dimension. In our view, the political dimension of decentralisation is the most problematic ground where the majority of constraints and problems of decentralisation begin. The existing logic of centralist traditions in the state administration; the legacy of the late colonial practices, the micro-power structure and political literacy; the game played by the opposition party and the logic of international donor impacts on social commitment and engagement in the local affairs. The other fact related to the first dimension is the tension derived from the intersection between the model of decentralisation and the model of deconcentration implemented. We are referring the coexistence of two different logics of local governance. The national state' representatives (appointed by the highest officials) and the local elected institutions. What is problematic in this question is not the coexistence *per se*, but, the interference of the national state institution in the decentralised business and unclear definition on jurisdiction (Nuvunga et al. 2007; Weimer 2012b; Jamal 2014).

The second dimension is administrative. At this point, the national government grants administrative autonomy to the local elected institutions. The main aim of this process is to secure the delivering of public services and promote local development (2/97 law of 18 February 1997). Therefore, there is a considerable effort to make easy and flexible the public administration procedures at the lower level.

Thirdly, there is the fiscal dimension. According to the Constitution and the law on decentralisation (2/97 law of 18 February 1997), the local government has duties and responsibilities to organising local people according to their traditions and the state law, delivery public services and promote local economic development. In fact, this mission requires financial resources. The national government grants autonomy to the local government to collect, manage and use tax.[135]

The other sources for local finance are the annual transfers from central government (Canhanga 2008; Weimer 2012a). These funds are oriented to finance productive projects defined by ordinary citizens to poverty alleviation on one side, and direct support for the local government' investment budget. The local government has autonomy to draft their own annual budget and planning and define the way to use it. This is the point where participatory budgeting emerges. The local government allocate part of its finance

---

[135] The conditions on tax use can be found in the municipal tax code. Additional information can be found in the 11/97 law of 31 May 1997 (the law on municipal finance and assets) and 1/2008 law of 16 January 2008 (law on budget, and tax system).

resources to participatory budgeting. People can decide on how to spend it. Ordinary citizens are invited to present projects and ideas on public investment priorities and poverty alleviation.

Decentralisation is not an easy battle, especially in a context of central government oriented-planning. Nor is it a process that occurs in a vacuum. Because of its complexity and the institutional factors involved, in which the process of recentralisation of previously decentralised functions can occur (Ndegwa & Levy 2004). The success of this process requires a clear approach and a concrete definition of the agents, their roles and timing to achieve the conceived goals. It, therefore, means that decentralisation *per se* cannot resolve all problems. It should be oriented to a full commitment of all stakeholders and coordination with other political and administrative scale.

# CHAPTER FIVE – MOZAMBIQUE: INVESTIGATING PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING

## 5.1. Introduction

Budget and participatory budgeting may sound like the same procedure. The literature shows that the differences between them lie in their processes. To move forward with our plans and cover our needs, all of us need to know how much money and how many assets we have.[136] Whether it is a government budget or family budget, both include expenditure and revenue. A government budget is an official annual document that estimates the public revenues and expenditures based on policy priorities and fiscal targets (UN-Habitat & MDP 2008a).

To respond effectively to the needs of the public, upon planned and prioritised activities, the national, regional and local government passes the concomitant budget focused on a respective financial year, in two dimensions. The first is the operational budget, which concerns the revenue and expenditures incurred for the operational functions of the state administrations. The second is the investment, which is oriented towards durable goods and services.

Participatory budgeting has emerged as one of the most influential and innovative mechanisms of democratic governance for local democracy (Santos 2002b; Allegretti & Herzberg 2004; Sintomer et al. 2012; Cabannes & Lipietz 2015). It implies the establishment of legal and technical conditions to allow people to take part of financial discussions and deliberations. Thus, participatory budgeting can advance local democracy, promote public accountability and efficiency on the public services supply.

The focus of this chapter is on how participatory budgeting is practised globally, its relationship with a vast array of participatory mechanisms in Mozambique, and the role played by the local consultative councils. Its characteristics and cycles may vary and differ from country to country according to local specifications.

This chapter is divided into two parts: In the first part, we describe participatory budgeting in theory and practice. We analyse the concept, history and development of participatory budgeting. We access the way in which participatory budgeting travels and deals with local diversities in the host destinations. To do so, we bring a general view

---

[136] UN-Habitat & MDP (2008a, p. 22).

about public participation and participatory budgeting in Africa. In the second part, we explore the specific context of Mozambique's participatory budgeting and its relations with gender-based development planning and local consultative councils.

Then, we conclude that participatory budgeting can contribute to a more in-depth local democracy and may also promote the right to the city. This latest is designed to incorporate customary-based democratic practices. This means that the state-based or the top-down mechanisms of citizens' participation in local affairs should be combined with a diversity of the existing democratic innovations and practices.

## 5.2. Participatory Budgeting: From Theory to the Practice

Participatory budgeting emerged in 1989 in Porto Alegre, Brazil in the context of a stronghold of the Workers' Party (PT) on a huge social movement intervention. The process of participatory budgeting has been created through a pragmatic move-out of the intellectual or political design. Therefore, it results in conjunction of top-down and bottom-up measures (Sintomer et al. 2013).

Years later, the model of local democracy initiated in Porto Alegre was propagated to other Brazilian cities and over 1,500 municipalities in Latin America, North America, Asia, Africa, and Europe. According to the MDP-ESA Final Report on good practice in participatory budgeting, released in 2014, over 2778 municipalities around the world have implemented this mechanism of participatory democracy, by which people decide or are involved in decisions about the allocation of public investments (Avritzer 2006; UN-Habitat & MDP 2008b).

Participatory budgeting emerged in a particular and unique context, where the transition from dictatorship to democracy in Brazil had allowed the public demands for social and political reforms. The 1988 Constitution has been fundamental to support the public participation under the inertia of the previous regime.[137]

The high living standards, as well as the active urban movement in Porto Alegre and the influence of Workers' Party (after 1988 PT winning elections), influenced participatory budgeting (Santos 1998b; Abers 2000; Avritzer 2002).

---

[137] The remaining ideas and practices associated to the legacy of dictatorship seems to be shaping the current political structure in Brazil. These can be the practices of clientelism and the high level of institutionalised corruption and racism.

This new form of local democracy is oriented towards creating an institutional platform of citizens' participation in public investments. It aims to involve some citizens and to create a transparent mechanism for allocating and managing public resources.

Participatory budgeting spread very quickly throughout the world. This model of citizen participation came to be the most attractive and popular participation in local democracy procedure. According to Boaventura de Sousa Santos, the United Nation has pronounced it one of the 40 best practices of urban management in the World. It has been established in different degrees and with widely acknowledge success over the democratic and non-democratic regimes (Santos 1998b).

The concept of participatory budgeting appears to be an emanation of the theory of participatory democracy, which asks for full participation of the ordinary people in political decisions and not merely, as a representative democracy would have it[138]. It can be stated, therefore, that the demand for participatory democracy underlying the different forms of participatory budgeting and planning constituted today is a mechanism of counter-hegemonic globalisation (Santos 1998b, p. 11).

This hybridised model of participatory and representative democracy, mainly focus on a broad sense of asserting the citizenship through participation. At the same time, there are objections by scholars that are claimed for relevant aspects of participatory budgeting.

Meanwhile, not all of the processes of citizen participation should be considered participatory budgeting. Of course, participatory budgeting criteria varies according to level of power, socio-political context, political will, and it can also lead to the formulation of new features on participatory budgeting, based on discussions of the budgetary dimension; scarcity of the finance resources; some sorts of accountability (Allegretti & Herzberg 2004; Nylen 2014).

## 5.3. Investigating Participatory Budgeting in Mozambique

The first assessed experiment on citizen participation in urban management in the era of democracy in Mozambique – later named participatory budgeting emerged in the municipality of Dondo right after the municipalisation of this territory in 1998.[139]Among other municipalities and districts, Dondo and Búzi had benefited from an urban

---

[138] In 1995, David Held discussed this matter. Later in 1996 Jürgen Habermas brought more insights about this topic in *Between facts and norms: contributions to a discourse theory of law and democracy*. Further, this topic was also analysed by Santos (1998a).

[139] Further details, see Vedor & Cardoso (2010).

development program, financially supported by the Austrian Agency for Development, and technically advised by the Brazilian cooperation team (Vedor & Cardoso 2010; Nguenha 2014; Cabannes & Delgado 2015; Cabannes & Lipietz 2015; Dias 2015).[140] Thereafter, in 1999 the Dondo' participatory process sought to influence a considerable number of local governments, to involve citizens in district and municipality affairs.

This experiment of democratic citizens' participation 'travelled' across the country and influenced both deconcentrations – under the National Programme of Decentralised Planning and Finance, for example, the northern province of Nampula, and decentralisation. To advance citizens' engagement in the municipalities of Cuamba, Metangula, Mocímboa da Praia, Montepuez and the Island of Mozambique, the government of Mozambique implemented participatory governance through the Support Programme for Municipal Development of the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation – PADEM (Canhanga 2008; Nguenha 2009; Dias 2015).

Despite the great success of Dondo model's, the involvement of citizens was restricted to discussing urban development planning (*Plano de Desenvolvimento Local*) without a focus on the financial or fiscal resources (Cabannes & Delgado, 2015; Cabannes & Lipietz, 2015). In this aspect, citizens were asked to discuss urban development priorities and problems, as well as to bring their contributions to the municipal plans, without discussing financial resources to materialise the plans.

This model acquires different names according to the local political convenience such as the municipal participatory governance; decentralised planning; or participatory planning. This method concerns the citizens' engagement in negotiating the social and economic plans with their local authorities. This local approach to development results from an integrated and participatory practice which brings to the stage men and women, elders and youth, to discuss the public investment priorities based on their needs. Through organised groups, the local citizens identify general concerns about basic public infrastructure, land occupation, education, health system, and natural resources management, and they also address locally-based solutions.[141]

It is in this light, as well as in the spot of the international scene of fast-growing demand for participatory democracy that the municipality of Maputo stood for participatory governance practices in 2004. After that, in 2008 there emerged

---

[140] There are also some participatory experiments initiated in Nacala, Chibuto and Manica. See MAE (2011) for detail.

[141] Further in part II, we provide evidence based on the case study.

participatory budgeting. The Maputo participatory budgeting process is quite particular when compared with the 'mainstream' Brazilian Participatory Budgeting model, that of Porto Alegre.[142]

Consequently, Maputo's model results from mixed practices and methodologies of the Dondo experiments and the Porto Alegre practices. Thus, hybrid participatory budgeting emerged and was oriented to the administrative decentralisation of political deliberation processes within the district low-level jurisdictions.

Precisely, participatory development planning and a considerable amount of different practices on citizens' involvement in urban management took shape in the context of decentralisation of Mozambique's national government and made those processes seem interdependent. On this behalf, the administrative and legal reforms provided technical, administrative and financial resources to support the citizens' engagement through local autonomy.

However, the 'apparent full' autonomy granted by the Constitutional law and the 2/97 law of 12 February 1997 as well as the basic principles and guidelines[143] to the local governments were incapable of reaching a methodological consensus over the criteria of citizens' participation and made them controversial in its practices and implementation.

### 5.3.1. The dimensions of Mozambique's participatory budgeting

In Africa, the first participatory budgeting experience started in the late 1990s. The lead countries included: Burkina Faso, Mozambique, Senegal, South Africa, and Uganda. To date, over 800 local governments across Africa are reported to be implementing participatory budgeting as a mechanism of local governance (Matovu & Kundishora 2014, p. 13). In recent years, several reforms were carried out to implement participatory budgeting, which varies according to the political tradition and the will of the incumbents; the external factors, such as the conditions announced by the sponsors; the local specificities, such as cultural, traditional and religious factors, as well as the influence of mass media (Ganuza & Baiocchi 2012; Cabannes & Lipietz 2015).

Participatory budgeting is one of the indispensable mechanisms for the sustainable decentralisation process and an effective democracy (Santos 1998b). It progressively

---

[142] For details, see ANAMM (2009), MAE (2011), Dias (2015) and Forquilha (2015).

[143] To distinguish participatory development planning from participatory budgeting, both ANAMM, Associação Inloco and the World Bank drew guidance, criteria and the principles to govern the Mozambique participatory budgeting.

expands a set of human rights and also supports the excluded and marginalised groups. Therefore, it might influence the performance of the public administration through public accountability. The success of participatory budgeting depends not only on privileging ordinary people in the decision-making forum but, in decentralising the whole process of public life and consolidating the local and national mechanisms of social control.

Participatory budgeting as a mechanism of inclusiveness follows three typologies (Nguenha 2014; Nylen 2014; Cabannes & Delgado 2015; Dias 2015). The first typology is territorial (central and periphery). This focuses on municipal territory and the surrounding neighbourhood and is common in Mozambican municipal jurisdictions. The municipal government has jurisdiction on managing the local public assets, public services, budget, promotion of local democracy, development and human rights (Blair 2012). To set and promote participatory budgeting at the municipal level, it is necessary to take into account public investment planning and priorities. At this level, a range of priorities is defined and ranked according to the citizens' wish and economic performance. On the other side, public investment planning with local citizens represented in local assemblies is discussed, deliberated and set (Wampler 2007; Wampler & Hartz-Karp 2012). Once set, the budget, priorities and all conditions can then implement participatory budgeting. Its dimension and ambit are determined by the geographic limits of the municipal territory.

The neighbourhoods-oriented typology is another dimension of territorial participatory budgeting. Politically, it moves to deliver community confidence through citizens' participation and may play a significant role in local governance. According to Yves Cabannes, this dimension of participatory budgeting is narrowly linked to the degree of democratisation. For example, in Latin America, Asia and Africa, the recent wave of democratisation and decentralisation has been legitimising new political structures through power devolutions (Montero & Samuels 2004). Even so, the regional and local government remains dependant on the central authorities. Moreover, the territorial dimension of participatory budgeting will be successful to the extent that civil society acquires an important role. Citizen participation in the decision-making process is important for granting legitimacy to the process (Nguenha 2014).

The second typology is thematic. The scope of this typology is the theme of the project in the decentralised territories. It represents the political environment and conditions where the political party manifesto is articulated and turned into local plans. Along with territorial typology, the thematic is also common in Mozambique. This

participatory budgeting's thematic approach allows ordinary citizens to discuss projects and concessions on ultimately agreed areas of intervention. For instance, the municipal government determines and allocates budget and also select the priority fields in which to invest. Citizens are invited to discuss, give opinions and present projects within a hired theme, such as infrastructure, leisure, public equipment and facilities. Therefore, the municipal government places financial resources to public deliberation. In principle, the municipal governments are more enthusiastic about the citizens' involvement in decision-making forums than the national government. In other words, the local government is more likely to implement participatory budgeting than the national government (Cabannes & Delgado 2015).[144]

The third typology of participatory budgeting is that related to the actors across the set of pluralism. This means that it focuses attention on specific groups with specific characteristics and identified needs. Also, the decentralisation process focused mostly on reforming the political landscape and administrative institution through public participation is likely to be more accessible than that proceeded largely from top-down reforms (Khadiagala & Mitullah 2004, p. 200). Alongside this process, the local government promotes public participation in developing projects according to the specific and distinctive groups.

Debates and interactions on topics of public participation in urban affairs are progressively growing. However, the local measures designed to involve the ordinary citizens in the local decision-making process are oriented to a representative approach through consultation, by which these are represented by consultative councils and the municipal deputies.

The process of participatory budgeting in Mozambique operates in two cycles: a) *The budget launching cycle*. This cycle concerns the actions taken by a set of stakeholders to ensure budget allocation and public discussion on public investment. The local citizens, municipal officials and elected deputies, civil society organisations discuss the investment' priorities, the scope of the implementation and set up redistribution of finances through public projects (Cabannes 2004a; 2004b; Nguenha 2009; Dias 2015). This process is further reinforced by the fact that the discussion of municipal budgets has to be matched with mid and long-term planning. Participatory budgeting can be

---

[144] There are few experiments of participatory budgeting at the national level. This is the case for instance in Portugal. For details, see www.portugalparticipa.pt

understood as a provisional demarcation board of budget allocation and public investment.

This cycle consists of six important phases: the launching process; disclosing of relevant information; design priorities; technical feasibility and decisions; assessing the planning and budget; monitoring and evaluation.[145] The first cycle entails processes through which, the technical coordination team sets regulations and calls for public engagement in the budget discussions. The first cycle prepares the ground for the second cycle; b) *The budget implementation cycle*. This cycle consists of the materialisation of the project conceived and approved in the first cycle. It introduces a technical approach to expertise through the incorporation of new actors to the process – the contractors and consultants. This cycle is divided into five phases: the conception of the project; the call for tenders; the construction or implementation; the project delivery and the phase to evaluate the whole project.

Along with the cycles, there are another two approaches to citizens' engagement in local affairs, namely the consultative approach and deliberative view. Both perspectives can be combined with a vast array of the local mechanism of citizen participation. Regarding public participation in the budget allocation forum is more prominent and inclusive. It seems to be more democratic than the consultative model of participation. Although the consultative approach of public participation aims to the minimum influence of the local communities, the deliberative approach becomes inclusive by incorporating the local actors in the whole process of budget discussions and deliberation (Allegretti 2014).

Consultative, participatory budgeting aims to call for budget discussion and local priorities. The questions of public deliberation are extremely minimal and lay them out for the concrete decision-making process. In Portugal for example, the first experience of participatory budgeting throughout 2002 in Palmela and later in Avis, Santiago do Cacém and Serpa have mainly dominated the consultative models (Dias 2014b).

In principle, it seems to be a mere law endorsement and serves merely to consult the local priorities. However, it advocates local co-operative governance by sharing duties and rights between elected members and its communities. To perform their functions and strengthen their capacity, the local government establishes participating patterns by

---

[145] Further, we describe and bring evidence from Quelimane.

drafting regulations. They establish the limit of public participation in the local affairs. This scenario is also observed in Mozambique.

The decision-making process through the consultative approach remains narrowly linked to the strides of the local consulting groups in prioritising needs and budgets. The majority of Portuguese municipal councils have widely recognised the failure of this model (Alves & Allegretti 2012; Dias 2014b). This process has defined other prominent structures and forms of public participation that move forward to become more inclusive and deliberative.

The deliberative dimension of participatory budgeting illustrates the local political will on the affairs of public participation. The trend towards the deliberative and inclusive mechanism of participatory budgeting has become deeply concrete and widely compelled throughout 2008. One of the most notable remarks of this approach is that of the local deliberative forum where budgets and public projects have been taking place.

### 5.3.2. The Political Point of View Towards Participatory Budgeting

Participatory budgeting is widely envisioned in two perspectives: the top-down perspective, which can be political and administrative. From the political viewpoint, participatory budgeting is assigned to be a mechanism used for promotion of local democracy through a convergence of the excluded sector of ordinary people and the local deputies and representatives, aiming to enhance transparency of public investments and increase the public's confidence in the state's institutions. In most cases, participatory budgeting brought substance to democratic decentralisation and influenced the modernisation of public administration (Cabannes & Lipietz 2015). In the administrative perspective, participatory budgeting matches with the citizens' goals and the government's plans. It stems administrative reforms through decentralisation of central power and provides local autonomy. This perspective is oriented to the optimisation of the state institution's internal procedures and budget management upon progressive control and reductions of operational cost (Ostrom 1996).

The second perspective on participatory budgeting concerns the citizens' engagement into political life, as a result of community development (Santos 2002b). This idea is inspired by the need for fulfilment of the existing rights or implementation of a new and different structure of rights in the city. As David Harvey suggests, the changes in the city have to go beyond the demands and privileges of the working class, but, aggregates the diversity of citizen hankerings (Harvey 2012). Therefore, this requires an

accurate mass mobilisation and engagement to demand changes and construct an urban reality, based on local traditions, practices and way of life.

Given the constraints in gathering a great number of people with regard to space and time and also the need for acquiring consensus, both perspectives of participatory budgeting are based on a representative logic of citizen involvement in which local citizens are represented by elected boards. However, concerns can be raised over the legitimacy of those elected individuals, the interests they represent and public accountability. In most cases, it is a matter of time before this logic of representation falls into public distrust (Bratton & Van de Walle 1997).

Participatory budgeting in Mozambique follows the earlier mentioned perspectives and the logic of representation (Chichava 2008). Many African societies including Mozambican have, in their own culture, some practices of participation in community activities and preservation of common assets (Asante 1969). Since the beginning, it is noted that the African customary practices had responded by far with the absence of state-provided welfare in responding to social shortages. So, the involvement of ordinary citizens is an integral part of African traditions (Mudimbe 1988).[146]

As we can see from the near past, in periods of emergency of African nationalist movements to fight colonialism and colonial practices, ordinary citizens were involved in different stages of the struggles. In Mozambique, for example, President Samora Machel had insisted on the need for people involvement in the struggles. The president acknowledged the role of the people in the revolution and agriculture production, health care and education, and the emancipation of women (Machel 1976). In South Africa, when fighting the apartheid regime, Nelson Mandela announced his commitment to overlap white domination and the black domination. It meant that a triumph over apartheid was beyond racial differences. It represented a victory of human values. We see Mandela asking for equality among all individuals, regardless of their skin colour or status.[147] In the same line, Amílcar Cabral added a moral value to the equation of the struggle. Cabral pointed out that, the decency and honesty of men and women were at the centre of the success of the African liberation movements.[148]

---

[146] The case of popular involvement in the common practices in the societies of North Africa and Sahel, see Ibn Khaldun ([1377]1958).

[147] In the book, No Easy Walk to Freedom, Nelson Mandela presents many tactics to defeat apartheid. The chapter *Our Struggle needs many tactics* for example asks for elections boycott (Mandela [1965]2013).

[148] Cabral (1976; 1977).

The recent influx of citizens' participation in public policies and the implementation of the public accountability mechanisms in Africa, concerns the response to the conditions demanded by the donor as a loan's requirement, and the citizens' demands for involvement in public affairs. The need for funding, technical support and the long dependency of African countries may undermine their capacity to take their constructive actions (Held 1995; Manor 2011; Monteiro 2011). This transforms Africa into a laboratory of policies and a mere recipient of outside models, which can be, cultural, political, economic and in most cases unclear and inadequate to the African realities.[149]

In the context of scarce financial and economic resources useful to investment allocation, the institutional map of local government in Africa has been improving in measures of collecting revenues and the allocation of public resources to public investment through decentralised territories. In this context, administrative functions and a significant fiscal autonomy were decentralised to the municipal government to enhance tax collection and interaction with local citizens.

We found that the existing relationship between decentralisation and revenue collection and public expenditure is insufficient for providing a deep understanding of participatory budgeting. Because of its complexity, to uniform the options and the methods of participation around the world, it is quite challenging to provide a consensual definition of what participatory budgeting is (Santos 2002b; Avritzer 2006; Alves & Allegretti 2012). However, there are basic requirements to be observed while introducing and implementing this mechanism of participatory democracy. To respond to this question, the orientation book on participatory budgeting of the UN-Habitat written by Yves Sintomer provides the 72 most frequently asked questions and their possible answers. In this dimension, it is important to take into account some aspects relevant to the conception and implementation of participatory budgeting. These aspects can be the political will of the bureaucrats and civil society; the definition of the scope, norms and regulations of the participatory budgeting including the budget allocation to public discussion and deliberation; and the advertisement of the process (Cabannes 2004a; Wampler 2007).

These aspects vary according to the country's context, local specificities, traditional practices, political openings, and also the way society understands them. The success of participatory budgeting depends on a combination of diverse factors and contexts, and the

---

[149] Chabal (2009).

outcomes of such combinations could influence the characteristics of participatory budgeting. In discussing this issue, Sintomer et al. (2012), in their model of participatory budgeting provides clear evidence of participatory budgeting variations worldwide.[150]

### 5.3.3. From a basic citizen engagement to effective participatory budgeting

As mentioned earlier, the process of participatory budgeting in Mozambique originated in the Dondo municipality[151] as a result of decentralisation (Cabannes & Delgado 2015). It began as a simple involvement of ordinary citizens in municipal development planning. Progressively the budgetary dimensions were incorporated into the decision-making forum. Citizens were invited to give their opinion about what they think should be prioritised in the public investment. Later, this experiment was replicated throughout the country.[152]

Participatory budgeting as we know it today in Mozambique is part of a transnational project endowed to spread local democracy to the subnational jurisdictions throughout the developing countries. This wave of citizen involvement in local development began in Maputo in 2008 with a preliminary engagement of citizens in the planning process. In 2011 it entered into effect, and significant participation was observed (Nguenha 2014; Dias 2015).

Participatory budgeting has been pronounced a great example of success in a local democracy. In this respect, Ernesto Ganuza and Gianpaolo Baiocchi investigated the way in which the idea of participatory budgeting travels the globe and they found that the journey and the idea in themselves have made this an attractive mechanism to democratise local democracy because of its capacity to involve, not only the consultation of simple issues but also the discussion and deliberation over public investment (Ganuza & Baiocchi 2012; Cabannes & Lipietz 2015). This view is shared by the World Bank and UN-Habitat by which participatory budgeting is assumed to be an emancipation mechanism which allows people to handle their concerns, as well as, to make public servants accountable, instead of promoting active citizenship.[153] However, there are some critics who see that, despite the success granted to this mechanism, it is still imperfect in realising the full democratic values of citizen participation, deliberation and securing

---

[150] For world experiments on participatory budgeting, see Cabannes (2004b), Dias (2014b). For the Europe and Asia experiments, see Allegretti & Herzberg (2004) and Sintomer et al. (2009; 2012)
[151] For Dondo's experiment, see Vedor & Cardoso (2010).
[152] For details see, Weimer & Fandrych (1997), de Brito (2013) and Macamo (2014).
[153] For details, see Santos (2002b).

people's rights (Fung & Wright 2006, p.6). The full success on participatory budgeting depends on a number of factors, such as the goals of participatory budgeting; the degree of publication and advertisement; the political will; the degree of literacy of the local citizens and varies according to context.[154]

A number of studies done in Europe, Asia and Africa on this topic have pointed out the weak impact of participatory budgeting on municipal dynamics. In this regard, the critical discussion points to the fragility of participatory budgeting during its implementation (Sintomer et al. 2008), considering that it has basically focused on public investment rather than applying to the whole process of collecting taxes and implementing local policies, even though, participatory budgeting has been the focus of International development programs and democratic governance. Several NGOs have been financed to support technical implementation of participatory budgeting around the World. In Mozambique for example, World Bank and UKAID – Department for International Development have financed the Association Inloco to research and produce outcomes to support the National Strategy on Participatory Budgeting (Dias 2015).

Participatory budgeting as a policy instrument of decentralisation has been implemented in Mozambique through the technical and financial support provided by international donors, such as Norway, Switzerland and Austria. Several researches have been conducted and produced in Latin America, European and Asian contexts (Santos 1998b; Avritzer 2006; Wampler 2005). There are limited studies based on African realities.

This thesis is part of those few studies which explore the real impact of participatory budgeting on a small scale for African realities. In the specific context of the municipality of Quelimane, this study could be important for connecting the particular dynamics (social, economic and political) to the understanding of diversity within the process of decentralisation.

As an immediate object, African participatory budgeting should move beyond simple and minimum participation to the building of full citizenship. This process has to be done by integrating the whole process from the collection of taxes (revenues) to the implementation of development policies and monitoring the local processes. This approach to local economic development could promote an effective high-intensity democracy.

---

[154] Santos (2002b), Avritzer (2006), and Alves & Allegretti (2012).

Like other public policy initiatives, participatory budgeting is embedded by a lack of indicators and standards as well as 'ambiguous' legal framework (Santos 1998b). On the other hand, the process of citizens' participation deals with a lack of skilled technical capacity, financial and public communication deficit (Dias 2015). The crisis of representation of minorities and vulnerable groups, such as the disabled, the elderly, and women[155] become more evident.

## 5.4. Gender-based Development Planning

Given that all international human rights instruments[156] and the regional systems of human rights[157] enshrine the principles of equality and non-discrimination, based on racial differences, ethnic group differences, language diversity, sexual orientation, origin, religion, social status, political orientation or divergent opinions, and by considering that women play an important role in promoting peace and security,[158] social and economic development and environmental protection,[159] the relevant declarations, resolutions and deliberations on human rights and democracy called on all active stakeholders and actors to take actions to eliminate discrimination against women (Yeshanew 2011).

These reasons and the bottom-up demands,[160] as well as a 'notable' part of the traditional African practices, which are based on respect for human life and other values of human beings (Asante 1969) plays an important role in the gender equity' struggle in Africa. In response to the Constitutive Act of the African Union of 2000, the African Platform for Action and the Dakar Declaration of 1994, the Beijing Platform for Action of 1995, the New Partnership for Africa's Development and other relevant instruments of human rights, which calls the African States "to ensure full participation of African women as equal partners in African development" (Protocol on ACHPR on the Rights of

---

[155] Even though decentralisation is seen to benefit the local citizens, the National Strategy for Decentralisation had failed to secure a representation of social, and political diversity.

[156] Universal Declaration of Human Rights; International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women and its optional protocol.

[157] The African System of Human Rights; the European System and the Inter-American System of Human Rights.

[158] United Nations Security Council Resolution n°1325 (UNSC 2000).

[159] United Nations Plans of Action on the Environment and Development of 1992 (UNSD 1992); on Human Rights in 1993 (UN-OHCHR 1993).

[160] We found that formal and informal associations of women and men, civil society organisation, academics, journalists, International and national NGOs has been advocating for more actions on the issues of gender equity and protection.

Women in Africa 2003), 'forced' the Mozambique's national government to stand for legal reforms in order to protect women.

The principle of universality and equality in the article 35 and the principle of gender equality in the article 36 were enshrined in the Constitution law of 1990. Thus, gender mainstreaming came to the top of the government agenda. Consequently, specific regulations were issued to secure gender equality, reproductive rights, HIV-Aids protection and treatment, psychological and physical violence against women, and women's participation in social, economic and political development.

On the one hand, given that 52% of Mozambicans are women, and a half of this number live in rural areas, their traditional practices and beliefs make them essential to their family. In addition, there is high illiteracy rate among this group. According to the National Statistics Institute, only 10% of women in Mozambique finish high school out of 57.8% who graduated primary school (INE 2014). Women face economic vulnerability and social pressure. They are still relied upon to a social reductionism which leads to social and economic discrimination[161] and political misrepresentation.[162]

Discrimination against women in Mozambique has roots in customary beliefs, practices of the recent colonial past, and of contemporary contexts.[163] The emancipation measures in the legislation, a lack of woman-oriented public policy and degrading traditional practices, exacerbate the vulnerability of women. The women social position and duties were confined to procreation and economic production. The social position of women in traditional Mozambique' communities[164] is paradoxical.

Women occupy an unprivileged position in Mozambique (Osório & Macuácua 2014). Women attend the in-house tasks, provide family subsistence and have the responsibility to "provide" a contingency of a new labour force through procreation (Isaacman 1978). Thus, women were considered in almost all Africa's rural communities, essential 'raw material' and relevant to the 'labour force' to sustain a livelihood.

---

[161] About 31% of productive working-age women population have no formal job with fixed salary and social benefits (INE 2014).

[162] 39.6% of seats in the National Parliament of Mozambique are occupied by the women. Despite the demand for more visible and concrete representation of women, Mozambique is the highest women represented in the parliament among Lusophone country and eighth in Africa (http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm), last accessed in 27/9/2017 (Inter-Parliamentary Union 2017).

[163] Further, we mention some of these practices.

[164] The social and political position of women in rural communities varies according to the local specificities, the degree of government and civil society intervention on these issues and the local cultural base – such being the case of matrilineal lineage.

These utilitarian functions of women are still notable in contemporary Africa. Traditions, culture, religion and social norms, as well as, number of customary practices are being used to legitimise such discrimination. In Mozambique for instance, there are voices who argue that the female initiation rites are oriented to discriminate women and maintain male domination.[165] The other practice also criticised is *lobolla*[166] or dowry. This practice is seen as transferring the 'ownership' over women – from the bride's family to the groom's family (LDH 2007).

Women's participation in local affairs in Mozambique should be understood beyond the binomial women's approach to "procreation" and "(re)production". Woman's consultation on social, economic and political affairs can be traced back to the colonial era. During the liberation war, women had massive involvement on the front line as combatants (for instance the *destacamento feminino*)[167] and in backyards as supporters on health care, rescue teams, education in the war freed zones, social and political development through the Mozambique Women's League (LIFEMO) and later the Mozambique Women's Organisation (OMM).[168]

Today, women are still contributing to the growth of the economy – in business; in politics (in the parliament and local assemblies and as decision-making); in education (as

---

[165] In June 2, 2011 by quoting El Mundo, a Portuguese newspaper *Diário de Notícias* wrote "UNICEF condemns sexual initiation rites in Mozambique." In this article, Marie Consolée-Mukangendo on behalf of UNICEF Mozambique, reassures their determination to fighting that customary practice. So, Mukangendo goes further and calls it a horrible social and cultural practice (http://www.dn.pt/globo/africa/interior/unicef-condena-ritos-de-iniciacao-sexual-em-mocambique-1868122.html), last accessed in 22/3/2017 (Diário de Notícias 2011). In this regard, the government officials and civil society organisations shares the Mukangendo view. However, a significant number of pro-initiation rites defends the preservation of local cultural identity. By the way, we found that, in this dimension, there is a need to the preservation of both, women rights and cultural rights. In fact, instead of abandoning the female or male initiation rites, it can be performed preserving and securing women rights. To be clear, it is important to cast and ban all harms and degrading practices from the initiation rites and also, allow people to either accept or refuse it. It should not be social and cultural mandatory. The other aspect, the issues of formal and informal education should be preserved, both for male and female.

[166] This is not an isolated case of Mozambique. Different culture across the world still use this practice in the wedding ceremony. However, the practice varies according to the cultures or religion. There is some places in which a bride pays her husband a dowry, and otherwise happens to distinct context. In the case of African rural community context, a husband provide dowry to his bride.

[167] Founded by the Mozambique Liberation Movement - Frelimo, the *destacamento feminino* was constituted by women combatants who (hand on hand with men) conducted guerrilla to free Mozambique from the Portuguese colonial domination.

[168] This Organisation was initiated in March 16th, 1973 as Frelimo Women Organisation. The foundational objective is to secure women engagement in social, economic and political life in Mozambique. The idea of women emancipation was so far central to Frelimo' concept of freedom and self-determination (Muchanga 2015). This dimension, among other important decisions – such the official declaration of war, the involvement of women is part of such great decisions came from the 1st Congress of Frelimo. Furthermore, the Constitutional law of 1975 also highlights the women emancipation. For details, see (Frelimo 1968; Paredes 2014).

teachers and students); in health care services (doctors, nurses, specialists); in scientific research and agricultural production. Overall, women participate in different forms and contexts.

In order to examine the reasons behind the portrayal of the vulnerability of women and to address a concrete measure to stop economic vulnerability, discrimination and deprivations against women, and also to articulate challenges and demands, Mozambique' national government adopted in 2000, the *Plano Nacional para o Avanço da Mulher (PNAM)*. This plan was conceived by the *Ministério da Mulher e da Acção Social* (MMAS) – Ministry of Woman and Welfare and contributed to establishing local strategies of fighting discrimination against women (MMCAS 2000). This transition to a democratic approach to gender and economic development resulted in the *Política Nacional de Género e Estratégia de Implementação* – PGEI on March 14, 2006 (MMCAS 2006). The gender policy resulted from an intensive participatory debate and research initiative, including government and civil society to define a concrete vision, mission and guiding principle over the emancipation of women, legal protection, health care access, education and participation in local development.

A women-based approach to local development, through the decentralised planning process, was implemented with the final goal of attempting to secure gender equality and political representation (António & Hunguana 2014). A number of women are involved in the local decision-making forum. The national government supports the creation of women's associations, advocacy groups and INGOs to promote women's rights and address issues that motivate a shifting in social mentality. Due to specific needs of local jurisdictions, they (in a group or individually) are asked to present their problems and define priorities with regard to their social and economic needs as well as their reproductive rights.

The women-based economic approach and the women-based political approach stands in parallel. There is no way to achieve a sustainable women involvement in economics without addressing the political representation of women. Thus, only the subjects know their subjectivities and their conditions. The literature on epistemic claims and social, political and economic inclusion found that some social and political ideologies had contributed to gender discrimination (Meneses 2008). As imperialism subjugated and disqualified a set of naive knowledge, the patriarchate and sexism subjugated and relied on women to the second stage and intensified sexual domination (Santos 2006a; 2007). Santos moves further by considering that, "today, if someone,

evokes either philosophical arguments or political differences among women and men, he risks the patriarchate conditions" (Santos 2006a). This means that from the armed battlefield, politics, economics and microfinance, to social and private life, women have been standing in parallel with men in building society.

Given the diverse forms of the participation of women, we gather three major dimensions in which women interact with government. The first is the political party representation through national parliament, provincial and municipal assembly. As mentioned earlier, for the current parliament term in Mozambique, there are 99 seats for women out of a total of 250 seats, which represents 39.6% of parliament positions (Inter-Parliamentary Union 2017). Women are engaged in discussion in both national and local assemblies. For the present term, Verónica Macamo was elected president of the national parliament. This dynamic was also seen at the opposition party. Indeed, Renamo elected Ivone Soares for the deputy chief office. The lower level assemblies throughout the country tend to align with the national parliament. The Maxixe's municipal assembly, for example, elected a woman as vice-president.

The second theme is women in leadership. This concerns women in the formal and informal economy. Despite its misrepresentation, about 38.4% of women hold a top position at different levels of public administration (INE 2014, p. 49). There are a significant number of women who run businesses and companies. If we move to the so-called "informal sector, research finds that women are the pioneers and the majority in this field" (Cruz e Silva 2003; Cunha 2011). The current economic situation in Mozambique, the lack of formal jobs, the responsibility of looking after the family and children has been exacerbating the social and economic pressure on women. In response to that, they are moving forward to a range of economic practices – such as *Xitique,*[169] small-scale agriculture, and they can sell products as street vendors.

If we rethink the role of women in society and the need to balance the social, economic and political aspects through gender perspective, we find that women are active members of society and should be actively involved in all domains of domestic and foreign affairs in which Mozambique deals with either direct democracy or representative democracy (Chichava 2008; Nguenha 2014).

---

[169] Informal money savinf practice. This has been practised in different parts of the African countries, and its characteristics and name varies according to the tradition, language and context (Cunha 2011; Trindade 2011). However, the core aspect is social reciprocity in which friends, family members or colleagues mutually interact, either by saving money, or helping each other in farming, or by goods, food or ceremony.

The third is the participation of women in the Institutions of Participation and Community Consultation (IPCCs), mainly in local consultative councils. According to the article 118 decree 11/2005, no less than 30% of the seats in the local consultative councils should be held by women. A quantitative representation of gender-based quota is highlighted instead of focusing on qualitative representation.[170]

The Mozambique government at all scales – national, provincial and local has been implementing reforms and changes to promote women emancipation and participation in public affairs. These changes are from legal measures on private life (family issues) to the administrative procedures (public administration and state institutions). In the case of a legal framework, the government has passed specific laws to protect women and children,[171] and administrative reforms to create institutions and institutional capacity to support gender-based representation. Despite the progress made on laws and institutional reforms, the majority of women in Mozambique still face degrading treatment and social, economic and political injustice, which can be easily perceived in the workplace, in public environments as well as in private life (LDH 2007; FÓRUM MULHER 2010).

In a local level, the municipal government involves women in the decision-making assemblies as well as in the consultative councils. Therefore, gender equality in the urban development planning of districts and municipalities is transversal to all branches of local development. Social, economic and political participation of women should be narrowly connected to the social and political values.

## 5.5. The Local Consultative Councils and Gender Equity

On behalf of the administrative, political and legal reform of the 1990s in Mozambique, several concepts and a number of new actors came to light in the political scene. The low-level jurisdiction environment hosts a majority of these actors over the national government. In this picture, the decentralisation-oriented reform results from the belief that devolving power to the locals or creating locally elected institutions (political,

---

[170] Isabel Casimiro of *Forum Mulher in Mozambique*, while commenting to the journalists of Radio Moçambique about women representation in politics and economics, she underlined the need to ensure a sustainable qualitative representation at national, provincial and municipal or local scale (http://www.rm.co.mz/index.php/sociedade-comportamento/item/10745-mocambique-e-o-pais-com-maior-numero-de-mulheres-no-parlamento, last accessed in 13/8/ 2017).

[171] This is the case of the Mozambique' Civil Code of 2004, mainly the family law nº 10/2004 of 25 August 2004. This law provides insights and settings to empower women and contribute to social and economic justice.

administrative and fiscal autonomous) could more quickly respond to the needs of the public through the involvement of local citizens.

As we mentioned earlier, decentralisation concerns the degree of delegation and autonomy of the local actors (Gersovitz 2009; Manor 2013). Most definitions converge on the idea of benefits for citizens and for the local governments. However, empirical literature is not so optimistic about the direct benefit of decentralisation in terms of public service, supply, responsiveness, transparency, human rights and urban development (Samoff 1990; Faguet 2004). It is widely agreed that decentralisation expands the structure of political power through power-sharing. It produces a local political body and a range of new local institutions controlled by the most influential individuals. This is the dimension in which the local consultative councils emerge in Mozambique.

What are the local consultative councils? Before discussing the meaning of this concept, we see it relevant to bring the details of the context from which this structure emerges. As pointed out before, the local consultative councils as we know them today, emerge from a context of democratisation of the country followed by the decentralisation process. The need for more citizen involvement in political decision-making and public deliberative forum (active citizenship), as well as, in response to the requirements of the decentralised planning for local government proclaimed in the Global Strategy for Reforms in the Public Sector (2001 - 2011). Those elements influenced the national government to adopt practical measures through the conception of the legal frames to secure the human right to participate in local governance.[172]

Formal and informal platforms were created to connect the local institutions and the populations. On a local level and based on the district low-level jurisdiction approach, the IPCC of which local consultative council is a part was established. As stated under the prerogatives of the 8/2003 law of 13 May 2003 and the 11/2005 decree of 10 June 2005 and enshrined in the guideline for the local state institutions, this institution comprehends a set of local and formal mechanisms for citizens' participation in urban development and governance (MASC 2011c).

Therefore, the following mechanisms constitute the Institutions of Participation and Community Consultation: a) The Local Consultative Councils (CCL) – this mechanism

---

[172] The UDHR proclaims in article 21 that, "Everyone has the right to participate in the government of his country…" In Mozambique, the 2/97 law of 18 February 1997; 8/2003 law of 19 May 2003 and the 11/2005 decree of 10 June 2005 secures too the citizens participation in the local governance.

includes four levels: the district level; the level of administrative post; the level of the *localidade* and the *povoado*; b) Local Forum (FL); c) Local Committees (CCm) and; d) Local Funds. Overall, these mechanisms bring together the local citizens to discuss and draw out solutions for their problems (67/2009MD of 17 April 2009).

For the objectives of this section, we speak of the local consultative councils and gender representation. Local consultative councils are a formal community-based mechanism in which local citizens are represented by a number of skilled and elected-influential people.[173] Gender-based representation should be taken into account. As enshrined in the legislation,[174] 25% of the local consultative council members must be women, and the rest would be of diverse groups. Although it can be a question of concrete participation, the government attempts to secure quantitative representation of each different group.

The local consultative councils are the top-down government mechanisms that secure local legitimacy. These mechanisms are set on the idea that their implementation could catalyse the citizens' well-being through the citizens' involvement in discussion, design, implementation and monitoring of the urban development planning (Afrimap 2009, p. 145). Despite being conceived by the national government, it is an informative and consultation device without, either a legislative jurisdiction or a coercive authority (Jamal 2014).

However, concerns and questions about the requirements and criteria behind the elections of the local consultative councils can be tracked. This impacts the quality of debates and deliberations that have come through the local decision-making forum. The electoral process is based on a weak structure and casting of the potential incumbents.[175] What we see here is shadow participation or a simple formal representation.

Most of the local consultative council members have no intellectual capital to conduct deep and well-informed debates. Thus, research done on the quality of the local consultative councils' debates found that a majority of the members had no idea of the

---

[173] 67/2009MD of 17 April 2009.
[174] 8/2003 law of 19 May 2003 and the Guideline for Local Consulting Council (MASC 2011b; Macuácua et al. 2012; Monjane 2014).
[175] As defined in the Guidelines for Local Consultative Councils, the local consultative councils should be constituted by people capable of establishing a dialogue; influent and with "loud-tuned voice". These people represent the local community's interests. As we can see, there is no reliable requirement (Hanlon 1997; JustaPaz 2012; Monjane 2014).

meaning, objective or even their concrete role in this structure (Faehndrich 2012; Faehndrich & Nhantumbo 2013).

If we move to the subject of gender equality in the local consultative councils to see the impact of the above-mentioned requirements, it does directly affect them. Because the issues of women and gender in Mozambique are more of legal rhetoric than practical protection based on sustainable measures. Although, the legal apparatus attempts (institutions and legislative framework) to involve women as active parts of the local citizens,[176] the situation on the ground shows the reverse. The issues of gender and women in Mozambique are synonymous. This means that the idea of involving women in local affairs (social and political) is perceived as balancing the gender equality. It is not our intention to deny this assumption. What we regard as problematic in this approach is the fact that the practical gender issue is not just the quantitative involvement of women in decision-making forums, but the factual impact and the quality of such participation.

## 5.6. Key Elements

This chapter has provided an overview of the theory and practice of participatory budgeting. It went deeper by describing participatory budgeting in Africa, and specifically in Mozambique and its relationship with the gender-based mechanisms of participation.

If at the beginning of the liberation war in the 1960s, public participation in local issues was characterised by ideological and military involvement of the locals through supporting the struggle and joining the revolution, however, in the subsequent phases, some mechanisms of citizen's participation were implemented in state administration.

Several reforms in the judiciary, political economy and public administration were observed since independence in 1975. The national government aimed to build a nation-state based on people's democracy. Thus, ordinary people were asked to give their contributions and insights into the national politics through peoples' assemblies established at different levels. At grassroots level (villages, localities, administrative post, municipalities and district), people are represented in the local consultative councils and municipal assembly by the traditional authorities, elected members and influent people. At a higher level, there is an elected national parliament.

---

[176] The first steps of decentralisation in Mozambique related to the involvement of citizens in the urban development planning reflected in the *Programa Quinquenal do Governo* (1999 - 2003) and acknowledged the role of women and gender equity in local decision-making forum.

The local consultative council and the community forum are among the mechanisms designed by the national state (top-down perspective) to support and promote local democracy (bottom-up perspective). To deepen citizens' representation in the decision-making process and guarantee transparency and government' commitment towards human rights and democracy, there were established participatory budgeting.

Participatory budgeting emerged in the Brazilian city of Porto Alegre in 1989 and quickly spread to many different parts of the world because is believed that it can promote inclusiveness, enhance communication, power-sharing, local democracy, and make the local authority more accountable. Therefore, in 2013, more than 1,700 local governments have adopted it in more than 40 countries in Latin America, Europe, Asia and Africa (Cabannes 2015).

Participatory budgeting has travelled around the world as a condition of the good governance practice promoted by the IMF and the World Bank as well as the international development agencies, cooperation, good governance and poverty alleviations programs.

Political participation and the direct engagement of citizens in Mozambique's local affairs have emerged from the context of modernisation of the state and decentralisation of public administration procedures. A number of reforms are taking place in the judiciary, administrative and legislative systems since the 1990s, and the implementation of participatory budgeting results from these changes. As part of the political arrangement of the decentralisation process endowed to bring administrative and fiscal autonomy to the municipal governments, participatory budgeting aims to fulfil the social demands upon citizens' commitments in planning and budget discussion (Weimer & Fandrych 1997; Weimer 2012b; Nguenha 2014).

This mechanism is oriented to share decisions on public investments in durable goods and services. Local citizens, the elected deputies and professionals, civil society organisations stand for their municipality and discuss their concerns and potential solutions. Individuals and groups of ordinary citizens conceive and vote for a project that they believe will serve the public interest.

The notable issue in this approach is the fact that the participation of the ordinary citizens in local affairs is perceived through the local consultative councils. Meanwhile, the model of public participation in Mozambique is conceived to deliberate "for citizens and to the citizens, not with the citizens" (Nguenha 2014, p. 128). Public participation is measured by the degree of citizen representation in the local consultative councils.

# CHAPTER SIX – THE MAXIXE CASE STUDY

## 6.1. The Maxixe Municipality: An Overview

The local power in Mozambique means a municipality or township government. Based on the principles of democratic decentralisation,[177] the current concept of the municipality is adopted in substitution of the previous denomination of the local executive councils. To state it in perspective, the 2/97 law of 18 February 1997, defines municipality or township government, as a public administration' unit of representatives to respond to the public needs, and to protect the citizens' interests without prejudice of the national interest.

**Map 1: The Maxixe municipality**



Source: Conceived by Felipe Maciel Paulo Mamédio through data from the CENACARTA's website
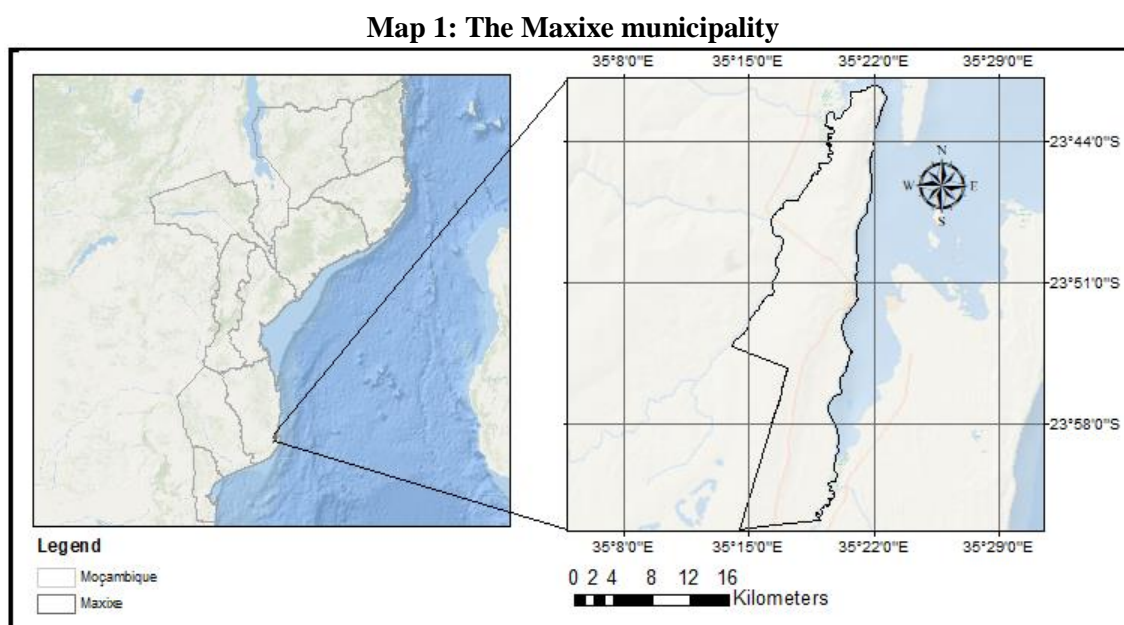
The Maxixe municipality is also known the district of Maxixe is located in the southern province of Inhambane and shares border with four districts: Morrumbene in the north, Jangamo in the north and east, the Inhambane city in the east along the Inhambane Bay, and Homoine in the west. There are five main neighbourhoods, 30 small and six smallest and autonomous neighbourhoods, which can be found, Macuamene, Macupula, Malalane, Nhamaxaxa, Nhambiho and Rumbana (ANAMM 2009; INE 2010a).

---

[177] The principle of local autonomy, and the citizens rights to elect local representatives and to participate in the local affairs.

Due to the population growth[178] influenced by the rural exodus in the civil war period, as well as the recent economic stability has exacerbated the social pressure on public service delivering, economic resources and environment. The weak official response to the public concerns and demands pushes people to alternative activities. Therefore, a number of the inhabitants are engaged in running a small-scale business within the informal market structure and subsistence agriculture. Despite this, Maxixe remains one of the most important towns of Inhambane because of its strategic geographical location and enterprises (INE 2010a).

## 6.2. The Urban Democratisation: An Empirical Evidence from Citizen Participation in Urban Development

The objective of this section is to examine the level of citizens' participation in the process of conception, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the local plans for development. To measure citizen participation, we use the transnational models of citizen participation conceived by Sintomer et al. (2012) and combine it with Sherry Arnstein's (1969) typology of eight levels of citizen participation in urban affairs. We explore, classify, and systematise a number of aspects with regard to the involvement of local citizens in the urban development in Maxixe.

Maxixe is home to a double public administration: the national government representatives at the local level – those appointed by the national government to administer the local district; and the local elected body to govern the municipality. In this perspective, both have its methods of involving citizens in the local affairs. While the state representatives bring citizens together to form the local consultative councils – upon representation, the local municipality gathers them in the municipal assembly through a party-list proportional representation.[179]

---

[178] Reached 129.599 inhabitants in 2016, and the previsions shows that it could raise up to 196.109 inhabitants in 2040 (INE 2010b).

[179] The party-list representation electoral system, the electorate are represented in the elected boards through a given party-list. So, the political party campaigning for the elections, casts and ranks their deputies' candidates, and the electorate votes for the list. Those lists can be, open list or closed list. In the open list, the electorate have a significant influence in the casting or ranking the nominees. Otherwise, is the case of a closed list. The case of Mozambique is an interesting application of both variants at two different levels. There, the open list remains a political party internal business. The political party members and the political commission appoints candidates through internal elections to define the list. However, they keep it secret to the voters. In this aspect, the electorate vote for someone who will represent them even without knowing him or his personality, skills, orientation and in some extent, without granting a popular support.

Nevertheless, the municipal government[180] allows the local citizens to stand and participate in the municipal decision-making process. In this dimension, citizens are part of the citizen consultative council[181] of the municipal government whose jurisdiction is limited to a consultation process which is believed linked the municipal government to the local citizens. Instead of promoting and securing a full involvement of citizens, the majority of the incumbents are the chiefs of the local neighbourhoods, civil society members and influent people who represent the interests of the local communities.

The interaction between the municipal government and the citizen consultative council members follows a top-down logic of power relations in which this last group is powerless in the deliberative process. Thus, the interaction can be seen in two dimensions. One is the citizens' representation in a municipal body (municipal assembly), through which they oversee and approves the municipal planning and budget, discuss and delivers local regulations and reinforces the municipal mechanisms of public accountability (Forquilha 2015). The other dimension is the representation of the citizens in the consultative councils of the municipal government. The municipal government interact with citizens through the consultative councils to consult and set up priorities of the public investment, local economic development, land tenure and urbanisation (67/2009 MD of 17 April 2009).

The significant growing demand for urbanisation and the pressure over public service delivery has resulted from the economic and population growth. Thus, it fosters conflicts over farmlands tenure, small-scale business and housing, also increases the level of poverty, violent crime and corruption (Myers 2010; Oliveira 2014). Therefore, significant changes are taking place at different scales. From the bottom, under the citizen's endorsement and coordination, the district and municipal government conceive a local planning and budget in order to create a systematic local autonomy in the public

---

[180] For the objective of this thesis, we focus on the local municipalities in order to make sense of the citizen approach to participatory budgeting. In Mozambique, participatory budgeting is implemented as a participatory democracy mechanism to operate in the cities and municipalised territories.

[181] We use citizen consulting council for two reasons. First, is to differentiate with the local consultative councils – those related to the citizens who lives outside municipality which are bounded by the national government institutions at district level – in Portuguese, *conselhos consultivos locais*. For the purpose of the current analysis, the citizen consultative councils are a group which supports the municipal government. The group of citizens who came together and form a council to interact with their local elected boards. Although sounds paradox, the second reason, is to argue the official argument of labelling *citizens* those who lives within the municipal borders (decentralisation applied territories) and call *local communities* those in the local state' jurisdictions (deconcentration). In this perspective, we conclude that the majority of Mozambicans are not granted the respect they deserve, so, they are denied the citizens' rights to vote for their local representatives because they live outside municipal borders (Jamal 2014).

services supply; at regional scale, the government follows and implements the national regulations, and articulate the conception, implementation and monitoring of the municipal planning and budget; at national level, the government takes forward several structural reform and strategies to address public concerns at low scale jurisdictions.

## 6.3. Right to the City: Citizens in the Urban Planning

The citizen rights to participate in the configuration and coordination of territory as a basic space and foundation for peaceful life and coexistence is one of the essential precondition to the realisation of economic, social and cultural rights necessary for the full exercise of civil and political rights (UCLG 2011). This statement in the Global Charter-Agenda for Human Rights in the City shows how important the citizen participation is, and how it plays a vital role in the creation of adequate living condition for all citizens, mainly, those who live in the cities.

The gap between the political objectives and the factual context of citizens' participation in the city affairs is a structural contingency arising from a combination of factors which usually determines the role of the municipal government – public services delivery; land and waste management and urbanisation (Ostrom 1996; Weimer 2012a). Contrarily to the traditional processes of planning lead solely by experts in urban planning and officials' professionals (MUEC 2015), we see participatory urban planning as an important platform for extensive involvement of citizens in urban development.

For the objectives of this section, we conceive the stakeholders' triangle[182] to analyse the empirical case of citizen involvement in the urban planning in Maxixe. To this end, three variables were relevant: a) the degree of citizen' understanding about the process of participation; b) the relevance of the ideal of citizen participation; and, c) the institutional capacity to deal with citizen involvement. Also, there were found relevant to explore the reasons and impacts of the actors' involvement at a different stage of the urban planning process.

---

[182] We have been working in this proposal over six years in order to establish a theoretical frame endowed to figure out the degree and the hierarchical position occupied by the actors during a participatory project. The main objective of this approach based on empirical observation of the public participation in local affairs is to examine the impact of the actor's involvement in each stage of a given participatory process. This process appoints three important actors: The bureaucrats; the citizens and the public participation professionals (PPP). In theory, these actors aim to a fulfilment of a common objective of making the planning process better however, in practice, each stage and the actors involved shows distinctive performance. For details, see Delgado (2011), Patsias et al. (2013) and Jamal (2016).

To reach this goal and solve the triangle equation, substantive elements were mobilised and assembled. Thus, we interviewed the actors involved in urban planning.[183] By following their intrinsic characteristics, we grouped them into three: a) the bureaucrats – this group is constituted by the politicians, the local state representatives and the municipal assembly members; b) the Public Participation Professional (PPP) – experts who design, implements, manage and provide expertise for the whole process of citizen participation;[184] c) the citizens – includes the civil society organisation members, private sector, and local community' members.

We applied Arnstein's ladder of participation to rank different levels of citizens' involvement in the urban plans. This ladder is divided into three structures: a) Non-participation includes, manipulation and therapy. This stage is located in the bottom rung of the ladder and describes the level of non-participation in which people are manipulated. Here, "the objective is not to guarantee a genuine involvement of the citizens in the urban planning, and local affairs, but to enable the power-holders to 'teach' the participants"; b) Tokenism – includes informing, consulting and placation. In this level, citizens have the opportunity to hear and to speak to the power-holders through the process of consultation. At this level, however, citizens are powerless to secure the implementation of their demands. It means that there is no guaranteed that the citizens' views would be taken into account which keeps the rights to decide at the hands of the powerful; c) Citizen power – entails partnership, a delegation of power and citizen control. This rung of participation is achieved when the citizens are powerful enough to, horizontally negotiate with the local governments. The delegation and citizen control are reached when the ordinary citizen controls the managerial process (Arnstein 1969).

### 6.3.1. Participatory Democracy in the Urban planning

In the case of municipal planning in Maxixe, as occurs in other public plans, there are two forms of participations – consultation and deliberation which involve three groups of actors – citizens; the PPP and bureaucrats, at the different phases of the plans as the following: a) the definition of the planning objective. This is the stage in which the

---

[183] Namely, the local community members, traditional chiefs, religious leaders, local consultative councils' members, street vendors, civil society organisation' members, political party members, politicians, the municipal assembly deputies, civil servants, peasants, women' group members, private sector, business men and public transportation operators.

[184] Includes all NGOs and donors who works in the cause of participatory process.

objective of the plan is set, and also the relevant information is collected; b) diagnostic, this is the stage to explore the current situation towards the planning process; c) data analysis. In this phase, all relevant data and information are carefully analysed; d) optimal alternatives, given a number of versions and alternatives as well as a deep insight, studies and questions, this is the time to choose the best or at least the reasonable alternative; e) approval; f) implementation; g) monitoring and evaluation.

This model of public participation allows citizens to participate in the conception, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the urban planning. It means that through this model, the powerless and marginalised groups get the opportunity to directly discuss their specific interests and influence public policy. However, the problem remains unresolved. To what extent does this group of citizens participate in the urban development and what is the impact of their involvement in the specific case of Maxixe? By using the Arnstein' ladder of citizen participation, we address this issue in the following graphic:

**Table 5: Citizens' participation in the urban planning in Maxixe**

| Forms of citizen participation | Phases of the urban planning | | | | | | | Grand total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Objective | Diagnostc | Dt analyse | Evaluat | Approval | Implem | Monit | Total | % |
| Direct - consultation | 1 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 16 | 48,48485 |
| Representation - deliberat | 1 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 2 | 4 | 17 | 51,51515 |
| Total | | | | | | | | 33 | 100 |

Source: the author

The numbers presented above represent the rungs of citizens' participation conceived by Arnstein (1969), in which: 1 – means that people are being manipulated by the incumbents in the name of genuine participation; 2 – Therapy, this rung entails processes through which citizens are 'educated' about a given matter. Particularly, the objective here is not to promote full and informed participation, but a passive involvement of the citizens; 3 – Information. In this point, the citizen participation is defined as a process of sharing information with ordinary citizens; 4 – Consultation. The citizen participation is restricted in a simple consultation, but the decision remains in the hands of the bureaucrats, PPPs, NGOs and the private sector; 5 – Placation; 6 –

Partnership; 7 – Delegation of power; 8 – Citizen Power. This is the highest level of citizen participation through which citizen acquires the maximum emancipatory capacity to reinforce their will and power.

**Graphic 1: Citizen participation in the urban planning in Maxixe**
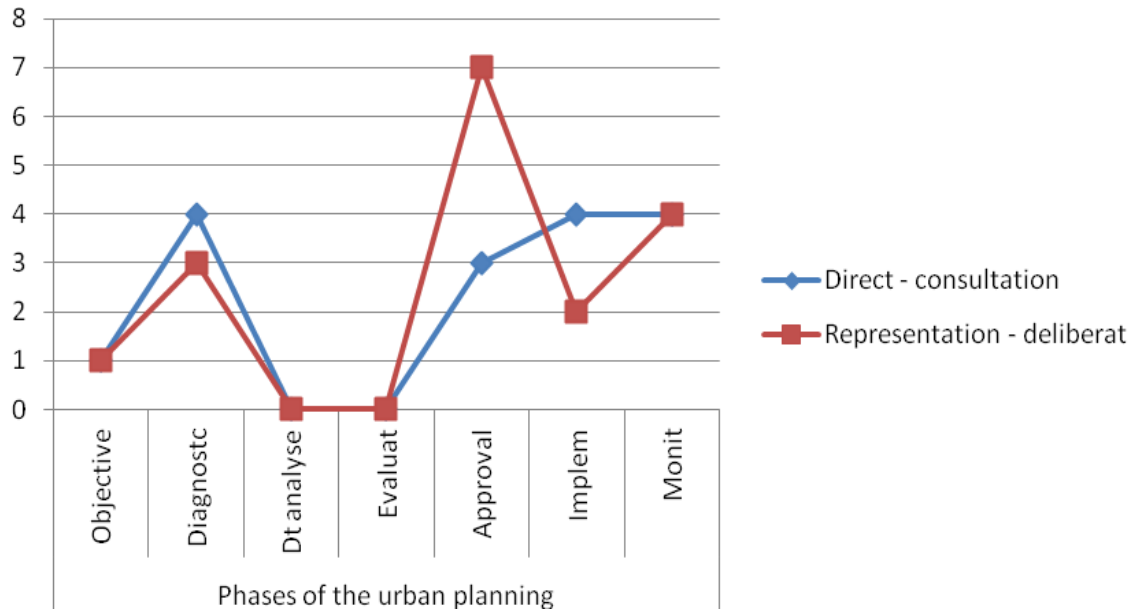
By reading graphic 1, we conclude that citizens are involved in the whole process of conception, implementation and monitoring of urban planning. This participation occurs at two levels – the citizen' direct consultation and the citizen participation via representation. This last can be on the local consultative councils, local forum, municipal assembly and municipal government. This graphic shows the relation between the rungs of citizen involvement and the phases of the urban planning in Maxixe.

In analysing the degree of citizen involvement in the process, we found that citizens and representatives are involved in designing and inducing successful co-production of the planning objectives. However, this participation is strictly manipulative. It lies on the ground level of the Arnstein ladder. This is the lowest level of participation also known as non-participation.

The highest citizen achievement is found on the stage of planning approval. The citizen power is delegated or transferred to the officials in charge of the participatory process. It means that the citizen participation to approve the urban planning remains on hand of representative democracy.

A significant degree of direct engagement and intervention of the citizens was observed in the phase of diagnostic and implementation of urban planning. Citizens were interviewed about the satisfaction of their needs upon the consultation process in an open forum. Rather than deliberating the common concerns in a specialised meeting, the local bureaucrats and the PPP have the final decision.

**Table 6: The bureaucrats' participation in the urban planning in Maxixe**

| The bureaucrats - forms participation | Phases of the urban planning | | | | | | | Grand total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Objective | Diagnostc | Dt analyse | Evaluat | Approval | Implem | Monit | Total | % |
| consultation | 4 | 4 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 6 | 6 | 39 | 48,75 |
| deliberat | 7 | 0 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 7 | 41 | 51,25 |
| Total | | | | | | | | 80 | 100 |

Source: the author

The participation of the political incumbents in the urban planning in Maxixe begs the question of how they influence the whole trajectory of the urban development project. In partnership with the experts in participatory processes, the local bureaucrats predominately dominated the evaluation, approval, implementation and monitoring the urban planning.

Table 6 shows the way the local bureaucrats are present in the definition of the objectives of the urban planning. It is, therefore, appropriate to understand the hierarchical interdependence among the different level of planning instruments. According to the regulations on planning in Mozambique, the short-term plans should be in line with mid and long-term strategic plans. It means that it should be connected to the major planning objectives. For the specific case of municipal jurisdiction, the planning process on urban structure[185] should be in line with provincial (regional) and the national plans. In our view, this interconnection is misused and may serve as an excuse to restrict the participation of the local citizens. As we recurrently mention throughout this thesis,

---

[185] In Portuguese, *Plano de Estrutura Urbana* (PEU). According to the existing law on land and town planning, PEU is a local mechanism for township planning. This instrument entails processes oriented to territorial planning, infrastructure and social equipment. In parallel with PEU, there are the general and partial plans and also the detailed and specific plans. For details on plans, see Nguenha (2009) and Cistac (2012).

190

public participation is promoted and limited to consultation (local consultative council) which has little influence.

**Graphic 2: The bureaucrats' participation in the urban planning in Maxixe**
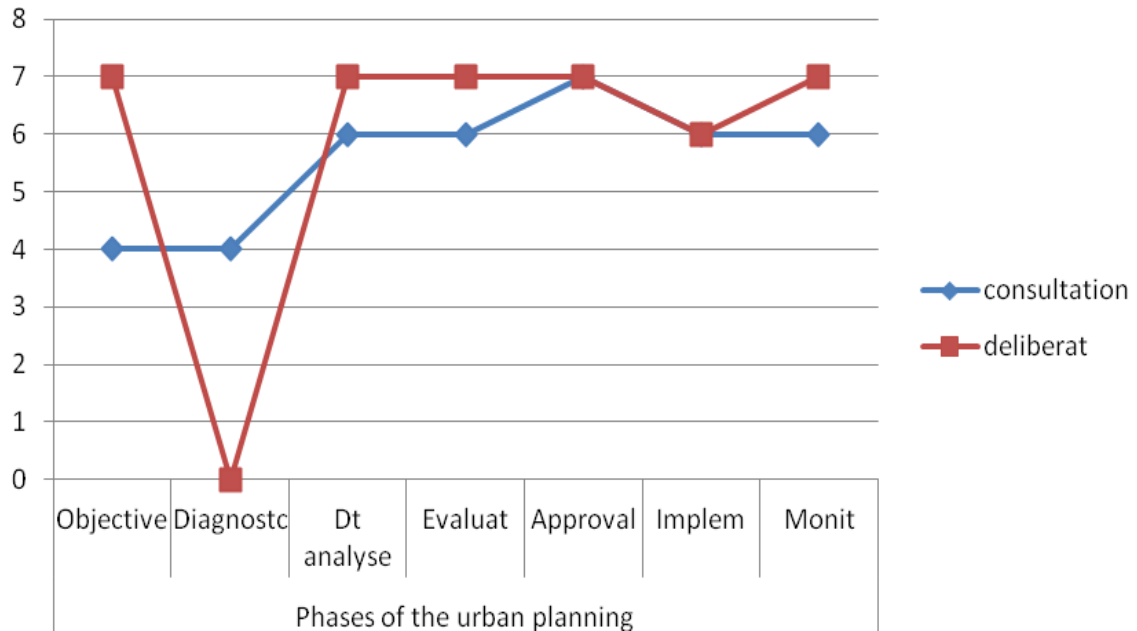


Source: the author

Graphic 2 shows the degree of the bureaucrats' participation in the urban planning in Maxixe. They are involved in this process at two levels. At the level of consultation, they are in rung 4. It means that they give inputs to the planning objectives. According to Mozambique's legal framework on land and urban planning and on decentralisation, the objectives of the plans must be set at the local level, meaning that, the state representatives, citizens and technical team are capable of drawing their objectives. However, when the question is about deliberation, bureaucrats are powerful in all phases of the planning process. Because they represent the state at the local level, they may apply the state power to give the final decision.

The other relevant aspect can be observed in the diagnostic phase. This level is more technical than bureaucratic. Therefore, the experts in the participatory process are in charge of the process, and report (level 3 and 4) to both citizens and bureaucrats to assure that all parties are involved.

**Table 7: The PPP' participation in the urban planning in Maxixe**

| Forms of ppp participation | Phases of the urban planning | | | | | | | Grand total | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | Objective | Diagnostc | Dt analyse | Evaluat | Aproval | Implem | Monit | Total | % |
| Direct - consultation | 6 | 6 | 7 | 6 | 7 | 6 | 6 | 44 | 50,57471 |
| Representation - deliberat | 6 | 7 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 4 | 43 | 49,42529 |
| Total | | | | | | | | 87 | 100 |

Source: the author

Table 7 demonstrates the engagement of the experts in participation and planning. Their involvement in the urban planning ranks from 7 to 4. It shows a stable and regular engagement of these professionals in all phases. Sometimes they decide in partnership (level 6), and other times, they apply their power (level 7). The professionals are involved in about 50.57% in consultation and 49.42% in deliberation on the issues of urban planning.

**Graphic 3: The PPP' participation in the urban planning in Maxixe**
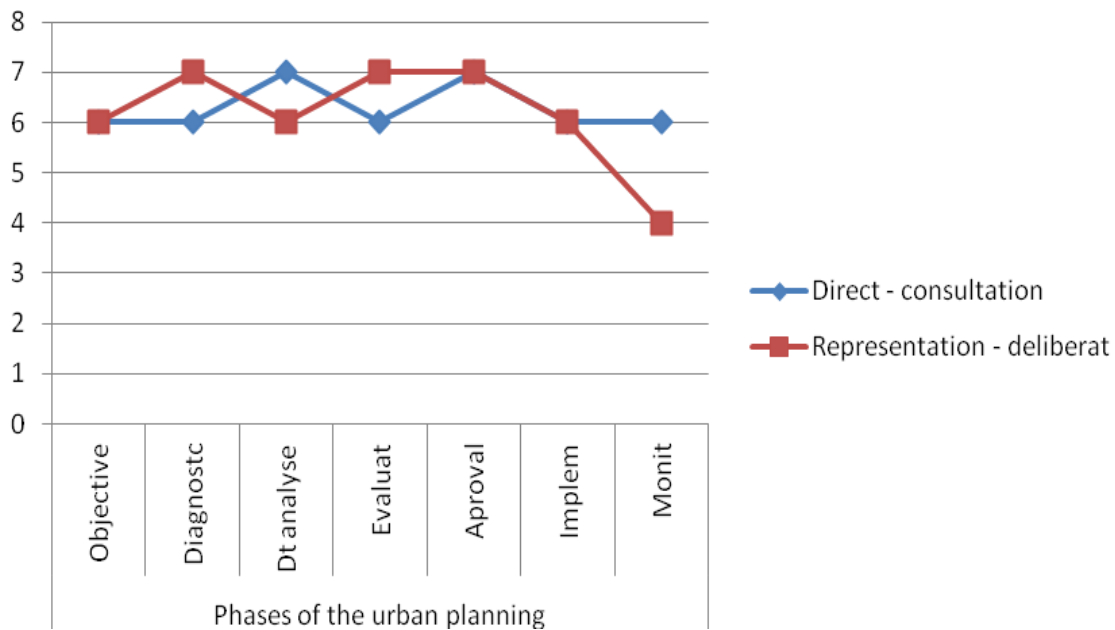


Source: the author

Graphic 3 shows the power relations between two levels of involvement of the experts (PPP) – the direct involvement of the experts' group in plans, and the other is at the level of technical decision-makers (technical bureaucrats). We found that the first operate changes within the different phases of the plans, but in many cases, the final

decisions are with the technical bureaucrats. This scenario is observed in all phases of the planning process. However, the task of monitoring the process seems to have minimal interference from those in technical power.

**Table 8: The overall - consultation in the urban planning**

| The stakeholders triangle | Phases of the urban planning | | | | | | | Grand total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Objective | Diagnostc | Dt analyse | Evaluat | Approval | Implem | Monit | Total | % |
| Citizens | 1 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 16 | 17,2043 |
| The Bureaucrats | 4 | 0 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 6 | 6 | 35 | 37,63441 |
| PPP | 6 | 6 | 7 | 6 | 7 | 6 | 4 | 42 | 45,16129 |
| Total | | | | | | | | 93 | 100 |

Source: the author

Table 8 aggregates the actors who take part in the stakeholders' triangle. Citizens remain in the bottom of the triangle with just 17.20%. In the middle, there are the bureaucrats and at the top are the experts. It means that the experts are more consulted than the citizens and the bureaucrats which makes this a technical process rather than a social/technical process.

**Graphic 4: The overall - consultation in the urban planning**
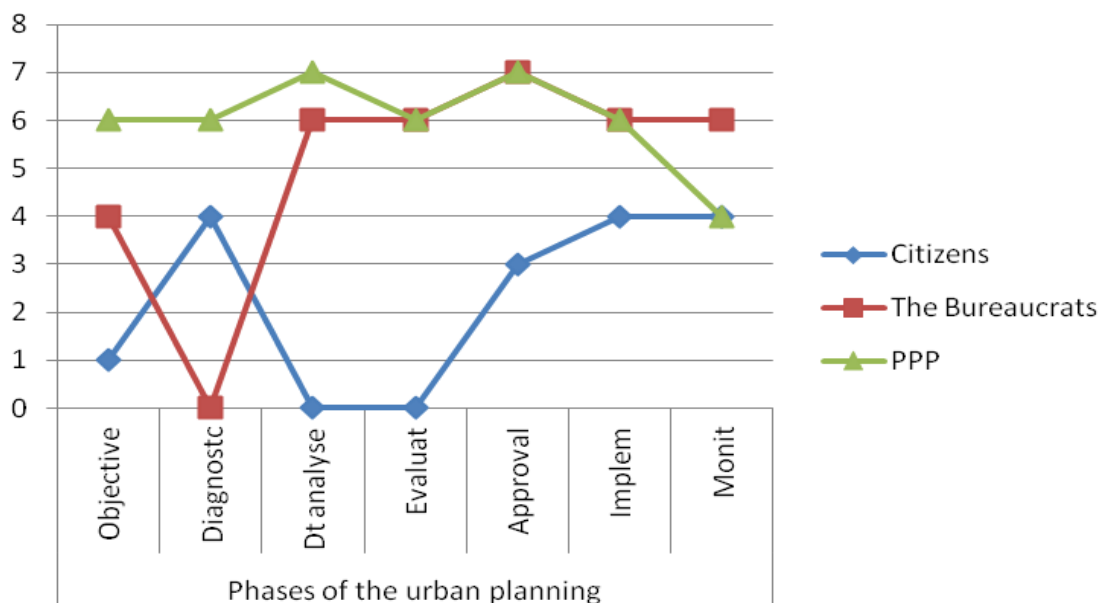


Source: the author

Graphic 4 shows the distance between the citizens and the bureaucrats and the experts. This gap is more evident in the phase of data analysis and evaluation. This aspect leads us to conclude that citizens are completely excluded in the technical decisions because is wrongly perceived that ordinary people constraints the process and as unskilled mass, they could block the process. We find a good example coming from Montréal in Canada where citizens are involved in discussing technical solutions, and the process demonstrated that with those considered a mass of ordinary citizens were retired professionals in urban planning, land design and infrastructure (MUEC 2015). We do not deny the constraints which may arise from the involvement of all citizens in technical problems, but we defend the co-production and collaboration of all stakeholders upon an assessment of the citizens' technical skills to deal with specific issues.

**Table 9: Overall deliberation in the urban planning**

| The stakeholders triangle | Phases of the urban planning | | | | | | | Grand total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Objective | Diagnostc | Dt analyse | Evaluat | Approval | Implem | Monit | Total | % |
| Citizens | 1 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 2 | 4 | 17 | 16,50485 |
| The Bureaucrats | 7 | 0 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 7 | 41 | 39,80583 |
| PPP | 6 | 7 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 6 | 45 | 43,68932 |
| Total | | | | | | | | 103 | 100 |

Source: the author

The significant power of the citizens in deliberating planning issues is about 16.50%. Then, there are the bureaucrats and experts. This number creates the "illusion" that citizens are represented in the local consultative councils. Ordinary citizens are involved in the participatory process through direct and indirect engagement. What we can learn here is that:

a) The representation of ordinary citizens in the local consultative councils should be expanded to involve a diversity of the local actors;

b) The local consultative councils should be enriched with skilled members to allow great debates on different topics;

c) The technical team and the bureaucrats should promote a concrete participatory planning process that engages people in all steps.

**Graphic 5: The overall deliberation in the urban planning**
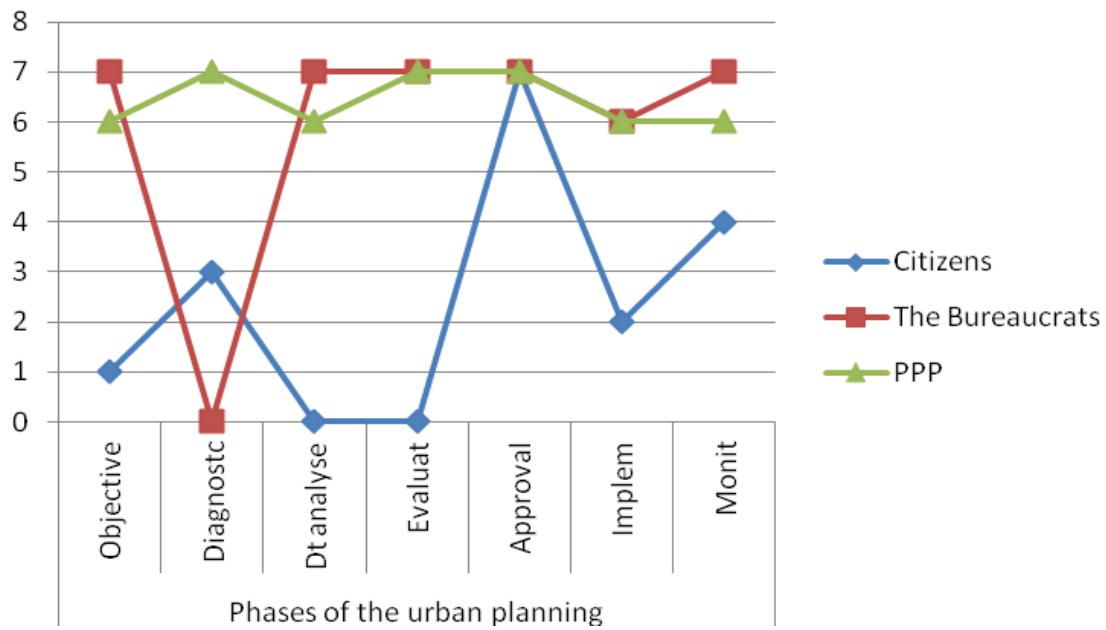


Source: the author

One of the most significant aspects to underline is the convergence of all three actors in the level of partnership (rung 7 of Arnstein's ladder). This scenario shows a potential co-deliberating on the approval of the urban planning. A co-deliberation on public issues can be of extreme benefits to all stakeholders involved.

a) To the citizens – it may enhance the sense of ownership and collaboration, management and protections of the goods and services; increase solidarity that may drive the creation of social capital and networking, and may strengthen local democracy (UN-Habitat & MDP 2008a).

b) Local government – enhance confidence in public institutions and their elected members; reduce the costs associated with mismanagement and vandalism on public assets; and reduce conflicts.

c) The experts – they can have their "life easy" by sharing responsibilities with other stakeholders; they can benefit from a total collaboration of the citizens on "customary bureaucracies."

### 6.3.2. The Proximity Democracy in Maxixe

This model encompasses two main characteristics: the geography, and the communicative proximity between citizens, public officers and local authorities (Sintomer et al. 2012). At this level, citizen participation is often considered a mere

informal practice; there is no compulsory, neither obligation to accommodate the citizens' opinions into public policy. In other words, it means that the idea of involving citizens in the local affairs, in this case, in the municipal strategic planning is perceived as a mere generosity of local governments to its citizens (Chichava 2008; de Brito 2013).

The idea and practice of proximity' democracy are oriented to a selective hearing of the local demands upon which the representative boards decide what and when the consultation process occurs. Arnstein (1969) called this tokenism. As an extension of the idea of citizen participation, citizens are informed about a certain project,[186] but the act of deliberation is a local government and local assemblies' "property" and, in the end, the final decision depends on the local government' objectives. As we see that,

> "[...] if they (citizen) ask something which is not in line with our manifesto, and our five year term plans and other instruments (...) we regret, and will not attend it (...) oh... let me make it clear... we listen to them, and we take notes of their demands, but we will not take into consideration... it is outside our objective. As you may know, we are here because 'we sold' our manifesto to the people, and together, we turned it into our plans for the next five years (...) So, why they want to change it today? You should understand that we serve our people through our manifesto [...] this is our flag and our headlight... If you fail to fulfil what you have promised so far, they (citizens) will not trust you anymore (...) they will fire you up, and will never allow you back to the power (...) neither by Frelimo nor by another party" (interview given by the officer *'A'* in Maxixe in September 4, 2015).

As a result of the electoral process for choosing citizens' representatives at the community level and the local government level, the act of citizens' political participation in the urban development is restricted to the political representation of the officials. At this point, we found that this process is essentially a top-down experiment outside a genuine citizen deliberation. In this dimension, we argue how the representative authorities are committed to 'what they want, more than what citizens want'. It questions whether such political representation means the alienation of the citizens towards their role in society.

---

[186] For instance, the Mabil 2 project. We discuss this topic in the next subsection – the participatory modernisation.

The specific case of Maxixe's urban development shows that citizens are not actively involved in a concrete and productive debate on public policies and vital decisions. This aspect restricts the citizenship rights to participate in the city in a mere process of consultation and a non-consensual deliberation among the actors. Because the officials and bureaucrats are making the vital decisions, the supposed geographic and communicative proximity mentioned by Sintomer et al. (2012) is symbolic.

Although some significant emancipatory initiatives[187] exist at the municipal level to install and flourish grassroots democracy upon geographic proximity of the local government institutions, public officials and citizens, the settled bureaucratic tradition of local politics tend to block the emergence of local democracy. This is the case of the legal instruments invoked to restrain the citizens' demands.

### 6.3.3. The Participatory Modernisation: Consulting Citizens in the Urban Issues

This model views the citizens' participation in the local affairs as an innovative chance to modernise the public administration and enhance the internal management procedures. The consequence of the state's modernisation approach to citizen participation is performed as a top-down process in which local citizens are consulted for administrative reasons (Sintomer et al. 2012). The question of citizen consultation process, therefore, is a misuse of democratic tools for public legitimacy.

The top-down consulting process carried out by the local government to educate and provide therapy as forms of participation in urban affairs is what Arnstein (1969) had called non-participation. Note, what is important here is the fulfilment of the managerial procedures and the legitimacy of public policies. It means that citizens are the objects of the discourses of participation. This is what happened in Mabil 2 in the Maxixe township. In the name of citizen consultation and public legitimacy, people were placed under the shadow of a big three for the express purpose of educating them to accept the municipal project of electricity expansion.

---

[187] For example, the public consulting process.

**Photo 1: Citizen consulting meeting**



Photo: By the author, October 27, 2015, Mabil 2 – Maxixe

The photo shows an officer of the local electricity company (EDM) explaining the goals of the project to the local communities. There were also some municipal officials, traditional chiefs and a police officer. The main goal of this meeting was to discuss and consult the residents of the neighbourhood of Mabil 2 about the electricity supply. This project aimed to launch a one-mile electricity network to cover part of Mabil 2. However, the particular aspect of this consultation process is that this event occurs a month ahead of a successful mobilisation and installation of all technical equipment and electricity pylons. At this point, the officer uses this stage to deliver a speech:

> "We are here to fulfil our promise in continuing to better our municipality by serving our people [...] as part of our responsibility and in response to our manifesto, we came to provide you light. So, as you may know, a father (the municipal government) of many children (*bairros* – neighbourhoods) should share the bread for all his kids [...], dear parents, we want you to know that because of the limited funds and budgets to handle this kind of projects, as well as the number of *bairros* demanding electricity and water, we will grant you (in this time) with one-mile long electricity line [...] we believe, next week you will have

light [...] time will came and we will enlighten all houses in Mabil... *Viva Frelimo*[188]" (a municipal officer *'B'* addressing to the local citizens in the consultation forum in Maxixe township).

It is in this regard essential to highlight some aspects and confront them with the core objective of the consulting process. The citizen consulting forum occurs after the implementation of the project. At this point, the citizens' inputs and opinions (either to accept or to refuse the project) could not change the decisions.

[...] "we do not know what is the purpose of this assembly... why you invite us to discuss a finished project? [...] our tombs and trees are trodden without our consent... what you want us to say? Should we say yes or no... to just one-mile electricity? If no... would you fix our property and the profanation of our father's homes? You think money or electricity could compensate the harm you caused [...] as you always know what and how to do... it remains your business [...] but, I swear for our holy spirit... if you bring (that) paper [...] I will not sign it" (a community member's intervention).

---

[188] Sometimes *Frelimo hoyé* means long live Frelimo. These words are part of the previous national anthem of Mozambique which came to be a symbolic "trademark" of the Frelimo ruling party to assure its engagement in social, political and economic transformation in Mozambique. In parallel, it is possible to hear in the Frelimo official meetings, some words like *A luta continua* (the struggle continue – engagement in the revolution), *A Frelimo é que fez* (Frelimo is the maker – it referring to independence and progress).

**Photo 2: Community intervention in the consultation process**



Photo: By the author, October 27, 2015, Mabil 2 – Maxixe

Following the previous scenario, the local citizens realised that they are being manipulated by the official. For that reason, they did not legitimate the process by refusing to sign the list of participants. From the citizen's point of view, that consultation process meant nothing. So, the question here is, how can this resentment of non-participation and manipulation affect the citizen/government relationship?

If the official narrative about the citizen consulting process is linked to a public consensus over land tenure, public services, investment priorities and social justice, by the way, the mentioned goals, perhaps are reached – In this case, the delivery of one-mile electricity line. The manipulation of a supposed democratic process harms the relationship between citizens and their government, and also the reward on the public trust over public institutions and the confidence in the integrity of their officials. In Africa, there are post-electoral grievances and some of those induced armed conflict, assassinations and mass violence as a consequence of the elections contestation (Chabal & Daloz 1999). Here, the role played by the officials, politicians and the concrete implementation of the accountability procedures are needed because are essential to re-establish the public confidence.

The other aspect to take into account is the role of traditions, beliefs and cultural features in African societies. In this regard, the social, cultural and religious relations are

established beyond the idea of a simple mankind. In other words, those societies bring a more extensive notion of 'human being' through which different rationales, entities, elements and practices are incorporated. To some extent, the relationships among them are more important than those with the local government (Meneses 2007). Moreover, the co-influence of the material and the spiritual world is determined by the degree of the community beliefs (Mudimbe 1994; 1988; Falola 2003).[189]

For this very reason, we see that the citizens' consultation mechanisms set at the local government scale have usually been arranged aiming to promote procedural changes within the public administration. Consequently, the question seen in such way can be defined as an innovative process because it brings new elements (citizens consulting and eventual deliberation) and facts to the context of the state administration. However, it fails to secure a genuinely participatory process and human rights principles. Therefore, besides manipulating citizens in the name of a genuinely participatory process in Mabil 2, there is also a violation of cultural beliefs and values.

### 6.3.4. The Multi-Stakeholders' Participation

The multi-stakeholders model presents a considerable degree of participation of extra government groups to discuss their opinions and present their demands for the establishment of social justice (Bratton & Van de Walle 1997). What is important here is not necessarily the social justice *per se* as an end, but social justice as a continuous process of social emancipation through which, citizens continuously operate changes in their societies to achieve social, political and economic stability.

If the first model (participatory democracy) focused on the stakeholders' triangle, this model goes further and explores the relationship among a vast range of stakeholders involved in the participatory process. In this model, the donors and the private sector are powerful, and they play a crucial role in the decision-making process. Therefore, we analyse the engagement of the donors, bureaucrats, PPP, civil society organisations, local and international NGOs, professional associations, and the private sector in the urban development in Maxixe.

---

[189] For details about Africa traditions, see Toyin Falola in his book entitled, *The power of African Cultures*, he brings a clear discussion about the relevance of cultures to Africans in modern era. What makes essential this reading for our discussion, is the fact that, the author perceive culture as extended to beliefs, values, daily practices, tales about the beliefs, systems of communications and also discuss the impact of the Western culture in the modern Africa (Falola 2003). For details, see Chabal (1992; 2009) and Mudimbe (1994).

**Table 10: The stakeholders' participation in the urban planning in Maxixe**

| The stakeholders | The degree of deliberation at the municipal development planning | | | | | | | Grand total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Objective | Diagnostc | Dt analyse | Evaluat | Approval | Implem | Monit | Total | % |
| Civil society organizations | 2 | 4 | 3 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 19 | 13,86861 |
| NGOs | 6 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 8 | 6 | 7 | 38 | 27,73723 |
| the bureaucrats | 2 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 16 | 11,67883 |
| the PPP | 3 | 3 | 6 | 8 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 29 | 21,16788 |
| Private sector | 6 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 8 | 6 | 6 | 35 | 25,54745 |
| Total | | | | | | | | 137 | 100 |

Source: the author

Although the stakeholder-based approach to citizen participation in the urban planning entails the equal involvement of all actors, the donors and private sector are free to conceive, implement and controls their projects. As demonstrated above, the donor, NGOs and private sectors are driven by the scope of their mission, they identify the area, dimension and the scope of their intervention.

When the inputs from a private sector and NGOs are high – at the approval phase it reaches the maximum level 8), the bureaucrats get the level of consultation (=4). It means that even though the debates were conducted to establish a consensus and the PPP were asked to give their contribution on the evaluation phase (where they got the maximum power eight to influence the results). The final decision is in the hands of the sponsors.

**Graphic 6: The degree of deliberation in urban planning**
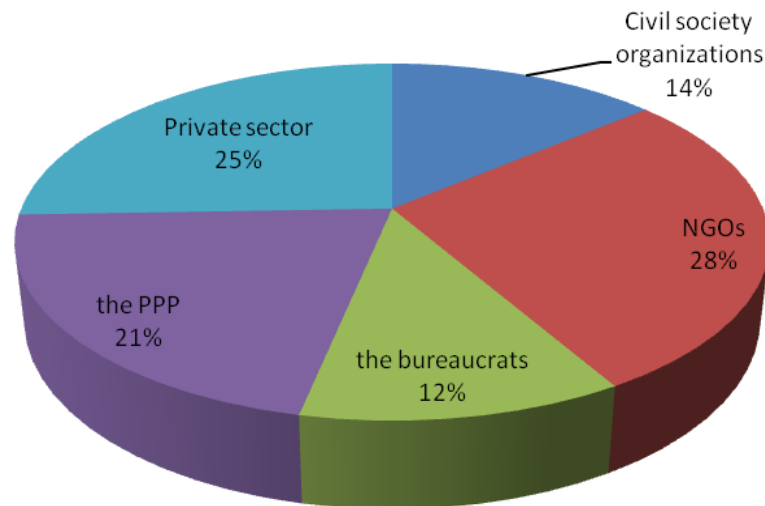
In this model, the local bureaucrats and the civil society are powerless to decide on issues which are already oriented. The NGOs, the private sector and the PPP are the key actors who play a crucial role in the decision-making process. However, when it comes to the public-private partnership, the civil society is powerless to 'reinforce' their opinion because of the restrictive regulations (Sintomer et al. 2013; Traub-Merz et al. 2013). In this picture, the decisions made upon financial and technical capacity could be confronted by the local regulations. Despite the apparent contradiction, the civil society institutions, the government officials and experts are involved in discussing and presenting their insights, but, in the end, the financial resources are directed to the pre-targeted area. This is the case, for instance of the construction of a composting facility in Maxixe headed by an Italian NGO called CELIM – *Centro Laici Italiani per le Mission*. This international NGO had initiated a vast participatory process of public consultation involving a great number of different actors, such as local government institutions, municipal authorities, civil society organisations, local consultative councils to intervene in the waste management. As a result of such a process, a composting facility was constructed and latterly managed by the local municipality.

**Photo 3: Composting facility - Maxixe**



Photo: by the author, 2015

We found that the mechanisms of citizen participation represent an extension of a pre-defined area and ends. The decision on what to finance is in the hands of the resource owner. In this model, the NGOs, international development agencies and institutions such as the World Bank and IMF are responsible for the dissemination and support of this participatory approach to the liberalisation of public policies.

### 6.3.5. The Local Community Development Model in Maxixe

In this model, citizen participation is oriented to a project implementation stage (Sintomer et al. 2012). For the specific case of the municipal planning of Maxixe, the frequency of citizen involvement could be measured through the degree of deliberation in the phase of the planning implementation process. If we go back to Table 3 and graphic 1 we see how much the local government involved the local citizens in the urban planning implementation phase varies according to the type of participation.

A participation process conducted under the representation dimension is relatively fragile compared to the direct participation. It means that the emancipatory capacity of the representative democracy supposedly cared by the groups and institutions is not consistent with different forms of representation. The group's interests and objectives

drive the rhetoric about citizen participation. With some exceptions,[190] civil society organisations and local NGOs tended to gradually defend their interests in balance to the local government commands.

As direct and personal participation in the project implementation, citizens are susceptible to be consulted at the stage of implementation. Thus, the process of citizen consultation is restricted to a delivering of either complex or empty messages. The local government is limited in sharing a huge amount of information incomprehensible for the ordinary citizens because of the applied technical *parole*. In this circumstance, they deliver ambiguous information and preserve the essential. The local officials in the name of local government say what they suppose people want to hear,

> "As you know... when Frelimo promise... it happens. Today we are here to bear witness to the commitment of the government of our glorious party towards you (...) On behalf of our deal in the previous election, today! You are the beneficiary of this infrastructure... you asked a new place to serve your community as a *sede do bairro* (the bureau of the neighbourhood)[191] and we bring it today... So, it is our (municipal government and citizens) role to protect and maintain this place for the coming generations because it will host our open and public debates and deliberations" (a speech delivered by officer *'C'* on the inaugural ceremony of the *sede do bairro de bembe* in Maxixe).

---

[190] See Jamal (2014).

[191] Free translation from the author. It is the smallest administrative division within the municipal jurisdiction. This place is represented by an official appointed and legitimated by the government and the local community. For details, see (Gonçalves 2006; Zavale 2007; Meneses 2009)

**Photo 4: The *Sede do bairro* - Bembe**



Photo: by Cassam Omar, 2015, Bembe – Maxixe

Applying the sociology of absence to question the context and the implementation of public policy and public investment, we see how the local government is somehow opposite to the local populations. The municipal government built an administrative office to serve public administration ends instead of prioritising the popular demand. In this sense, the municipal government 'ignores' the existing signals of citizens' resentment of not being involved in the deliberation of the local priorities. Thus, a Bembe' community member we interviewed promptly argued that,

> "We have no market, no security, our business and houses are being vandalised... the municipality and the local administration are the one who defines what, when and how they want to do the things, not us... imagine... we demanded water and market, but they bring us the *sede do bairro*..." (an *'E'* Bembe' community member interviewed).

In the narrative of the local government, everything is in the right way to serve the local citizens' interests and under its control. In this respect, there is an attempt to convert the abnormal facts into normal. What we call here the normalisation of abnormal matters is that the municipal government acknowledges that citizens should participate in the definition of priorities over public investment, but in practice, the act of participation remains ambiguous.

The primary consequences are the decline of the public confidence in local government institutions and bureaucrats. It would be interpreted as the gap between citizens and local government. In this respect, the idea of geographic proximity is measured not regarding how close the local government is, but how communicative it can be.

### 6.3.6. The Neo-corporatism

Perhaps this is the most influential model of the citizen political participation in the world. This model is at the centre of many later democratised countries, where the local governments play a very important role in harmonising and balancing formal groups – NGOs, labour unions, and professional associations and social groups – elder people's associations, migrant associations and student unions, and a range of different organisations. At this point, the local government consults those who matter (Sintomer et al. 2012).

Nevertheless, the consensus over the conception of public policies, public investment and local priorities are based on a balanced relationship between local governments and some local actors (Ganuza & Baiocchi 2014). In this model, the domestic laws and regulations and the performance of the local government are adapted into the frame of a neo-corporatism concept. On the other hand, the idea of citizen participation in the urban development means the institutionalisation of a democratic mechanism.

Despite this progressive thought, the debates within it, and the process involving economic interests of the international corporations, the citizens' involvement is confined to a symbolic act of consultation. Therefore, the trade-off between the regulation over participatory processes and the standards over the deliberations depends on the political economy orientation' of the local governments.

Sintomer et al. (2012) assert that, if individuals, politicians, citizens, donors, civil society members and private sector acts in an isolated manner, they cannot operate sustainable changes in the public policies, society, and economy because they are powerless to assure success in what is important for all. Thus, citizens are highly encouraged to become one unity. They are more likely to gain significant visibility in negotiating their opinion while grouped in associations, or in different forms of social organisation.

**Table 11: The group-based participation in urban planning**

| The stakeholders | The degree of participation at the municipal development planning | | | | | | | Grand total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Objective | Diagnostc | Dt analyse | Evaluat | Aproval | Implem | Monit | Total | % |
| Astroi | 4 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 18 | 12,94964 |
| central market vendors association | 4 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 16 | 11,51079 |
| women peasant association Sahane | 4 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 11 | 7,913669 |
| fisherman's association in Chicuque | 4 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 11 | 7,913669 |
| the bureaucrats | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 20 | 14,38849 |
| the PPP | 3 | 3 | 6 | 6 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 28 | 20,14388 |
| Private sector | 6 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 8 | 6 | 6 | 35 | 25,17986 |
| Total | | | | | | | | 139 | 100 |

Source: the author

The priority resides in the institutionalisation of the mechanism of citizen participation or the group-based approach to public participation. The citizen associations – ASTROI; the vendors; women, peasants and the fisherman's associations resist the bureaucratic and political pressure at all stages of municipal planning. In practice, those groups represent the tendency of the emergent local-based political class who side with the local government and compete for regular democratic practices (Wiarda 1974; Bratton & Van de Walle 1994). In contrast, the local officials and the bureaucratic incumbents, those accustomed to conquer political power and ensure structural decisions, both tend to clash when it comes to performing their duties.

The most significant input and contribution in the production of the development plans are located entirely in the private sector.[192] Due to its financial and material capacity, most interventions and the output are produced by the private sector.

---

[192] Similar results were found by Ostrom. Elinor Ostrom defines coproduction as a process through which opinions of different individuals from different institutions are transformed into goods and services. Meanwhile, citizens share their concerns, opinions and knowledge with local government and private sector (Ostrom 1996).

**Graphic 7: Group-based participation in urban planning**
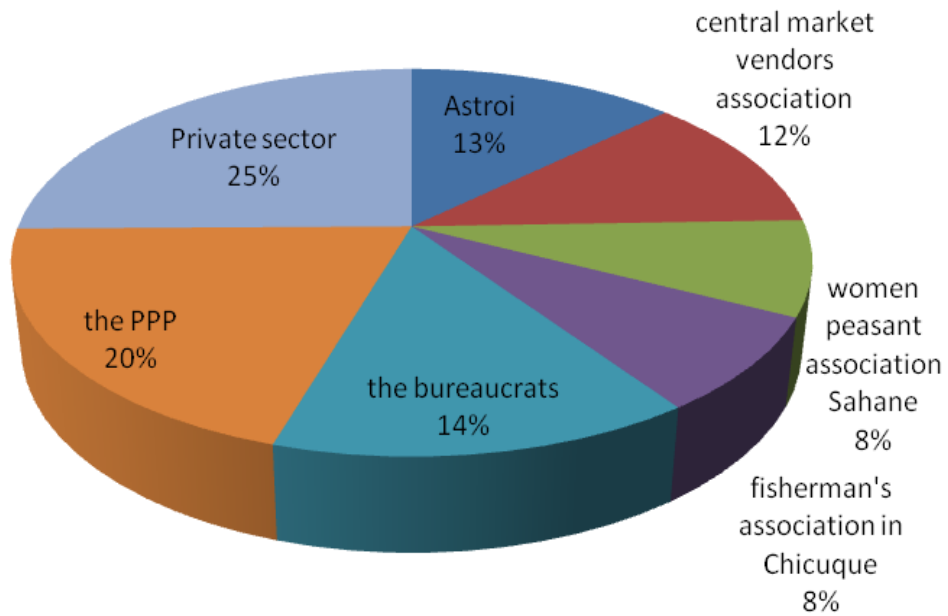
Despite the resistance of the private sector and grouped citizens, the bureaucrats and the PPP still represent the powerful structure in the equation. Thus, the trade-off between the bottom-up pressure (private sector and local associations) and the top town commands (the bureaucrats and PPP) results in the possibility of coproduction of public policy. This is the case of a public-private partnership where a government function is agreed to be performed by a private agent. Therefore, a considerable potential for synergies could be produced throughout the outside government actors.

Moreover, the community of Mabil 2 and the Bembe community has no opportunity to discuss each other about urban planning and public investment priorities. They raised their concerns before a local and internal participatory process to harmonise the needs and priorities then discuss in the municipal forum.

The case of Maxixe shows what happened was a performance of a simple form of citizen participation in which the communities of Mabil 2 and Bembe presented their concerns to the local authority's officials without a previous discussion in the local forum nor with other (neighbourhood) community councils.

# CHAPTER SEVEN – THE QUELIMANE CASE STUDY

## 7.1. The Municipality of Quelimane: An Overview

Mozambique had experienced significant changes in local politics, state administration, human settlements and territorial structure which became officially named municipality. Since the colonial period, the idea of the municipality was connected with the idea of political control and geographic proximity between the state power and the majority of the local population. In the colonial past, the municipal administration was linked to tax collection and recruitment of labour force recruitment for plantations and mining exploitation (Newitt 1981; Baia 2009).

They incorporated the notion of local autonomy and public services delivery. The coproduction of public policy upon negotiations between citizens and the state (Ostrom 1996). Furthermore, the collaborative action came on deliberations between the citizens, and the local representatives are done through public consensus (Cabannes 2004b; Chichava 2008; Nguenha 2009). More recently, the idea of participatory budgeting was adopted as a mechanism of participatory democracy in the local municipalities (Allegretti & Herzberg 2004; Alves & Allegretti 2012; Oliveira 2014).

On August 21, 1942, the town of Quelimane was raised to the category of the city and turned into a municipality in 1998. This municipality is part of the central Zambézia Province, located about one thousand miles far from the capital Maputo. Quelimane is the administrative capital and the largest city of the province to cover about 122 square miles of area and, about 245,886[193] of the population distribution within five administrative posts and 59 neighbourhoods (INE 2008; 2010b; CMQ 2015).

According to historical notes and official records, Quelimane was first settled by locals and later by Muslim traders as a Swahili trade centre. This last presence had contributed to the emergence of slave market (Andrade 1955). Therefore, there is a considerable crossbreeding of language, culture and ethnicity. Firstly, the city of Quelimane emerges as a small community settled in the north side of the river of *Bons sinais*[194] – about 18 miles far off the coastline. Later, Quelimane becomes one of the most important trading posts in the Indian Ocean in the 16th century (Newitt 1981).

---

[193] According to the prevision of the National Statistics Institute for 2016 (INE 2010b).
[194] The direct translation from Portuguese into English is good signals.

Quelimane is the home of great cultural diversity as the result of past Indian Ocean/Asia trade – the ivory, slave, gold, oriental spices and textiles fuelled by the existence of favourable conditions, such as the Zambezi river and the port. This aspect had brought to the scene a number of local groups and, the Portuguese merchants, Arabic, Chinese and other Asian merchants.[195] There is significant historicity of public interaction in urban spaces and business.

This mix of populations, culture and religions impacted on today's way of life in Quelimane and Zambézia Province. What we see today in Quelimane is a cultural, religious and language diversity, sharing the same space and claiming visibility. Despite this, Quelimane is commonly seen as 'the land of *shuabos*'. The official records show that the majority of populations who live in Quelimane belongs to the *shuabo* ethnic group (INE 2010b). However, there is an expressive number of different groups and local languages, such as *makua; makua-lomwé; sena; nhanjas; ndaus* and others, including foreign, who play an important role in social, economic and political affairs (Capela 1987).

Therefore, any public policy designed to be inclusive and democratic should take into account these diversities. By incorporating the *shuabo* language in participatory budgeting, the municipality of Quelimane has been demonstrating a progressive view towards the inclusion of the city' diversities. Nonetheless, Quelimane is beyond *shuabo*. There is a need for inclusion of all or at least most of the local languages spoken in the city and province.

At the point where participatory budgeting speaks the languages of the people, they will feel part of the process. Despite greater boldness in social inclusion in the public discussion affairs carried out by the municipal executive, we see this process as having a possible counter-effect. It aims to be inclusive, but, in effect, may reinforce the idea of the privilege of one ethnic group over another.

---

[195] For details about Quelimane's history, see Capela (1987).

**Map 2: The Quelimane municipality**
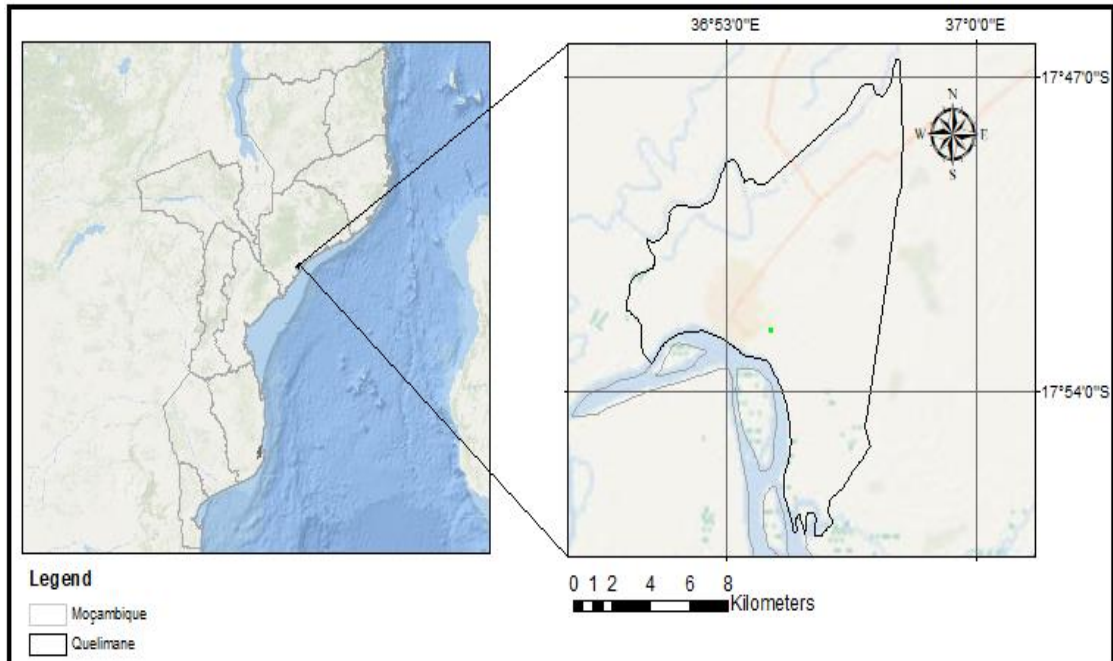


Source: Conceived by Felipe Maciel Paulo Mamédio through data obtained from the CENACARTA website (CENACARTA 2017).

The population of Quelimane is territorially distributed upon ethnic factors, social and economic, political reasons and environmental factors which had a huge impact on their settlement. Perhaps, it makes them one of the most diversified community and a deeply politicised one in Mozambique. Thus, the politico-administrative issues become more sensitive than other municipalities (Monteiro 2011). Therefore, it may explain the reason for being ruled by the opposition party.

Quelimane is among the three municipalities ruled by the Democratic Movement of Mozambique.[196] There, Manuel de Araújo was supported by MDM and stood for town mayor in 2011and got elected with about 63%. The municipality of Beira elected Daviz Simango and Nampula Mahamudo Amurane in 2013. These municipalities have come to the memorable example of political renew and a concrete engagement of the opposition party in Mozambique' political landscape.

The process of citizen participation in urban affairs in Quelimane has been incorporated in the national project of decentralisation since 1998. It is based on regular municipal elections and citizen collaboration. To ensure consensual decisions and shared

---

[196] The *Movimento Democrático de Moçambique* (MDM). In response to the grievances among some Renamo's members, in 2009 a group led by Daviz Simango, the now mayor of Beira established a new political party. This movement has been gaining political visibility in the Mozambique political scenario. Therefore, this movement is ruling in Quelimane, Beira and Nampula.

responsibilities, citizens are invited to join the community consultative councils, community forum on land management, natural resources, urban planning and definition of local priorities, which makes the local citizens quite familiar with the participatory processes.

Citizens' political participation in the construction and development of the Quelimane township is oriented towards the Urban Poverty Reduction Programme (PERPU) through the consultative councils. A number of citizen' participation mechanisms in urban affairs has been experienced there – from informal (based on customary practices)[197] to formal mechanisms implemented by the local government (IDS et al. 2013, p. 2).

Some government initiatives concerning public policy or service delivery have been conducted upon ordinary citizens' engagement. The participatory budgeting initiated in 2014 is part of these and brought a new approach to citizen involvement in the urban affairs (Dias 2015; Dias & Allegretti 2015). By contrary to the prediction of Sherry Arnstein in 1969, towards creating a citizen power upon the participatory process, the Quelimane' participatory budgeting tends to respond a little to that end. This effort, however, could, in theory, facilitate real citizens' decisions on a process of negotiating among residents and with their representative. In practice, it is more complex and "requires time and efforts on the part of the municipal government" (Ostrom 1996, p. 1075).

In 2014, the World Bank, UKAID and the Democratic Governance Support Programme (DIALOGO) had supported the Quelimane' first experiment on participatory budgeting. Under the World Bank orientation, the Associação Inloco from Portugal was hired to provide technical assistance on the conception, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of local participatory (Dias & Allegretti 2015).

## 7.2. Participatory Budgeting in Quelimane

Participatory budgeting emerged in Quelimane under the so-called the second generation of participatory budgeting (Nguenha 2014; Dias 2015), and on the 'second wave of decentralisation in Mozambique' after the Dondo wave of participatory planning (Jamal 2014). In this sense, Quelimane moves beyond a simple form of citizen

---

[197]Further details to this aspect, see IDS et al. (2013).

involvement in the planning issues to a more sophisticated way of discussing plans, public investment priorities as well as the budget involved.

In 2014 and 2015, the municipality of Quelimane launched the first and second PB editions, respectively. There were prioritised two administrative posts in the first year, and three in the second year of participatory budgeting. About 64.197 inhabitants were benefited of 28.000.000 *meticais*[198] within two editions of participatory budgeting (Dias & Allegretti 2015).

Studies done on Quelimane's participatory process have demonstrated that the considerable level of citizen involvement resulted of the role played by the installed institutional and social capital to mobilise the local citizens (IDS et al. 2013; Lalá 2013). These can be of the local government (mass mobilisation by radio, local chiefs, religious leaders and markets) and, that related to the customary practices in which 'unanimously' the local citizens agree to preserve. Essentially, the sense of belonging to a certain area; local culture and traditions; religious issues and local languages (Monteiro 2011).

### 7.2.1. The Participatory Process in Quelimane

In Quelimane, participatory budgeting represents a standing point of consolidation of local democracy. Notably, the capacity of participatory budgeting in aggregating and dealing with the diversity of social groups of the distinctive neighbourhood had granted a status of a powerful mechanism of participatory democracy (Santos 1998b; 2002b; Dias & Allegretti 2015; Macuane & Salim 2016). To materialise Quelimane's participatory budgeting requires a collaboration of a number of stakeholders such as the technical team; the speakers, the participatory budgeting' promoters and the local chiefs, along with and considerable institutional and political arrangements.

---

[198] Mozambique's currency.

**Figure 6: Quelimane's PB chart**
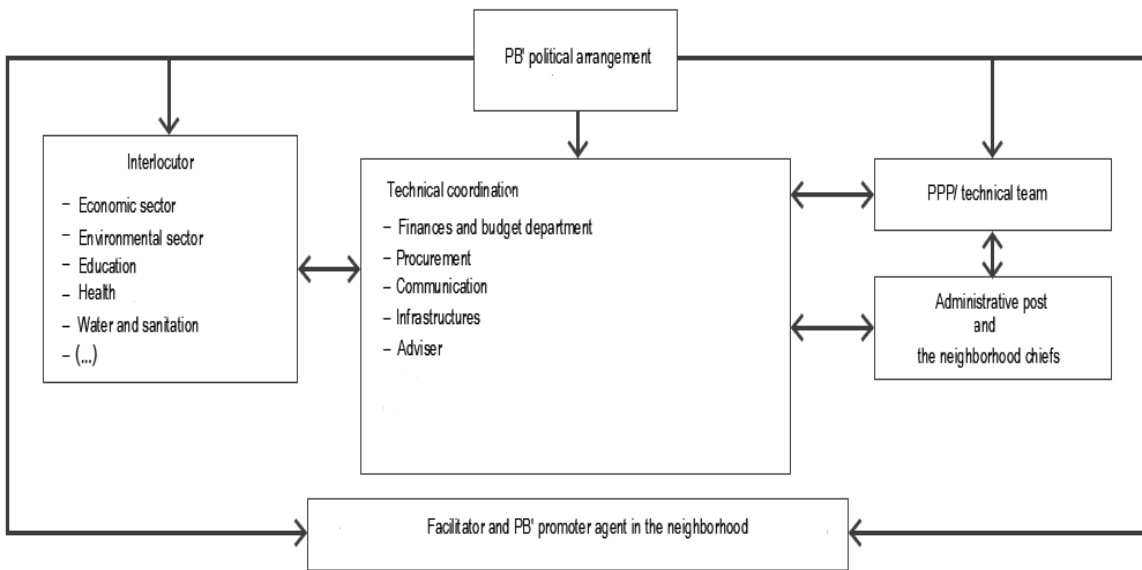
Quelimane's political arrangement with regard to the participatory budgeting consists of three parallel dimensions which converge on the need to involve the local citizens in the process of participatory budgeting. The first dimension concerns the political coordination of the activities which implies executive decisions. The second dimension is directly dependent on the previous political dimension. This is the technical coordination of participatory budgeting made by the PPP. This team has the responsibility and duty to draw methodologies and requirements of participatory budgeting and also to advertise, manage, monitor and to evaluate the entire process of citizen participation. At this level, we found this team advises the participants on issues about financial and budgetary management, procurement and infrastructure. The third dimension is that of the speakers. This aspect entails the state and municipal department responsible for supporting the participatory budgeting through interaction with all stakeholders (Macuácua et al. 2014). This team evolves the municipal officers, the communication adviser and the participatory budgeting' promoters in the local neighbourhood. Also, there is also involved the local state's institutions and departments such as the economic sector; education and health sector; water and sanitation.

### 7.2.2. Budget Information: Implementing Participatory Budgeting in Quelimane

How do local municipalities finance their plans? To answer this question requires understanding the role of the fiscal decentralisation and financial and fiscal autonomy in

Mozambique's municipalisation. In order to respond to the local government functions, generally related to the provision of public services, land and waste management,

> "their resource base follows the logic of integrated fiscal decentralisation: by combining with their entitlement to annual transfers from central government, the local municipalities can 'harvest' their own revenue based on local tax and fees (Municipal Poll Tax – IPA; Municipal Vehicle Tax – IAV; Municipal Property Transfer Tax – ISISA; Municipal Property Tax – IPRA; fee on land use right – DUAT; and on building infrastructure and on Economic Activity – TAE).[199] In addition, the municipality can benefit from the funds placed by the international cooperation agencies, INGOs and a vast number of the existing partners" (Weimer 2012a, p. 1).

This dynamic also occurs in Quelimane, and its performance in responding to the people's expectations is determined by the degree and effective utilisation of the financial, material and human resources. In this respect, the municipality of Quelimane has three sources to finance its budget: a) the central government line. This dimension entails the Intergovernmental Compensation Fund[200] and the fund to the support-building municipal road network,[201] and water distribution fund. Recently there were established the fund for urban poverty alleviation;[202] b) the municipal own-source or the locally-based revenue. This approach encompasses all sources of municipal revenue, which can be of the local tax and fees; c) the donor approach to financial and technical support. The international donors, NGOs, the private sector and the domestic partners can place their resources to the local municipalities. These resources can be of donations, credits or even assets (Chimunuane et al. 2010; Weimer 2012a).

Therefore, the 1/2008 law of 16 January 2008[203] governs on the utilisation of the revenue which consists of two important aspects. The first aspect has to do with regular

---

[199] Among other tax, the local state administration charges the national reconstruction tax – TAE.

[200] In Portuguese, *Fundo de Compensação Autárquica.*

[201] In Portuguese, *Fundo de Estradas.*

[202] This fund is named PERPU – *Programa Estratégico para a Redução da Pobreza Urbana.* This fund is available only to those municipalities in the provincial city. The cases discussed in the present thesis are good example to underline the discriminatory availability of such fund. Just to mention that, contrary to the municipality of Quelimane, the Maxixe municipality is illegible to receive. The official answer for that, is because Maxixe is outside provincial capital city and is already benefiting of the budget for local initiatives, well known OIIL or FDD – Fund for Local Development.

[203] This law governs finance, budgeting and the assets of the local municipalities.

costs of keeping steady the public institutions. This expenditure implies salaries and the purchase of goods and services. The second aspect concerns public investment. This is the ground where participatory budgeting flourishes, which means the opportunity the local citizens have to discuss, define priorities and give an opinion on a significant percentage of the municipal investment budget.[204] Therefore, the municipal government of Quelimane made available about \$460,000[205] to participatory budgeting in 2014 and 2015.

In addition, the earlier mentioned law, the 27 article grants the local municipalities with jurisdiction on some important public fields. Essentially on rural and urban infrastructure, waste and environment management, social housing, electricity distribution, public transportation; primary and elder education, sport and culture and basic health care (CMQ 2017).

### 7.2.3. The Methodologies of Participatory Budgeting

Quelimane's PB consists of a number of institutional arrangements based on two cycles: a) The launching budget cycle. This took place in the second half of 2014, from June to December, and from April to December 2015. This cycle consists of six essential phases: the setting of the procedures; disclosure of relevant information and citizen mobilisation; conceive scenario of the projects and priorities; technical feasibility and decision; assessing the planning and budget; monitoring and process' evaluation. Among this first, is; b) The budget implementation cycle. This is a cross-year cycle and is implemented from October to December of the following year,[206] and entails five important phases: the project conception; the call for tenders and hiring the contractors; project implementation; the project delivery and; monitoring and evaluation (Dias 2014c; Cabannes & Delgado 2015).

### 7.3. The Launching Budget Cycle

Participatory budgeting is a process of bringing together the planning and the budgeting essential to fulfil such planning (Cabannes 2004b). In other words, citizens

---

[204] The percentage directed to PB depends of several factors, such as political will, the budget available for investment, the degree of bottom-up demand to participate. In Quelimane for example, the local municipality had allocated to the 2014 and 2015 edition of PB, about 15,95% of the municipal budget for public investment. Details on Quelimane budgeting, see the box 1 in the appendix.

[205] The United States of America's currency.

[206] For details, see Quelimane's PB guidelines by Dias (2014c) and Dias & Allegretti (2015).

discuss how and in what to spend part of the public investment. In this dimension, the Urban Management Programme executed by the United Nations Human settlement makes several efforts to strength the role of the city in growing economy, social development and reduce poverty (UN-Habitat 2005). The first cycle of Quelimane's participatory budgeting prepares the ground for the next stage of implementation. It is the time to establish the procedures, norms and requirements, budget available and the actors involved and the scope of intervention.

### 7.3.1. Setting the Procedures

The legislation on land and town planning as well as on decentralisation in Mozambique proclaims that, at the municipal level, the objectives of the plans have to be in line with the national government planning objectives and instruments. Therefore, the principles of social and environmental sustainability and local priories have to be acknowledged in order to promote social, economic and territorial integration through active involvement of all stakeholders (19/2007 law of 18 July 2007).

This stage where the process emerges is made up of two important tasks. The first task is the reading of the context and definition of methodology. This process aims to analyse the conditions essential to run a participatory budgeting process; such can be contextual and budget availability. At this stage, there also defines the methodology, the actors involved, the norms and regulations as well as the amount available for the projects.

For the editions of 2014 and 2015, there were 28 million of *Meticais* of which $560,000 was distributed as presented in Table 10. In 2014, $230,000 was allocated to 4 zones, and at least 33,600 people were allowed to present their projects and give their opinion on how to spend the amount. In this edition, priorities were set for public infrastructure, water supply and electricity. In 2015, this experiment was expanded to other 5 zones, covering up to at least 30,500 inhabitants.

**Table 12: The budget allocation to the Quelimane's participatory budgeting**

| | Target | Neigbourhood | Citizens | Budget (MTx1000) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| The first edition - 2014 | Area 1 | Icidua | 9084 | 3500 |
| | Area 2 | sangariveira and 7 de Abril | 7414 | 3500 |
| | Area 3 | Manhava A and B | 16174 | 4500 |
| | Area 4 | Inhangone | 1009 | 2500 |
| Partial total | | | **33681** | **14000** |
| The second edition - 2015 | Area 1 | Cololo and Sampene | 8007 | 3000 |
| | Area 2 | Coalane I and II | 15129 | 3500 |
| | Area 3 | Gogone | 2182 | 2000 |
| | Area 4 | Bazar and Namuinho | 3766 | 3000 |
| | Area 5 | Migano and Mborio | 1432 | 2500 |
| Partial total | | | **30516** | **14000** |
| Grand Total | | | **64197** | **28000** |

Source: Dias & Allegretti (2015, p. 6).

As a fulfilment of the rights to the city, Quelimane's citizens were allowed to present their projects, opinions and contribution with regard to the public infrastructure, facilities and services. To this end, the municipal government of Quelimane invested within two years about 28million *Meticais* of its resources to support the first and second editions of PB and, nearly 64,000 people benefited in nine zones. [207]

The second task in this stage concerns the selection of the technical team responsible for managing, promote, monitor and evaluate the process. In this case, each neighbourhood had elected four individuals (two men and two women) to join the Participatory Monitoring Group. This group of four independent individuals (who are not a member of the local authority, neither municipal officials) has the duty and responsibility to monitor the process of participatory budgeting. They received intensive training in methodologies and project management as well as on the legal framework.

In this dynamic, a number of various partners were involved, including the DIALOGO programme (a network of civil society organisations), groups of volunteers – usually, they are undergraduate students at *Universidade Pedagógica*, media, TV and cultural associations, to advertise and promote the process in order to involve a huge number of people. Both, first and second editions of the Quelimane participatory

---

[207]Details can be found on Dias & Allegretti (2015).

budgeting benefited from the technical assistance of the Associação *Inloco* and the World Bank.

**7.3.2. Disclosing Relevant Information and Mobilising Local Citizens**

Among other factors, disclosing relevant information and mobilising local citizens and other important actors could determine the success of a given participatory project. Therefore, several mechanisms can be used to share information and promote the process within a diversified audience and facilitate the social and political interactions among the actors involved. In 2014, this process was conducted from June and July, and in 2015 it lasted from April to May.

This phase is characterised by launching of participatory budgeting' communication plan, and a promotional campaign carried out by the participatory budgeting' technical coordination team to present and teach the objectives and goals, norms and procedures, as well as the actors involved and their role; the scope and the schedule of participatory budgeting.

In both the 2014 and 2015 editions, booklets, banners and pamphlets were distributed. Also meetings were conducted in at least all administrative posts and neighbourhoods. The main target group is not an ordinary citizen, but civil society organisations seen as strategic partners. This includes a network of local NGOs involved in the programme comprising DIALOGO, KUKUMBI, traditional authorities, and local radio (Rádio Quelimane FM and Nova Rádio Paz).

The participatory budgeting' technical coordination team on behalf of the municipal government applies all resources at its disposal to reach as many stakeholders relevant to this process as possible. In this picture, there are two targeted groups; the strategic partners and the ordinary citizens. Mechanisms were available to strength the communicative capacity of Quelimane's municipal government, such as website,[208] newspaper,[209] Facebook,[210] Twitter[211]and interactive programs by local radio.[212]

---

[208] www.cidadedequelimane.com
[209] *Bons sinais,* e-mail: bonssinais@cidadedequelimane.com
[210]  https://www.facebook.com/conselhomunicipalquelimane/
[211] https://twitter.com/MQuelimane
[212] Rádio Quelimane FM and Nova Rádio Paz.

### 7.3.3. Designing Scenario and Setting Up the Priorities

This is designed to transform a simple idea and opinion into a real project. This step consists of inviting ordinary citizens directly or indirectly involved in a certain issue to discuss solutions to their problems in their neighbourhoods (MUEC 2015). The municipal technical team and the elected deputies, the civil society organisations and the strategic partners, as well as the citizens, join in a public forum to discuss their concerns and public investments priorities through concrete actions.

The degree of citizens' engagement in this phase results from the degree of previous public mobilisation. Although a perfect consensus among citizens is hard or even impossible to reach, "it is possible to bring the divergent view closer together to a common position that satisfies everyone" (MUEC 2015, p. 32). It is believed that communication assets can align the different views.

The officials in charge of preparing and organising the process of participatory budgeting explain and teach the ordinary citizens about the budget available for the current process, the criteria and regulations as well as the scope of the process. Citizens are organised in small randomised groups of about 10 to 15 individuals to brainstorm on what and how to spend the money. The edition of 2014, from July to August, the Quelimane local government allocated $230,000 to the process of participatory budgeting. In this edition, there were prioritised six neighbourhoods, those with a low rate of public service coverage – *Icidua; Sangariveira and 7 de Abril; Manhava A and B; and Inhangone*. The participants outlined projects on infrastructure rehabilitation, roads, water and sanitation, to be included in the municipal budget plan of 2015.

In 2015 from May to June, $230,000 was allocated to other 9 neighbourhoods – and about 30,500 inhabitants living in *Cololo*; *Sampene; Coalane I* and *B; Gogone; Bazar; Namuinho; Migano* and *Mborio* were direct beneficiary. The participants also pointed problems related to infrastructure, water, sanitation and electricity. The proposals presented and voted in the public meetings were registered in the 2016 edition of the municipal budgeting plan.

It means that all proposed projects and solutions needed to be matched with the major municipal planning in order to assure its acceptance and implementation. The other aspect we found is the fact that some of the projects proposed were considered outside the scope of participatory budgeting. While screening the projects and regulations, the facilitators of the meeting encouraged people to focus on common problems rather than individual concerns.

222

### 7.3.4. Securing Technical Feasibility and Making Decision

This is one of the most important steps in the implementation of the projects discussed and elected in the previous phase of participatory budgeting. In order to ensure reasonable and effective decisions upon technical feasibility, the municipal technical team (the PPP) and other experts involved assess the proposals. These can be of the criteria, location and the scope of the project. Usually held in July to October, this process encompasses activities related to the study and analysis of the external context to implement the proposed project.

Ordinary citizens and the proponents may be consulted to clarify/adjust certain aspects or to advise, but the experts reserve the right to judge the feasibility of the advice (Arnstein 1969). It means that even though ordinary citizens draft, vote and decide for the project, the final decision on the project remains a technical decision. For some ordinary people, it may sound problematic, and for others, it can be necessary to add value to the project. The democracy and the idea of free design and creation may become affected.

To respond to this dilemma, Elinor Ostrom proposed coproduction of public policy and the urban plan. The author sees the engagement of all stakeholders (the experts, bureaucrats and ordinary citizens) as essential. The idea of coproduction of public policy or drafting urban plan is narrowly linked to the need for full engagement of those experts in public works and the experts in urban development (the technical team) to reach a consensus (Ostrom 1996; MUEC 2015). The author sees an interdependence among the role played by citizens and the experts. There is a mutual relationship through which the designed and voted proposals in the previous stage benefit from the technical advice to acquire consistency.

The others who attempted to overlap this dilemma is the Montréal Urban Ecology Centre. Since ordinary citizens own the city as an integral element of the city they live, they know better the city's problems than the experts. Both know the problems from different angles and approach differently. The sustainable solutions may result from combined and articulated discussions among the stakeholders involved, whether they are policymakers, experts or ordinary citizens (MUEC 2015).

The other aspect to take into account is the fact that ordinary citizens can be skilled and retired employees, or even jobless but experienced in urban planning and other issues. A collaboration between the actors can be profitable and sustainable for both, citizens and those in power.

223

**7.3.5. Assessing the Planning and Budget**

Planning and budgeting are the most important mechanisms which allow the national and local governments to fulfil its function of providing public services, investment in social and economic infrastructure as well as to respond to the operational process within public administration (Weimer 2012b). The participatory budgeting process is usually designed to match to the government' planning and budgeting.

Assessing plans and budgeting means incorporating participatory budgeting and the respective projects under the general and specific heading. It means that both government budget-based projects and participatory budgeting projects have to be identified and flagged to facilitate public accountability (Dias & Allegretti 2015). It can be used to compare and analyse the practical effects of budget allocation to the participatory budgeting.

A comparative study may be needed to assess and analyse the efficiency between the projects financed under the participatory budgeting and the government budget-based investments. This task of assessing participatory budgeting and its articulations with the government budget is performed through coordination of the finance department with the technical team.

Also, the evaluation and monitoring of the municipal budgeting are extended to participatory budgeting and the government-based investment. The process of public accountability follows the requirements drawn under the laws of finance[213] as well as on land and town planning.[214]

**7.3.6. The Evaluation Process**

This phase aims to assess the effects of the outcomes of the participatory process and compare them to the primary objectives. This stage entails the process of data collection to show the importance and the scope of the actions and allow for corrections when needed (MUEC 2015, p. 43). These data can also be of importance to the future participatory processes in a way that we can learn the good and bad and inspire changes in the future.

---

[213] 9/2002 law of 12 February 2002 and the 23/2004 decree of 20 August 2004.
[214] This aspect is enshrined in article 18 of the 19/2007 law of 18 July 2007.

Evaluation requires an accurate set of mechanisms of technical and procedural accountability designed to monitor and follow up the activities implemented in each phase of the process (Dias & Allegretti 2015). It is necessary to focus on the central features based on a continuous process of communication between the local authorities, the monitoring and evaluation team and also the local citizens.

The evaluation process starts with the conception and launching of the procedures of participatory budgeting. While implementing the distinct phases, the local government and the ordinary citizens. Civil society organisations and a vast array of stakeholders interested in the process perform a midterm review of the activities. It means that ordinary citizens who experience the concern and demand changes need to be heard and involved to determine the adjustments that are required.

### 7.3.7. Sintomer and Arnstein in the Launching Budget Cycle in Quelimane

For the purpose of this case study, we assessed Quelimane participatory budgeting through the guidelines suggested by Sintomer et al. (2012; 2013) based on the transnational models of participatory process and the ladder of participation designed by Arnstein (1969). The analysis presented below is restricted to the first cycle of participatory budgeting – the launching budget cycle. It ranks the degree of participation of each stakeholder in different phases. In the end, it shows the overall weight of the phases.

**Table 13: The stakeholders' participation - Launching Budget Cycle**

| The stakeholders | Phases of the launching budget cycle | | | | | | Grand total | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | Launch the procedure | Informtion | Desgn priority | Technical feasibility | Assessing plans/budget | Monitor/evaluation | Total | % |
| Citizens | 0 | 3 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 10 | 7,352941 |
| The municipal coordination team | 7 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 39 | 28,67647 |
| Administrative Post' representatives | 3 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 18 | 13,23529 |
| Civil Society (Strategic Partners) | 3 | 6 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 18 | 13,23529 |
| *Sec. Bairros* - neighbourhood authority | 3 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 5 | 17 | 12,50 |
| The Participatory Monitoring Group | 3 | 4 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 18 | 13,23529 |
| Finance department | 3 | 0 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 16 | 11,76471 |
| Total | | | | | | | 136 | 100 |

Source: the author

Table 13 shows the degree of stakeholders' participation in the first cycle of Quelimane's participatory budgeting process. The municipal coordination team is leading the process with about 28%. At the bottom of the ladder, there are the citizens with 7.35% of the total participation. These numbers mean that the first cycle of participatory budgeting is primarily oriented to establish procedures, regulations and relations with institutions, particularly those relevant to the process. However, if we look at the table, we can understand that even though participatory budgeting is considered one of the most powerful mechanisms of participatory democracy, in this particular case it fails to achieve that emancipator capacity. Even in the phase of the definition of local priority, citizens are not highly involved.

This is not to say that citizens are not at all involved, but is to point out that the degree of their engagement in the priority definitions is restricted to consultation (level 4 in the Arnstein ladder). Ordinary citizens are consulted about their proposals, opinions and insights. We have to take into account that the budget available for public discussions in both editions is lower than 20% of the total budget.

**Graphic 8: The stakeholders' participation - Launching Budget Cycle**
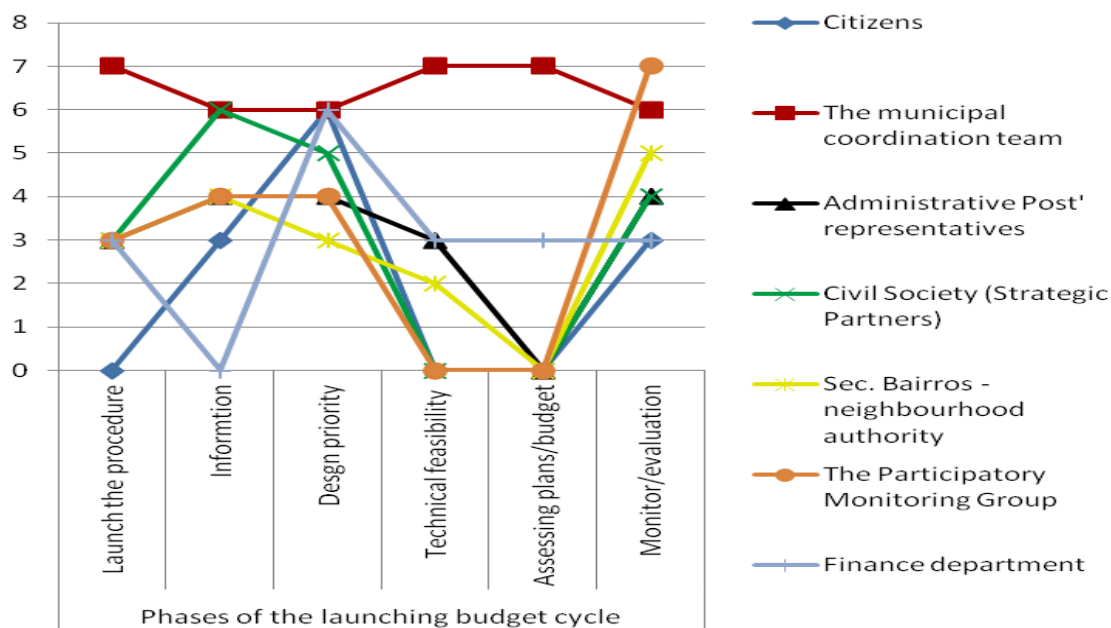


Source: the author

Graphic 8 demonstrate the degree of stakeholders' engagement in the launching cycle. From this perspective, we understand the interconnection among some stakeholders who operates changes under the domain of the municipal coordination team. As highlighted in Table 13, the phase of the design of priority seems to be the one in which

at least all actors converge or tend to converge. It means that participatory budgeting is likely more open to involving all stakeholders (with greater limitations on regulations, laws, procedures and scope) than any other initiative.

Even though the ideas and opinion tend to converge in the phase of underlining the priorities which are converted into projects and ranked through a vote. This process is sent to technical screening, which may change the original idea. Participatory budgeting as a process should be learned as a whole process, not in pieces.

## 7.4. The Cycle of Budgeting Implementation

The second cycle is defined as the effective implementation of the participatory project defined and selected from the previous cycle (Cabannes 2004a; 2004b). This cycle is more technically oriented than the first cycle. Therefore, new actors join the process such as contractors, and individuals or companies in charge of the building, and materialising the project. This cycle consists of five phases: the project conception; the call for tenders and hiring the contractors; project implementation; the project delivery and; monitoring and evaluation (Dias 2014c; Cabannes & Delgado 2015).

### 7.4.1. The conception of the project

This process is similar to the technical feasibility. Every year, from October to December, the municipal department on infrastructure and urbanisation and another specialised department related to the target of the project elected in the previous cycle has a responsibility and technical competence to make all possible arrangement with regard to the project (Dias & Allegretti 2015). Furthermore, the process is sent to the finance department for procurement for tenders to hire contractors and project supervisors.

There is no citizens' involvement in this phase. It means that there are specific skills in infrastructure, budgeting, management as well as legal conditions. However, attending that citizens can be skilled. In line with this, there are a reported experiments in participatory urban planning in Montréal in Canada, where ordinary citizens participated with their technical skills to advise on in specialised issues.[215]

---

[215] For the Canadian experiment, see MUEC (2015).

### 7.4.2. The call for tenders and hiring the contractors

This is another technical phase where the municipal team on infrastructure, water and sanitation, roads and energy and also the procurement department work together to fix the technical specifications and conditions of the offering contracts for tenders. Afterwards follows the call for tenders, evaluation of the proposals and the selection of a bidder and the information for further advance payment of part of the project's total cost.

This process was held in 2014 and 2015 from January to March. In order to identify and hire a contractor for the project, the procurement team establishes the criteria, requirements and all specifications of how the project should be (MUEC 2015). At this phase, the procurement, the technical coordination team, and the finance department were involved to secure the resolution of the contract bill.

### 7.4.3. Project implementation

This step is one of the most important stages for implementing the participatory budgeting process. The proponents and all stakeholders are excited to see their efforts turn into reality that inspires and motivate the local citizens. This year-based activity is usually scheduled for April to December and is preceded by the selection of the project contractors. The contractors must attend and follow carefully the technical specifications and conditions ranked in the tenders and agreed in the contract.

Although the implementation period is established in the guidelines,[216] it can last from a few weeks, months to years, according to the project depending on the complexity and scale of work (MUEC 2015). What is important is to assure that it could not interfere negatively the next edition. According to the project, this step may include cleaning services, planting grass and designing grass yards, building bike paths and even rehabilitation of buildings.

The bureaucrats and officers from the administrative post monitor the evolution of the project and reports monthly to the municipal government. On the other hand, the procurement and the project team are in charge of following up and monitoring the project to secure technical standards and ensure that matches the proposal presented by the project designer. The civil society organisations, ordinary citizens and the

---

[216] *Manual Metodológico do Orçamento Participativo de Quelimane* – The guidelines on Quelimane's participatory budgeting.

participatory monitoring group do advance their commitment to the project by collaborating with the local authorities and other stakeholders.

### 7.4.4. The Project Delivery

This phase consists of unveiling the project and presenting it to the proponents and the local citizens. This process is preceded by an official presentation ceremony in which the municipal officials and the elected boards speak of the need for preservation and a sustainable way of preservation. Thus, a label with writings on participatory budgeting is usually displayed on the project front to make sure that the winning opinion has already become true. In this dimension, at least all stakeholders are involved, from April to December 2014, for the first edition, and in 2015, for the second edition.

However, the degree of their involvement may vary according to their specific role. The role of the elected deputies is more political than technical. They use participatory budgeting and the concomitant project to enhance their influence and legitimacy. In supporting the political discourses, the local administrative bureaucrats (the administrative post chiefs) and the local authority highlights the possible benefits from the project as well as their commitment in keeping the project for long-term preserved. On the other side, there are the citizens. Their commitment at this phase is restricted to consult as a client who receives the product. The practical meaning of this form of participation is to witness the state's generosity in securing their citizens' rights.

Also, the procurement team and the contractors are there to provide technical advice and teach the correct maintenance and follow up of the project. However, the final and correct usage is in the hands of the beneficiaries. People would be more collaborative and care for public investment when they feel part of it.

### 7.4.5. The Process Evaluation and Outcomes

The monitoring and evaluation activities for the first and second edition were observed from January to December 2015 and 2016 respectively. This task is primarily in the hand of the Participatory Monitoring Group; a group selected at the launching step as an independent authority of two men and women residing in the project implementation community.

This stage encompasses essential activities. First is to check if the project matched with the required specifications and characteristics. The participatory monitoring group, ordinary citizens, municipal technical team, and the procurement team check the technical

details of the project delivered and its correlation with the initial idea. The other task concerns the evaluation of the social and economic impact of the project as to whether it serves public needs and responds to the public concerns.

The involvement of the project proponents and the ordinary citizens may be of great advantage by promoting a sense of public ownership,

> "Enhances the feeling of oneness and public ownership of urban development programmes and public policies. Therefore, they demonstrate their affection and happiness by cooperating to preserve the infrastructure. The results include better management of resources; reduction in vandalism and collaborating in voluntary services" (UN-Habitat & MDP 2008a, p. 11).

In addition, citizens would become motivated to pay tax and fees because they take part in the decisions on these funds. In such a way, participatory budgeting can help strengthen the social and political harmony as well as reduce the distance between the citizens and the representatives.

### 7.4.6. Sintomer and Arnstein in the Budget Implementation Cycle in Quelimane

The challenge of conducting a participatory process can be from mobilising citizens, reconciling the oppositions and differences in representing the will of people in the final project (MUEC 2015). Therefore, collaboration among the stakeholders is fundamental to the success of the process. Quelimane's first and second participatory budgeting editions involved significant social and political commitment of local stakeholders.

Similar to the first cycle of participatory budgeting in Quelimane, we analysed the degree of the stakeholders' involvement at different phases of the budget implementation cycle.

**Table 14: The stakeholders' participation - Budget Implementation Cycle**

| The stakeholders | Phases of the budget implementation cycle | | | | | Grand total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Project concption | Call for tenders | Project implementation | Project delivery | Monitor/e valuation | Total | % |
| Citizens | 0 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 9 | 6,47482 |
| Project team (urbanization department) | 7 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 31 | 22,30216 |
| A. Post (bureaucrats and officers) | 0 | 0 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 11 | 7,913669 |
| Civil Society (Strategic Partners) | 0 | 0 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 11 | 7,913669 |
| *Sec. Bairros* - neighbourhood authority | 0 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 11 | 7,913669 |
| The Participatory Monitoring Group | 0 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 7 | 13 | 9,352518 |
| Finance department | 6 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 18 | 12,94964 |
| Procurement team | 6 | 7 | 6 | 6 | 0 | 25 | 17,98561 |
| Contractors | 0 | 0 | 6 | 4 | 0 | 10 | 7,194245 |
| Total | | | | | | 139 | 100 |

Source: the author

Table 14 shows the degree of participation of the existing stakeholders in the second cycle of participatory budgeting in Quelimane. The ranking places the municipal professionals and elected deputies with 22%, and the ordinary citizens with just 6%. This cycle is claimed to be technically-oriented (Dias & Allegretti 2015). This assumption is confirmed as most of the actors who ranked well are those with special expertise and municipal affiliations. The finance department recorded 12.95% and the procurement team 17.99%.

**Graphic 9: The stakeholders' participation - Budget Implementation Cycle**
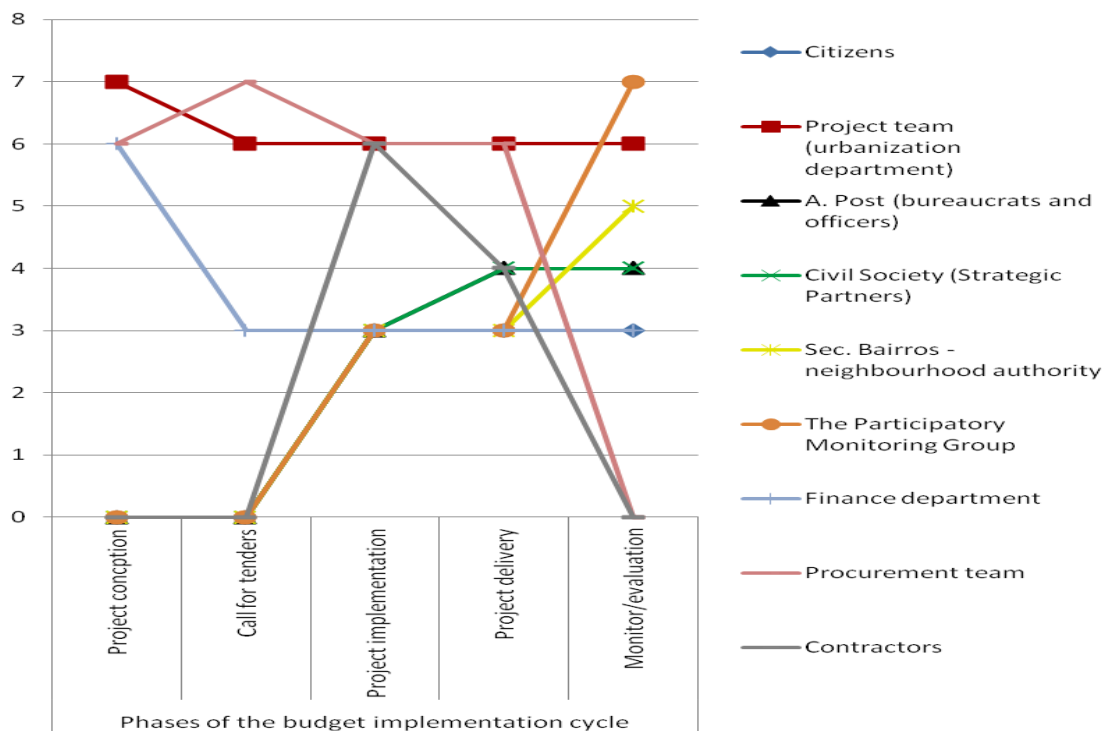


Source: the author

Graphic 9 shows how dispersed the stakeholders are in this cycle. It demonstrates a remarkable interaction among these (stakeholders) who performs technical tasks. This scenario is notable from the phase of project delivery up to the monitoring and evaluation phase. The other aspect to take into account is that the Participatory Monitoring Group is highly involved in its duty and their degree of participation varies from rank 3 to 7 in the Arnstein ladder.

# CONCLUSION

## Stating the outcomes

Due to the internal and external demands for changes in politics, most African states have implemented political and administrative reforms. The particular quest of these reforms is the incorporation of customary practices into official politics, with the goal that particular African modernity came into being. However, this African modernity is characterised by the colonial legacy, the postcolonial state political patterns and customary-based dynamics.

In this environment, participatory processes would only acquire meaning if contextualised to specific jurisdiction, social environment and political contingency. If we want to see profitable changes in the light of citizen involvement in the creation, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the urban affairs and meaningful institutional changes to secure right to the city and provide a better public service, it is important to re-invent the current mechanisms of citizen participation as well as re-discover new administrative methods and emancipator patterns through which the local citizens would substantially penetrate the local decision-making forum. The current mechanisms have demonstrated limitations in dealing with a range of social, political and economic contexts and practices, and also failed to provide a neutral reading of different realities.

The national government of Mozambique has been implementing participatory mechanisms into the administrative routine to enforce horizontal accountability (in relation to the state institutions and to the ruling party – Frelimo) and a vertical accountability (in relation to the citizens). Therefore, the Sintomer models of participatory budgeting make sense. Given the orientation of the bureaucratic models of the state, Sintomer can be suitable to analyse participatory budgeting not only in Europe but also in Africa.

However, the situation changes when participatory budgeting aims *de facto* to create active citizenship and ensure local democracy. In this picture, many factors came to the scene, and accountability of the state representative could not be the core objective (Paul 2011). The logic and the structure of the state are established under administrative procedures which requires follow up, control and accountability. However, the logic of

citizenship means beyond a simple process of policing the state, it is a conscience' development and constant social and political evolution of the mass.

These structures of decentralisation of power implemented in Mozambique are replicated at different levels of the government – regional, local and municipal level. The formal interpretation of this accountability approach to modern governance rests on the need to enhance political legitimacy and prevent abuse of authority by political leaders. Nonetheless, the weak performance of the local government in relation to its jurisdictions is evident. Particularly issues concerning tax collection and management (Weimer 2012a); prevention of corruption (Nuvunga et al. 2007) and institutional capacity (Machohe 2015). In the general view, the notion of public accountability has no binding force. It is used as mere opinions and challenges for the next term.

Under these circumstances, the meaning and purpose of the local mechanisms of public accountability through a participatory process in Mozambique are questioned in a way that the existing law reinforces the need for accountability of public funds and activities, but in practice, the scenario is the opposite.

Human rights, democracy and urban development, are evident components of justice and peace. To realise these ideals, it is important to involve local citizens. The municipal government achieve this goal only when interacts continuously with their citizens – those who have the political legitimacy to delegate power to individuals as political boards.

The local delegates and representatives are legally and morally accountable for their acts. The case of Maxixe and other situations around emergent democratic countries shows that public accountability remains a fragile and formal process. The citizen participation in Maxixe is aligned with participatory planning, the process in which citizens are asked to participate in different phases of urban development. Citizens are represented by the local consultative councils, local delegates and religious leaders who stand to discuss the community aspirations aligned with the official planning instruments.

On the other side of the equation are the public participation' professionals (PPP) who draft, conduct, support and monitor the whole participatory process. Those individuals and groups are constituted by an interdisciplinary board of civil servants from distinct specialisation and different fields to act as process facilitators. In almost all local

government in Mozambique, the PPP's task is assigned to the local planning technical group.[217]

To complete the triangle, there are the local bureaucrats, deputies, and mayor. These individuals apply diverse strategies to get and maintain their posts at two levels – at their political party level of confidence; and at the level of public legitimacy. In fact, whether they adopted the two line accountability (horizontal and vertical) to secure, cohesive political stability is a question addressed further (Bratton & Walle, 1997). To assure and rebuild their party reliance as well as to secure their seats, the politicians do whatever must be done.

The conflict among decentralisation, deconcentration and the model implemented by the central government to control the district and municipal government is an unexplored aspect and a fertile ground for further research in issues of relational, political conflicts in Mozambique. In this regard, we understand that the struggle for human rights is not unique to Mozambicans or Africans. In Latin America and North America, Europe and Asia, there were experienced a number of creative methods of struggle over human dignity and social changes. Many of those, however, has been delivered under the idea of a state moved "by the people and for the people"; by the failure of the state in securing public aspirations; or even by the low rate of social justice and also the lack of inclusive social policies.

The ongoing process of decentralisation in many African countries has to be critically analysed with a view to incorporating local communities (particularly, rural communities) to dialogue with the national government. So, the project of reforming national policies to fulfil the different public aspirations takes us to a permanent questioning process of the model of the state and the type of citizenship in Africa.

**Making recommendations**

The urban planning (decentralised planning) implemented in Maxixe and the participatory budgeting, applied to Quelimane are different but not incompatible with basic democratic principles and practices.

It is important to understand to what extent participatory budgeting contributes to decentralisation of a certain jurisdiction, or vice-versa. The literature on democracy states

---

[217] Translation by the author from the original Portuguese – *Conselho ou Grupo Técnico de Planificação*.

that participatory budgeting flourishes in a local democratic environment, or at least, in a forum which allows people to interact with policymakers.

In this perspective, democratic decentralisation is part of the road to democracy. It can also push for state-citizens relations. This correlation between state power, citizens and administration of the territories could pave the grounds for participatory public policies. In order to assure a balanced and horizontal power relation in the decision-making forum. To enhance the citizen capacity to negotiate their demands is essential for people to come together around a certain issue. It means that as we demonstrated earlier, grouped citizens have more power to influence public policies than otherwise.

Both for Maxixe and Quelimane, this research recommends that the existing mechanisms to ensure the right to the city and active citizenship should be maximised and all stakeholders have to be included –according to the limits of their competencies and domain. In addition, there are essential aspects to take into account. As we mentioned elsewhere in this thesis we proposed solutions to the problems linked to decentralisation in Mozambique:

a) The reduction of fiscal asymmetries. This could contribute to the maximisation of the benefits derived from the marginal increase of tax. It means that the lower level government can search and accurately determine new tax sources and make use of that.

b) Deepening public accountability and mechanisms to recall members of parliament and institutions (strengthen the recall system). To respond to this, it is important to ensure and build local active citizenship. A local socio-political capacity of the civil society organisation and ordinary people (collective citizenship) – to stand and push for social justice and sustainable well-being of the majority of the population. This has to be accompanied by state engagement and political will.

c) Public participation in the governance issues and the city has to be considered a full human right. Human rights exist upon the relation between the states and individuals or groups. If human rights bound all individuals because of human dignity, public participation mean fulfilling the political dignity. Human beings as a member of a politically organised society should have the right to participate in the social, economic and political life. As we demonstrated, the concept of human rights and several instruments on human rights (national and international) place humans (human dignity) and the state at the core of the meaning of human rights. The interrelation among them defines the violation and the fulfilment of human rights. When individuals are

participating in governance as taking control of the social contract, they are enjoying their human rights to participate in government affairs.

d) De-bureaucratise public administration and promote local emancipatory initiatives matched with the local contexts. The state bureaucracy tends to exacerbate the logic of the *Leviathan* state, where the power is unquestionable. Mozambique's decentralisation follows the central state's administrative structure and procedures. The central state attempts to apply one model and structure of power for different levels (one size fits all), fails to understand the local contexts. The process of decentralisation of Mozambique is a top-down mechanism which aims to incorporate local citizens in a bottom-up response. However, the lower level jurisdictions have characteristics which do not align with the central state structure.

Therefore, decentralisation in Mozambique should be assigned according to local specificities and capacities. The local tradition and practices can be useful to balance the political power and enhance citizens' engagement in discussing local problems and finding solutions.

**Final Remarks**

At the end of this road into the process of decentralisation, a part of which is participatory budgeting, what have we learned about citizen participation in local affairs in Mozambique? Alternatively, what are the central aspects of citizen participation in Mozambique? As we discussed throughout this thesis, we found some considerable aspects across the Maxixe urban planning process and the participatory budgeting in Quelimane:

a) The participatory processes, including participatory budgeting are applied to modernise the internal and administrative procedures within public administration structures. As shown earlier, engaging people in collective political action was promoted under the frame of the law.[218]

b) Participatory budgeting deepens and consolidates decentralisation. It allows people to express their needs, demands and concerns, thereby promoting local democracy and assuring public accountability. It, however, fails to educate and provide local citizens with the technical skills and capacity to ensure informed and quality outcomes. The

---

[218] The law on decentralisation (2/97 of 18 February 1997), and the law on land and town planning (19/2007 of 18 July 2007).

process remains 'imprisoned' in the hierarchical power relations among local actors. This is the reason why the local elite and bureaucrats who result from the process of decentralisation tend to manipulate citizens for their benefits.

c) The implementation of citizen participation initiatives in local affairs helps to reduce conflict between the local government and the local communities. By involving local citizens, civil society organisations and a range of actors in the process of consultation, the local government works to reach fair and consensual results based on the information. As mentioned, the different actors behave differently in each phase of the plans.

d) The participatory processes are oriented to respond to the "donors' rights to transparency" in budgetary management. The process through which the good governance principles are used to support decentralisation is in line with the millennium development goals established by the United Nation (UN-Habitat & MDP 2008). The local initiatives to involve citizens in co-produced policies (by citizens and the municipal governments) and consensual development planning is much more focused to secure and maintain relations with the International Community and donors than to respond to the citizen rights to participate in urban development or increase the level of local democracy (Sintomer et al., 2012). In this regard, participatory budgeting may represent a formal management procedure which creates an 'illusion of public transparency'.

e) The citizens' involvement in the local economic development encompasses the logic of representative democracy, in which the rural and urban communities are represented by their chiefs, influential individuals in the local consultative councils, municipal assemblies and local forums.

f) The process of citizen participation in both municipal planning and participatory budgeting is oriented to 'consultation' with citizens or hearing from them about their demands and opinions. In fact, there are no expressive budget discussion or public investments details. The only things that happen are the dissemination of information about what should be done and how, as well as the consolidation of the manifesto of the ruling party at the municipal level. While Frelimo applies strategies to consolidate and realise its manifesto, in Quelimane it happens with MDM.

The public consultation process attempts to grant public legitimacy of private and public investment projects. People may be asked to give their opinions and insights about a given project, just to legitimate the process and reduce the possible conflicts of interests between local communities and investors who aim to use a significant amount of land.

When it comes to private business, the local government equalises the interests of the local communities and those of the investors. However, very often, the local government is accused of being lobbyists and protecting the interests of the private sector and the foreign investors against the local community interests.

On the other hand, when it comes to public business, the local government initiated a participatory process to inform the beneficiary communities about what, how and when a specific project will take place. In this regard, the government shares 'superficial' or basic information about the project such as the budget allocated, the costs involved, the beneficiaries, the need for resettlement of the affected people as well as the idea of direct and indirect benefits in employment and infrastructure. To some extent, as we mention in the case of Mabil 2 in Maxixe, the municipal government attend the consultation process after the implementation of the project just to fulfil administrative and legal formalities.

This approach to public participation places citizens out of genuine deliberations. Thus, citizens are seen by the municipal government as a mere beneficiary of public services and clients of their representatives. It means that citizens are *the objects* of the discourses on the participatory process rather than the *subject* (de facto) of those processes. By doing so, participatory budgeting in Mozambique is not necessarily linked to the local economic development, neither does it secure the citizens' rights to participate in the conception and development of the city. It is oriented to enhance public confidence in relation to local government and to shape the donors/government relations through formal transparency and accountability.

In addition, the rigid and non-flexible adopted structure of the political party manifesto converted into the strategic plans of the local government may have an impact on the whole process of public consultation. It, therefore, becomes difficult to influence and demand changes to the plans already converted into an official document. Citizens are not necessarily deciding local issues and public investment priorities; their concerns and demands are not taken into unless those demands fill into the local government planning instruments.

Therefore, there are considerable contradictions between the outlined objective of the planning process assigned to the promotion of a sustainable social and economic development enshrined in the Constitution and the way in which this objective is pursued. In the case of direct participation, the process is engaged in seeking the citizens' opinions about a given topic or informing them about a relevant concern and priority, but not to deliberate with citizens. This is what Arnstein (1969) called the symbolic participation or

the formal legitimacy of the planning and activities. Under this domain, citizens are powerless to influence and change the decision already taken by their representatives.

In fact, the participatory process in Mozambique is no more than a local community representation-based platform in which citizens are represented through their traditional chiefs, religious leaders and influential individuals to form the local consultative councils to interact with local governments. Nevertheless, what must be clear is that the public consultation is necessary, but not a sufficient condition to promote and secure full citizen participation in urban development. It is important to move beyond a simple consultative approach to a joint deliberative process in the decision-making forum. We mean an approach which combines direct and representative democracy could guarantee the right to the city and local economic development.

# Bibliography

Abers, R., 2000. *Inventing local democracy: grassroots politics in Brazil*, Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Abrahamsson, H. & Nilsson, A., 1995. *Mozambique, the troubled transition: from socialist construction to free market capitalism*, London: Zed Books.

Afrimap, 2009. *Moçambique: Democracia e participação Política*, London and Johanesburg.

Alao, A., 2007. *Natural resources and conflict in Africa: the tragedy of endowment*. University of Rochester Press.

Allegretti, G., 2014. Paying attention to the participants' perceptions in order to trigger a virtuous circle. In N. Dias, Ed. *Hope For Democracy: 25 Years Of Participatory Budgeting Worldwide*. São Brás de Alportel: Associação Inloco, pp. 47–64.

Allegretti, G. & Herzberg, C., 2004. *Participatory budgets in Europe Between efficiency and growing local democracy*, Amsterdam.

Alves, M.L. & Allegretti, G., 2012. (In)Stability, a key element to understand participatory budgeting: Discussion Portuguese cases. *Journal of Public Deliberation*, 8 (2), pp. 1–19.

ANAMM, 2009. *Perfil das primeiras 33 autarquias de Moçambique*, Maputo: ANAMM.

ANAMM; MAE & WB, 2009. *Desenvolvimento Municipal em Moçambique: Lições da Primeira Década*, Maputo: ANAMM & MAE.

Andrade, A., 1955. *Relações de Moçambique Setecentista*, Lisboa: Agência Geral das Colónias.

António, E. & Hunguana, C., 2014. *Relatório do Estudo sobre Género no Ensino Superior em Moçambique*, Maputo.

Araújo, M.G.M., 2003. Os Espaços Urbanos em Moçambique. *GEOUSP - Espaço e Tempo, São Paulo*, (14), pp. 165–182.

Arendt, H., 1958. *The Human Condition*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Arendt, H., 1972. *Crises of the Republic*, New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Arendt, H., 2004. *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, New York: Knopf.

Arévalo, K.M. & Ljung, M., 2006. Action Research on Land Management in the Western Amazon, Peru – A Research Process, Its Outcomes and the Researcher's Role. *Systemic Practice and Action Research*, 19 (4), pp. 309–324.

Armstrong, D.M., 1970. The Nature of Mind. In C. V Borst, Ed. *The MindfBrain Identity Theory*. London: Macmillan.

Arnstein, S., 1969. A Ladder Of Citizen Participation. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 35 (4), pp. 216–224.

Arnstein, S., 1972. Maximum feasible manipulation. *Public Administration Review*, 32, pp. 377–390.

Arnstein, S., 1975. A working model for public participation. *Public Administration Review*, 35 (1), pp. 70–73.

Asante, S.K.B., 1969. Nation Building and Human Rights in Emergent African Nations. *Cornell International Law Journal*, 2 (1), pp. 72–107.

Avritzer, L., 2002. Modelos de deliberação democrática: uma análise do orçamento participativo no Brasil. *Democratizar a democracia: os caminhos da democracia participativa*, pp.561–598.

Avritzer, L., 2006. New public spheres in Brazil: Local democracy and deliberative politics. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 30 (3), pp. 623–637.

AWEPA, 1997. Local elections in 33 cities. *Mozambique Peace Process Bulletin*, (18),

p.12.

Bachrach, P., 1980. *The theory of democratic elitism: a critique*, University Press of America.

Badie, F., 1992. *L'État Importé: L'occidentalisation de L'ordre Politique*, Paris: Fayard.

Baia, A.H.M., 2009. *Os Conteúdos da Urbanização em Moçambique: considerações a partir da cidade de Nampula*. Universidade de São Paulo.

Bauer, S.W., 2007. *The History of the Ancient World: From the Earliest Accounts to the Fall of Rome*, New York and London.

Bayart, J.-F., 1989. *L'État en Afrique: La Politique du Ventre*, Paris: Fayard.

Berlin, I., 1958. *Two Concepts of Liberty: An inaugural lecture delivered before the University of Oxford on 31 October 1958*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bernstein, E.M. & Black, S.W., 1991. *A Levite among the priests: Edward M. Bernstein and the origins of the Bretton Woods system*, Colorado: Westview Press.

Bhabha, H.K., 2003. Democracy De-realized. *Diogenes*, 50 (1), pp. 27–35.

Blair, H., 2000. Participation and Accountability at the Periphery: Democratic Local Governance in Six Countries. *World Development*, 28 (1), pp. 21–39.

Blair, H., 2012. *Participatory Budgeting and Local Governance*, Visby.

Bolnick, B. & Byiers, B., 2009. *PARPA II Review — The Tax System in Mozambique*, Maputo.

Bonet, A.A.J., 2008. Globalización neoliberal, ciudadanía y democracia. Reflexiones críticas desde la teoría política de Boaventura de Sousa Santos. *Nómadas. Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociales y Jurídicas*, 20(4), p.18.

Bourmaud, D., 1997. *La politique en Afrique*, Paris: Montchrestien.

Bovens, M., 2006. Analysing and Assessing Public Accountability. A Conceptual Framework. In *European Governance Papers (EUROGOV) No. C-06-01, http://www.connex-network.org/ eurogov/pdf/egp-c onnex-C-06-01.pdf.*

Branco, M.C., 2009. Economics Against Human Rights: The Conflicting Languages of Economics and Human Rights. *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 20 (1), pp. 88–102.

Bratton, M. & Van de Walle, N., 1994. Neopatrimonial Regimes and Political Transitions in Africa. *World Politics*, 46 (4), pp. 453–489.

Bratton, M. & Van de Walle, N., 1997. *Democratic experiments in Africa: regime transitions in comparative perspective*, Cambridge University Press.

de Brito, L., 2013. Breve Reflexão Sobre Autarquias, Eleições e Democratização. In L. de Brito et al., Eds. *Desafios para Moçambique 2013*. Maputo: IESE, pp. 23–37.

Bryson, J.M., 2004. What to do when Stakeholders matter. *Public Management Review*, 6 (1), pp. 21–53.

Bryson, J.M., Crosby, B.C. & Bryson, J.K., 2009. Understanding Strategic Planning and the Formulation and Implementation of Strategic Plans as a Way of Knowing: The Contributions of Actor-Network Theory. *International Public Management Journal*, 12 (2), pp. 172–207.

Buur, L., 2009. The Politics of Gradualismo: Popular Participation and Decentralised Governance in Mozambique. In O. Törnquist, N. Webster, & K. Stokke, Eds. *Rethinking Popular Representation*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, pp. 99–118.

Cabaço, J.L., 1996. The long march of Mozambican democracy. In B. Mazula, Ed. *Mozambique: elections, democracy and development*. Maputo: Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, pp. 75–117.

Cabannes, Y., 2004a. *72 frequently asked questions about participatory budgeting.* UGTS., Quito: UN-Habitat.

Cabannes, Y., 2004b. Participatory Budgeting: Conceptual Framework and Analysis of its

Contribution to Urban Governance and the Millenium Development Goals. *(UN Habitat UMP LAC Series 140 , pp. 1-65 ). UN-Habitat: Nairobi.*

Cabannes, Y., 2015. The impact of participatory budgeting on basic services: municipal practices and evidence from the field. , 27 (1), pp.257–284.

Cabannes, Y. & Delgado, C., 2015. *Another City is Possible: Alternatives to the City as Commodity - Participatory Budgeting*, Montreal: Black Rose Books.

Cabannes, Y. & Lipietz, B., 2015. Working Paper Series 2015 Participatory Budgeting. , 44(15).

Cabral, A., 1976. *Unidade e Luta*, Lisbon: Seara Nova.

Cabral, A., 1977. *Unidade e Luta*, Lisbon: Seara Nova.

Canhanga, N. de J.V., 2008. Os desafios da descentralização e a dinâmica da planificação participativa na configuração de agendas políticas locais. In L. de Brito et al., Eds. *Cidadania e Governação em Moçambique*. Maputo: IESE, pp. 90–118.

Canotilho, J.J.G., 2003. *Direito Constitucional e Teoria da Constituição* 7. Ed., Coimbra: Almedina.

Canotilho, J.J.G., 2005. Pode o referendo aperfeiçoar a democracia? In V. Moreira, Ed. *Crise e Reforma da Democracia*. Lisbon: Edições Colibri.

Capela, J., 1987. *As Burguesias Portuguesas e Abolição do Tráfico de Escravatura 1810-1842* 1ªa Ed. Centro de Estudos Africanos da Universidade do Porto, Ed., Porto: Afrontamentos.

Carrier, J.G., 1995. *Occidentalism: images of the West*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Carter, I., 2016. *Positive and Negative Liberty* Fall 2016. E. N. Zalta, Ed., Stanford: Stanford University.

Castel-Branco, C.N., 2010. Pobreza, Riqueza e Dependência em Moçambique. *Cadernos IESE*, 3, p.31.

Castel-Branco, C.N., 2012. PARP 2011-2014: Contradições, Tensões e Dilemas. In L. de Brito et al., Eds. *Desafios para Moçambique 2012*. Maputo: IESE, pp. 105–116.

Castel-Branco, C.N., 2015. Review of African Political Economy Growth, capital accumulation and economic porosity in Mozambique: social losses, private gains., (February), pp.37–41.

Castela, T. & Meneses, M.P., 2015. Naming the Urban in Twentieth-Century Mozambique: Towards Spatial Histories of Aspiration and Violence. In C. N. Silva, Ed. *Urban Planning in Lusophone African Countries*. Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, pp. 215–224.

CENACARTA, 2017. Bases de Dados Geográficos.

Chabal, P., 1992. *Power in Africa: An Essay in Political interpretation.*, Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Chabal, P., 2009. *Africa: the politics of suffering and smiling*, KwaZulu-Natal & London: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press & Zed Books.

Chabal, P. & Daloz, J.-P., 1999. *Africa works: disorder as political instrument*, Oxford & Bloomington: International African Institute in association with James Currey, Oxford.

Charmaz, K., 2006. *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide Through Qualitative Analysis* D. Silverman, Ed., London: Sage Publisher.

Cheng, A.. et al., 2015. Examining the Adaptability of Collaborative Governance Associated with Publicly Managed Ecosystems Over Time: Insights from the Front Range Roundtable Colorado, USA. *Ecology and Society*, 20 (1), pp. 35–49.

Chichava, S., 2008. Orçamento Participativo: Um instrumento de Democracia Participativa. *Boletim Ideias*, (3).

Chigbu, U.E. et al., 2017. Combining land-use planning and tenure security: a tenure

responsive land-use planning approach for developing countries. *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, 568 (August), pp.1–18.

Chimunuane, O., Hassam, M. & Weimer, B., 2010. *Estudo sobre potencial tributário no município da vila de Marromeu*, Washington, DC: The World Bank.

Chiziane, E., 2008. Um olhar sobre o Futuro da Descentralização em Moçambique – As Reformas Necessárias. In G. Cistac & E. Chiziane, Eds. *10 Anos de Descentralização em Moçambique: Os caminhos sinuosos de um processo emergente*. Maputo: Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, pp. 136–172.

Chiziane, E., 2011. *The Trends of Recentralization of the Administrative Power in Mozambique.*, Maputo: Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, Imprensa Universitária.

Cistac, G., 2012. *Moçambique: Institucionalização, organização e problemas do poder local*, Lisboa.

CMQ, 2015. *Orçamento Participativo de Quelimane*, Quelimane.

CMQ, 2017. Jornal Municipal - Bons Sinais. *Planificação Participativa: Munícipes elegem infra-estruturas como prioridade*, p.8.

Comiche, J., As cidades como motores de desenvolvimento. In *O Papel das Cidades no Desenvolvimento do País. Maputo/Moçambique.* Washington, D.C: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, pp. 49–55.

Corbin, J. & Strauss, A., 1990. Grounded Theory Research: Procedures, Canons, and Evaluative Criteria. *Qualitative Sociology*, 13 (1), pp. 3–21.

Corsi, C., 2012. A First Important Experience in Participatory Democracy in Italy: Region of Tuscany Law No. 69 on 27 December 2007 by. , 4 (69), pp. 191–207.

Crawford, G. & Andreassen, B.A., 2016. Human Rights and Development: Putting Power and Politics at the Center. *Human Rights Quarterly*, 37 (3), pp. 662–690.

Crosby, B.C. & Bryson, J.M., 2010. Integrative leadership and the creation and maintenance of cross-sector collaborations. *The leadership quarterly: LQ; an international journal of political, social and behavioral science*, 21 (2).

Crosby, N., Kelly, J.M. & Schaefer, P., 1986. Citizen Panels: A New Approach to Citizen Participation. *Public Administration Review*, (46), pp. 170–178.

Cruz e Silva, T., 2003. *A organização dos trabalhadores do sector informal dos mercados de Maputo e sua acção na promoção de melhores condições de vida e de trabalho,*

Cummings, L. & Anton, R., 1990. The logical and appreciative dimensions of accountability. In S. Srivastva & D. Cooperrider, Eds. *Appreciative Management and Ladership: The power of positive thought and action in organizations.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Cunha, T., 2011. A arte de xiticar num mundo de circunstnâncias não ideais. In *Ensaios pela Democracia: Justiça, Dignidade e Bem-viver*. Porto: Afrontamento, pp. 73–97.

Dahl, R.A., 1971. *Polyarchy; participation and opposition,* Cumberland: Yale University Press.

Dang, G. & Sui Pheng, L., 2015. *Infrastructure Investments in Developing Economies: The Case of Vietnam*, Singapore: Springer Singapore.

Delgado, C., 2011. Convergências e divergências na representação da cidade para 'todos': a visão dos políticos, dos técnicos e dos cidadãos. *Sociologia, Revista da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto*, XXII, pp.73–94.

Diário de Notícias, 2011. UNICEF condemns sexual initiation rites in Mozambique. *Globo*.

Diário de Notícias, 2017. Moçambique prevê registar 27 milhões de habitantes, mais 30% que no último censo. *Internacional*.

Dias, N., 2014a. 25 years of Participatory Budgets in the World: a new social and

political movement? In N. Dias, Ed. *Hope For Democracy: 25 Years of Participatory Budgeting Worldwide*. São Brás de Alportel: Associação Inloco, pp. 21–27.

Dias, N., 2014b. A decade of Participatory Budgeting in Portugal: a winding but clarifying path. In N. Dias, Ed. *Hope For Democracy: 25 Years Of Participatory Budgeting Worldwide*. São Brás de Alportel: Associação Inloco, pp. 325–352.

Dias, N., 2014c. *Orçamento participativo de Quelimane: Manual Metodológico*, São Brás de Alportel: Associação In Loco.

Dias, N., 2015. *Orçamentos Participativos e Planificação Participativa: propostas de diferenciação e articulação metodológicas*, São-Brás de Alportel: Associação Inloco.

Dias, N. & Allegretti, G., 2015. *Orçamento participativo de Quelimane: Manual Metodológico*, São Brás de Alportel: Associação In Loco.

Donnelly, J., 2013. *Universal Human Rights in theory and practice* 3th Ed., New York: Cornell University Press.

Dornbusch, R., Fischer, S. & Startz, R., 2014. *Macroeconomics*, New York: McGraw-Hill Education.

Duignan, P. & Jackson, R.H. Eds., 1986. *Politics & government in African states*, London: Croom Helm.

Edwards, J. & Fraser, K., 1983. Concept maps as reflections of conceptual understanding. *Research in Science Education*, (13), pp. 19–26.

El-Khawas, M.A. & Ndumbe, J.A., 2006. *Democracy, diamonds and oil: politics in today's Africa*, New York: Nova Science Publishers.

Faehndrich, M., 2012. Decentralization and Local Councils in Mozambique: Overcoming the Institutional Constraints on Democratic Local Governance. *Essay on Development Policy*, NADEL MAS (2010–2012.).

Faehndrich, M. & Nhantumbo, I., 2013. *Advancing Accountability through Conselhos Consultivos in Mozambique: PROGOAS Case Study*, London.

Faguet, J.-P., 2004. Does decentralization increase government responsiveness to local needs? *Journal of Public Economics*, 88 (3–4), pp. 867–893.

Faguet, J.-P., 2014. Decentralization and Governance. *World Development*, 53, pp. 2–13.

Falleti, T., 2005. A Sequential Theory of Decentralization: Latin American Cases in Comparative Perspective. *American Political Science Review*, 99 (3), pp. 327–346.

Falleti, T., 2010. *Decentralization and Subnational Politics in Latin America*,

Falola, T., 2003. *The Power of African Cultures*, New York: University of Rochester Press.

Faria, F. & Chichava, A., 1999. Descentralização e Cooperação descentralizada em Moçambique.

Fedozzi, L., 2001. *Orçamento participativo. Reflexões sobre a experiência de Porto Alegre*, Tomo Editorial.

Fernandes, T.M., 2007. Descentralizar é fragmentar? Riscos do pluralismo administrativo para a unidade do Estado em Moçambique. *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, 77(June), pp.151–164.

Fernandes, T.M., 2009. *O Poder Local em Moçambique: Descentralização, Pluralismo Jurídico e Legitimação*, Porto: Afrontamento.

Fischer, F., 1992. Participatory Expertise: Toward the democratization of policy science. In W. Dunn & R. Kelly, Eds. *Advances in Policy Studies since 1950*. New Brunswick: Transaction Press, pp. 351–376.

Fischer, F., 1993. Citizen participation and the democratization of policy expertise: From theoretical inquiry to practical cases. *Policy Sciences*, 26 (3), pp. 165–187.

Floridia, A., 2007. La democrazia deliberativa, dalla teoria alle procedure. Il caso della legge regionale toscana sulla partecipazione", Istituzioni del federalismo. *Rivista di studi giuridici e politici*, (5), pp.603–681.

Floridia, A., 2008. Democrazia deliberativa e processi decisionali: la legge della Regione Toscana sulla partecipazione. *Stato e mercato*, 82, pp.84–110.

Floridia, A., 2010. Idee e modelli di partecipazione. Il caso della legge Toscana. In U. Allegretti, Ed. *Democrazia partecipativa. Esperienze e prospettive in Italia e in Europa*. Florence: Firenze University Press, pp. 89–11.

Forquilha, S.C., 2010. Reformas de Descentralização e Redução da Pobreza num Contexto de Estado Neo-patrimonial: Um olhar a partir dos conselhos consultivos locais e OIIL em Moçambique. In L. de Brito et al., Eds. *Pobreza, Desigualdade e Vulnerabilidade em Moçambique*. Maputo: IESE, pp. 19–48.

Forquilha, S.C., 2015. Municipalismo em Moçambique: lógicas e dinâmicas políticas. In A. Nascimento & A. Rocha, Eds. *Municipalismo e Poderes Locais*. Maputo: Alcance, pp. 130–150.

FÓRUM MULHER, 2010. *Mulher e participação política*, Maputo: Fórum Mulher.

Foucault, M., 1982. The Subject and Power. In H. L. Dreyfus & P. Rabinous, Eds. *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*. Chicago: The Harvester Press, pp. 208–227.

Francisco, A., 2003a. Controversies over human and regional development. In J. Koponen, Ed. *Between Integration and Exclusion: Impacts on Globalization in Mozambique, Nepal, Tanzania and Vietnam*. Helsinki: University of Helsinki, pp. 39–72.

Francisco, A., 2003b. Restruturação Económica e Desenvolvimento. In B. de S. Santos & J. C. Trindade, Eds. *Conflito e Transformação Sociail: Uma Paisagem das Justiças em Moçambique*. Porto, pp. 141–148.

Francisco, A. & Paulo, M., 2006. *Impacto da Economia Informal na Protecção Social, Pobreza e Exclusão: A Dimensão Oculta da Informalidade em Moçambique*. Maputo: CS & CEA.

Frelimo, 1968. Estatutos e Programas da Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (1968).

Fung, A., 2006. Varieties of Participation in Complex Governance. *Public Administration Review*, 66, pp. 66–75.

Fung, A., 2015. Putting the Public Back into Governance: The Challenges of Citizen Participation and Its Future. *Public Administration Review*, 75 (4), pp. 513–522.

Fung, A. & Wright, E.O., 2006. Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance. *Politics & Society*, 29 (1), pp. 566–569.

Ganuza, E. & Baiocchi, G., 2012. The Power of Ambiguity: How Participatory Budgeting Travels the Globe. *Journal of Public Deliberation*, 8 (2), pp. 1–12.

Ganuza, E. & Baiocchi, G., 2014. Beyond the Line: the Participatory Budget as an Instrument. In N. Dias, Ed. *Hope For Democracy: 25 Years Of Participatory Budgeting Worldwide*. São Brás de Alportel: Associação Inloco, pp. 65–75.

Gersovitz, M., 2009. Decentralization and Local Governance in Developing Countries: A Comparative Perspective. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 57, pp. 837–839.

Ghosh, S., 2016. Democracy and human development: recent legislation in India. , 34 (June 2011), pp. 539–561.

Giddens, A., 2009. *Sociology* P. W. Sutton, Ed., Cambridge: Polity Press.

Gonçalves, E., 2006. Local Powers and Decentralization: Recognition of Community Leaders in Mocumbi, Southern Mozambique. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 24 (1), pp. 29–52.

Goulding, C., 2002. *Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide for Management, Business and Market Researchers*, London: SAGE.

Government of Mozambique, 2006. *Action Plan for the Reduction of Absolute Poverty 2006-2009 (PARPA II).*, Maputo.

GPR2C, 2014. *What's the right to the city? Inputs for the New Urban Agenda*, São Paulo: GPR2C.

Habermas, J., 1996. *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy* W. Rehg, Ed., Cambridge: MIT Press.

Hall, M. & Young, T., 1997. *Confronting Leviathan: Mozambique since independence*, Athens: Ohio University Press.

Hammersley, M. & Atkinson, P., 2007. *Ethnography: Principles in Practice.* Third., London and New York: Routledge.

Hanlon, J., 1997. *Guião básico sobre as autarquias locais*, Maputo: Ministério da Administração Estatal e AWEPA (Associação de Parlamentares Europeus para África).

Hanlon, J., 2004. Do donors promote corruption?: the case of Mozambique. *Third World Quarterly*, 25 (4), pp. 747–763.

Harvey, D., 2012. *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution*, London: Verso.

Hasson, K.J., 2003. Religious Liberty and Human Dignity: A Tale of Two Declarations. *Harvard Journal of Law and Public Policy*, 27 (1), pp. 81–92.

Held, D., 1995. *Democracy and the Global Order: from the modern state to cosmopolitan governance*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Heller, P., 2001. Moving the State: The Politics of Democratic Decentralization in Kerala, South Africa, and Porto Alegre. *Politics & Society*, 29 (1), pp. 131–163.

Heller, P., Harilal, K.N. & Chaudhuri, S., 2007. Building Local Democracy: Evaluating the Impact of Decentralization in Kerala, India. *World Development*, 35 (4), pp. 626–648.

Herbst, J., 2015. *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control* New., Princeton: University Press.

Hetland, Ø., 2008. Decentralisation and territorial reorganisation in Mali: Power and the institutionalisation of local politics. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift - Norwegian Journal of Geography*. 62 (1), 23 –35.

Hobbes, T., 1986. *Leviathan* C. B. Macpherson, Ed., New York: Penguin.

Hobsbawm, E.J., 1996. *A Revolução Francesa* 7ª Ed. M. T. L. Teixeira & M. Penchel, Eds., Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra.

Holland, H., 2012. *100 Years of Struggle: Mandela's ANC*, Penguin Books.

Ibn Khaldun, A.A.R.B.M., 1958. *The Muqaddimah: an Introduction to History.* Bollingen. Abridges by N. J. D. Translated by Franz Rosenthal, Ed., New York: Bollingen Series/Princeton.

IDS, COWI & CESC, 2013. *Estudo sobre a Governação Municipal na Cidade de Quelimane*, Quelimane.

INE, 2007. *III Recenceamento Geral da População e Habitação - 2007*, Maputo: Instituto Nacional de Estatistica.

INE, 2008. *Estatisticas do Distrito de Quelimane*, Maputo: Instituto Nacional de Estatistica.

INE, 2010a. *Estatísticas do Distrito da Maxixe*, Maputo: Instituto Nacional de Estatistica.

INE, 2010b. *Projecções Anuais da População Total, Urbana e Rural dos Distritos da Província da Zambézia, 2007 – 2040*, Maputo: Instituto Nacional de Estatistica.

INE, 2014. *Mulheres e Homens em Moçambique: Indicadores Seleccionados de Género*,

Maputo: Instituto Nacional de Estatistica.

Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2017. Women in National Parliaments - World Classification.

Isaacman, A.F., 1978. *A Luta Continua: Creating a New Society in Mozambique*, Minnesota: University of Minnesota.

Jamal, S., 2014. *Descentralização e Democracia Local: Mecanismos de Participação e Prestação Vertical de Contas dos Governos Locais em Moçambique – Os Conselhos Consultivos Locais*. University of Coimbra.

Jamal, S., 2015. Um olhar sobre o processo de descentralização em Moçambique - mecanismos de accountability pública: Orçamento Participativo e os Conselhos Consultivos Locais. In I. C. da Silva, M. Pignatelli, & S. de M. Viegas, Eds. *XII CONLAB, 1st Congress AICSHLP, UNOVA*. Lisbon: AICSHLP, pp. 1–17.

Jamal, S., 2016. Repensar a planificação urbana através do orçamento participativo em Moçambique: desafios e oportunidades. In *Mozambique Urban Research Forum*. Maputo: IHS, p. 15.

JustaPaz, 2012. *Conselhos Consultivos*, Matola: JustaPaz.

Kabunda Badi, M., 2000. *Derechos humanos en Africa: teoría y prácticas*, Bilbao: Universidad de Deusto.

Kaufman, A.S., 1960. Human Nature and Participatory Democracy. In C. J. Friedrich, Ed. *Responsibility*. New York: Liberal Arts Press, pp. 266–289.

Kaufman, D., 2005. Human Rights and Governance: The Empirical Challenge. In P. Alston & M. Robinson, Eds. *Human Rights and Development: Towards Mutual Reinforcement*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 352–402.

Khadiagala, G.M. & Mitullah, W. V, 2004. Kenya's Decentralization through the Devolution of Power: Advances and Limits. In P. Oxhorn, J. S. Tulchin, & A. D. Selee, Eds. *Decentralization, Democratic Governance, and Civil Society in Comparative Perspective - Africa, Asia, and Latin America*. Washington, D.C: Woodrow Wilson Centre Press, pp. 190–207.

Kindon, S., Pain, R. & Kesby, M., 2008. Participatory action research. In *Journal of Consumer Research*, pp. 423–439.

Lalá, A.E., 2013. *Estudo de Base: Conselho Municipal da Cidade de Quelimane*, Quelimane.

LDH, 2007. *Women's Rights in Mozambique: Duty to end Illegal Practices*, Maputo.

Lefebvre, H., 1971. *Everyday life in the modern world*, London: Allen Lane the Penguin Press.

Lefebvre, H., 1996. The right to the city. In E. Kofman & E. Lebas, Eds. *Writings on CITIES*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, p. 259.

Lefebvre, H., 2003. *The Urban Revolution*, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.

Lewanski, R., 2013. Institutionalizing Deliberative Democracy: the 'Tuscany laboratory. *Journal of Public Deliberationn*, 9 (1:10), pp. 1–16.

Locke, J., 1823. *Two Treatises of Governments*, McMaster University Archive of the History of Economic Thought.

Lundini, I.B. & Jamisse, F., 1996. Descentralização e Administração Municipal - descrição e desenvolvimento de ideias sobre alguns modelos africanos e europeus.

Lyons, G.M. & Mayall, J., 2003. *International Human Rights in the 21st Century. Protecting the Rights of Groups* G. M. Lyons & J. Mayall, Eds., Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publisher Inc.

Macamo, E., 2014. Cultura Política e Cidadania em Moçambique: Uma relação conflituosa. In L. de Brito et al., Eds. *Desafios para Moçambique 2014*. Maputo: IESE, pp. 23–40.

Machava, D. de A.F., 2013. *Colaboração intermunicipal em Moçambique: o caso da*

*Província de Inhambane*. Universidade do Minho.

Machel, S., 1975a. Estabelecer o Poder Popular para Servir as Massas. In S. Machel, Ed. *A Nossa Luta*. Maputo: Imprensa Nacional.

Machel, S., 1975b. *Produzir é Aprender. Aprender para Produzir e Lutar Melhor.* 1ª edição. S. Machel, ed., Maputo: Colecções Estudos e Orientações. Frelimo.

Machel, S., 1976. *A Mulher é um Elemento Transformdor da Sociedade*, Maputo: Colecções Estudos e Orientações. Frelimo.

Machohe, A.P.J., 2015. Orçamentação participativa: o sucesso e o insucesso do município do Dondo durante o projecto piloto. In A. Nascimento & A. Rocha, Eds. *Municipalismo e Poderes Locais*. Maputo: Alcance, pp. 190–213.

Macpherson, C.B., 1977. *The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy*, London: Oxford University Press.

Macuácua, A.A., Jeque, J.M. & Santos, M.A. dos, 2012. *Guião da Orçamentação Participativa Municipal em Moçambique*, Bonn, Eschborn and Maputo: GIZ.

Macuácua, A.A., Melaire, J.J. & Santos, M.A. dos, 2014. *Guião da Orçamentação Participativa Municipal em Moçambique*, Bonn, Eschborn and Maputo: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH.

Macuane, J.J. et al., 2012. Entre o Estado, Amakhas, Ampamelas, Landins e ONGs: relações sociais, história, política, centralização e descentralização em Nampula. In B. Weimer, Ed. *Moçambique: Descentralizar o Centralismo - Economia Política, Processos e Resultados*. Maputo: IESE, pp. 238–273.

Macuane, J.J. & Salim, P., 2016. *Relatótio Final do Estudo de Base do Programa de Desenvolvimento Municipal - PRODEM*, Maputo.

MAE, 2011. *Planificação e Orçamentação Participativa nos Municípios de Moçambique*, Maputo.

Maloa, J.M., 2016. *A Urbanização Moçambicana*. São Paulo.

Mamdani, M., 1983. *Imperialism and Fascism in Uganda*, Nairobi, Ibadan and London: Heinemann Educational Books.

Mamdani, M., 1996. *Citizen and subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of later Colonialism*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Mandela, N., 2013. *Nelson Mandela: No Easy Walk to Freedom* W. Gumede, Ed., Cape Town: Kwela Books.

Manor, J., 1999. *The Political Economy of Decentralization*, Washington, DC: The World Bank.

Manor, J., 2011. *Perspectives on Decentralization*, Visby.

Manor, J., 2013. *When Local Government Strikes It Rich*, Malomo: Swedish International Centre for Local Democracy.

Mansbridge, J.J., 1983. *Beyond adversary democracy*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

MASC, 2011a. Guião de Consulta para a Participação Comunitária e da Sociedade Civil na Promoção da Boa Governação - Âmbito Distrital.

MASC, 2011b. Guião de Consulta para a Participação Comunitária e da Sociedade Civil na Promoção da Boa Governação - Âmbito Municipal.

MASC, 2011c. *Participação Comunitária no desenolvimento Municipal, como proceder?* Maputo.

Matovu, G. & Kundishora, P., 2014. *Participatory Budgeting in Africa - Final Report on Good Practices in Participatory Budgeting*,

Mazula, A., 1998. Quadro institucional dos distritos municipais. In Mazula, A. et al. Ed. *Autarquias Locais em Moçambique. Antecedentes e Regime Jurídico*. Lisbon and Maputo.

Mazula, B., 1995. *Moçambique: eleições, democracia e desenvolvimento.*, Maputo: Brazão Mazula.

Mbembe, A., 1992. Provisional Notes on the Postcolony. *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 62 (1), p.3.

Mbembe, A., 2001a. As formas africanas de auto-inscrição. *Estudos Afro-Asiáticos*, 23(1), pp.171–209.

Mbembe, A., 2001b. *On the Post-Colony.*, California: University Press.

Meade, J.E., 1990. *The collected papers of James Meade* IV. S. Howson, Ed., London: Unwin Hyman.

Meneses, M.P., 2007. Pluralism, Law and Citizenship in Mozambique: Mapping the Complexity. *Oficina do Ces*, (291), p.51.

Meneses, M.P., 2008. Mulheres Insubmissas? Mudanças e Conflitos no Norte de Moçambique. *EX aequo*, (17), pp. 71–78.

Meneses, M.P., 2009. Poderes, direitos e cidadania: O 'retorno' das autoridades tradicionais em Moçambique. *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, (87), pp.9–42.

Meneses, M.P. & Santos, B. de S., 2009. Mozambique: The Rise of a Micro Dual State. *Africa Development*, 34 (3–4), pp. 129–166.

Mittleman, J.H., 1991. Marginalisation and the International Division of Labour: Mozambique's strategy of opening the market. *African Studies Review*, 34 (3), pp. 89–106.

MMCAS, 2000. Proposta sobre institucionalização das Unidades de Género.- Maputo.

MMCAS, 2006. *Política Nacional de Género e sua Estratégia Implementação*, Maputo, Mozambique.

Monjane, C., 2014. *Guião de Participação da Sociedade Civil e Cidadãos no Funcionamento dos Conselhos Consultivos Locais*, Maputo: MASC.

Monteiro, J.Ó., 2011. Estado, Descentralização e Cidadania: Equação impossível ou imperativa? In L. de Brito et al., Eds. *Desafios para Moçambique 2011*. Maputo: IESE, pp. 23–34.

Montero, A.P. & Samuels, D., 2004. *Decentralization and democracy in Latin America*, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.

Morphet, S., 2000. British foreign policy and human rights: From low to high politics. In D. P. Forsythe, Ed. *Human Rights and Comparative Foreign Policy: Foundations of Peace*. Tokyo: United Nations University.

Mosca, J., 1999. *A experiência Socialista em Moçambique (1975-1986)*, Almada: Instituto Piaget.

Mosca, J., 2001. *O Papel do Estado na Economia: O Caso dos Países Luso-Africanos*, Almada.

Mosca, J., 2002. *Encruzilhadas de Africa: ênfase para os PALOP*, Almada: Instituto Piaget.

Mosca, J., 2005. *Economica de Moçambique: Século XX*, Almada: Instituto Piaget.

Mosca, J., Bruna, N. & Abbas, M., 2013. *Economia de Moçambique, 2001-2010: um mix de populismo económico e mercado selvagem*, Lisbon: EScolar Editora.

Moyo, S. & Yeros, P., 2005. The Resurgence of Rural Movements under Neoliberalism. In S. Moyo & P. Yeros, Eds. *Reclaiming the land: the resurgence of rural movements in Africa, Asia, and Latin America*. London: Zed Books, p. 432.

Muchanga, E. (Jornal N.-M)., 2015. OMM: da emancipação à igualdade de oportunidades. *Página da mulher*.

Mudimbe, V.-Y., 1988. *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Mudimbe, V.-Y., 1994. *The idea of Africa*, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

MUEC, 2015. *Participatory Urban Planning: Planning the city with and for its citizens*, Montreal.

Myers, G. a., 2010. Social construction of peri-urban places and alternative planning in Zanzibar. *African Affairs*, 109 (437), pp.575–595.

Nabais, J.C., 2007. *A autonomia financeira das autarquias locais*, Coimbra: Almedina.

Ndegwa, S.N. & Levy, B., 2004. The Politics of Decentralization in Africa: A Comparative Analysis. In B. Levy & S. Kpundeh, Eds. *Building State Capacity in Africa: New Approaches, Emerging lessons*. Washington, DC: The International bank of Reconstruction and Development/ The World Bank, pp. 283–322.

Newitt, M., 1981. *Portugal in Africa: The Last Hundred Years*, London: C. Hurst & Co.

Nguenha, E.J., 2009. Governação Municipal Democrática em Moçambique: Alguns Aspectos Importantes para o Desenho e Implementação de Modelos do Orçamento Participativo. *II Conferência do IESE - Dinâmicas da Pobreza e Padrões de Acumulação em Moçambique*, pp.0–31.

Nguenha, E.J., 2014. The Mozambican experiment of Participatory Budgeting. In N. Dias, Ed. *Hope For Democracy: 25 Years Of Participatory Budgeting Worldwide*. São-Brás de Alportel: Associação Inloco, pp. 127–133.

Nguenha, J.A.U., 1998. *Descentralização Administrativa - Uma Opção para a Reforma dos Órgãos Locais em Moçambique*. Universidade de Lisboa.

Nie, N.H., Verba, S. & Kim, J., 1974. Political Participation and the Life Cycle. *Comparative Politics*, 6 (3), p. 319.

Norris, P., 2011. *Democratic Deficit*, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Novak, J.D., 2010. Learning, Creating, and Using Knowledge: Concept maps as facilitative tools in schools and corporations. *Journal of e-Learning and Knowledge Society*, 6 (3), pp. 21–30.

Novak, J.D. & Cañas, A.J., 2006. *The theory underlying concept maps and how to construct them*, Florida.

Nuvunga, A., Mosse, M. & Varela, C., 2007. *Relatório do Estudo sobre Transparência, Áreas de Riscos e Oportunidades de Corrupção em Seis Autarquias Moçambicanas*,

Nylen, W., 2014. O Orçamento Participativo num Regime Autoritário Competitivo: Um Estudo de Caso (Maputo, Moçambique ). *Cadernos IESE*, (13P), pp.1–89.

OAU, 1981. The African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights.

Oliveira, O.P., 2014. The dynamics of the diffusion of the Participatory Budget in Sub-Saharan Africa: from Dakar to Maputo. In N. Dias, Ed. *Hope For Democracy: 25 Years of Participatory Budgeting Worldwide*. São Brás de Alportel: Associação Inloco, pp. 89–99.

Olowu, D., 2003. Local Institutional and Political Structures and Processes: Recent Experience in Africa. *Public Admin and Development*, 23, pp. 41–52.

Olowu, D. & Smoke, P., 1992. Determinants of success in African local governments: An overview. *Public Administration and Development*, 12 (1), pp. 1–17.

Orre, A. & Forquilha, S.C., 2012. Uma iniciativa condenada ao sucesso. O fundo distrital dos 7 milhões e suas consequências para a governação em Moçambique. In B. Weimer, Ed. *Moçambique: Descentralizar O Centralismo? Economia Política, Recursos e Resultados*. Maputo: IESE, pp. 168–196.

Osório, C. & Macuacua, E., 2014. *Rites of Initiation in The Current Context: Adjustments, Ruptures and Confrontations. Constructing Gender Identities*. I., Maputo: WLSA Mozambique.

Ostrom, E., 1996. Crossing the Great Divide: Synergy, and Development, 24 (6), pp. 1073–1087.

Ostrom, E., 2005. *Understanding Institutional Diversity*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton

University Press.

Pain, R., Kindon, S.L. & Kesby, M., 2007. Participatory Action Research: making a difference to theory, practice and action. In *Participatory action research approaches and methods connecting peoples' participation and place*, pp. 26–32.

Paivio, A., 1971. *Imagery and verbal processes*, New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston.

Paivio, A., 1983. The empirical case for dual coding. In J. . Yuille, Ed. *Imagery, memory and cognition: Essays in honor of Allan Paivio*. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Erlbaum, pp. 307–332.

Paredes, M. de M., 2014. A construção da identidade nacional moçambicana no pós-independência: sua complexidade e alguns problemas de pesquisa. *Anos 90*, 21 (40), pp. 131–161.

Pateman, C., 1970. *Participation and Democratic Theory*, London: Cambridge University Press.

Patsias, C., Latendresse, A. & Bherer, L., 2013. Participatory democracy, decentralization and local governance: The Montreal participatory budget in the light of 'empowered participatory governance'. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 37 (6).

Paul, S., 2011. Stimulating Activism through Champions of Change. In S. Odugbemi & T. Lee, Eds. *Accountability Through Public Opinion: From Inertia to Public Action*. Washington, DC: The World Bank, pp. 347–358.

Pereira, J.C.G., Shenga, C. & Hughes, T., 2005. *Strengthening Parliamentary Democracy in SADC Countries: Mozambique Country Report*, Bramfontein: South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA).

Pétric, B.-M., 2012. *Democracy at large: NGOs, political foundations, think tanks and international organizations*, Palgrave Macmillan.

Pinsky, B., 1982. *The Urban Problematic in Mozambique: Initial Post-independence Responses, 1975-80*, Toronto.

Pløger, J., 2001. Public Participation and the Art of Governance. *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, 28 (2), pp. 219–241.

Putman, H., 1960. Minds and Machines. In S. Hook, Ed. *Dimensions of Mind*. New York: New York University Press.

Putnam, R.D., 1993. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Robson, P. et al., 2007. Gestão do Solo Urbano. In *Desenvolvimento Municipal em Moçambique: lições da primeira década*. Maputo: MAE & ANAMM, pp. 163–191.

Rodney, W., 1973. *How Europe Undeveloped Africa*, London: Bogle-L'Ouverture Publications.

Romeo, L.G., 2012. *Decentralizing for Development: The developmental potential of local autonomy and the limits of politics- driven decentralization reforms*,

Rondinelli, D.A., 1989. Decentralizing Public Services in Developing Countries: Issues and Opportunities. *Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies*, 14 (1), pp. 77–97.

Rondinelli, D.A., Nellis, J.R. & Cheema, G.S., 1983. *Decentralization in Developing Countries: a review of recent experience*, Washington, D.C.

Roodt, M.J., 2008. Borderlands and Spatial Development Initiatives – The Impact of Regional Integration Initiatives in a Southern African Cross - Border Region: The Maputo Development Corridor. In L. de Brito et al., Eds. *Southern Africa and Challenges for Mozambique - Papers Presented At the Conference of the Institute for Social and Economic Studies*. Maputo: IESE, pp. 89–116.

Le Roy, É., 1997. La face cachée du complexe normatif en Afrique noire francophone. In

P. Robert, F. Soubiran-Paillet, & M. Van de Kerchove, eds. *Normes, Normes juridiques, Normes pénales - Pour une sociologie des frontières - Tome I*. CEE, L'Harmattan, Col. Logiques Sociales, Série Déviance/GERN, pp. 123–138.

Saíde, A.R.S., 2015. Desafios da Democracia Participativa - O Orçamento Participativo no Município de Maputo, 2008-2014. In A. Nascimento & A. Rocha, Eds. *Municipalismo e Poderes Locais*. Maputo: Alcance, pp. 152–187.

Salee, A. & Tulchin, J., 2004. Decentralization and Democratic Governance: Lessons and Challenges. In P. Oxhorn, J. S. Tulchin, & A. Selee, Eds. *Decentralization, Democratic Governance, and Civil Society in Comparative Perspective - Africa, Asia, and Latin America*. Washington, D.C: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, pp. 295–320.

Samoff, J., 1990. Decentralization: The Politics of Interventionism. *Development and Change*, 21 (3), pp. 513–530.

Santos, B. de S., 1998a. Oppositional Postmodernism and Globalizations. *Law & Social Inquiry*, 23 (1), pp. 121–139.

Santos, B. de S., 1998b. Participatory Budgeting in Porto Alegre: Toward a Redistributive Democracy. *Politics & Society*, 26 (4), pp. 461–510.

Santos, B. de S., 2002a. Between Prospero and Caliban: Colonialism, Postcolonialism, and Inter-Identity. *Luso-Brazilian Review*, 39 (2), pp. 9–43.

Santos, B. de S., 2002b. *Democracia e Participação: O caso do orçamento participativo de Porto Alegre*, Porto: Afrontamento.

Santos, B. de S., 2002c. Para uma sociologia das ausências e uma sociologia das emergências. *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, pp. 237–280.

Santos, B. de S., 2005. The Future of the World Social Forum: The work of translation. *Development*, 48 (2), pp. 15–22.

Santos, B. de S., 2006a. *A Gramática do Tempo: Para uma nova cultura política*, São Paulo: Cortez Editora.

Santos, B. de S., 2006b. *Conocer desde el Sur: Para una cultura política emancipatoria* 1ª., Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, UNMSM.

Santos, B. de S., 2006c. La Sociología de las Ausencias y la Sociología de las Emergencias: para una ecología de saberes. *Renovar la teoría crítica y reinventar la emancipación social*, pp.13–41.

Santos, B. de S., 2006d. *Renovar la teoría crítica y reinventar la emancipación social* CLACSO, ed., Buenos Aires: CLACSO.

Santos, B. de S., 2006e. The Heterogeneous State and Legal Pluralism in Mozambique. *Law and Society Review*, 40 (1), pp. 39–76.

Santos, B. de S., 2007. Beyond abyssal thinking: From global lines to ecologies of knowledges. *Eurozine*, 30 (1), pp. 1–33.

Santos, B. de S., 2012. A cidadania a partir dos que não são cidadãos. In *CESalice*.

Santos, B. de S. & Avritzer, L., 2005. Para ampliar o cânone democrático. In B. de S. Santos, Ed. *Democratizar a democracia*. Porto: Afrontamento.

Santos, B. de S. & Trindade, J.C., 2003. Introdução. In B. de S. Santos & J. C. Trindade, Eds. *Conflito e Transformação Social: Uma paisagem das Justiças em Moçambique*. Porto: Afrontamento, pp. 37–46.

Sen, A., 1981. A positive concept of negative freedom. In *Ethics: Foundations, Problems, and Applications, Proceedings of the 5th International Wittgenstein Symposium*. Vienna: Holder-Pichler-Tempsky.

Sen, A., 1985. Rights as Goals. In S. Guest & A. Milne, Eds. *Equality and Discrimination: Essays on Freedom and Justice*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.

Sen, A., 1999. *Development as freedom*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sen, A., 2009. *The idea of justice*, Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Sengupta, A., 2000. Realizing the Right to Development. *Development and Change*, 31, pp.553–578.

Sengupta, A., 2002. On the Theory and Practice of the Right to Development. *Human Rights Quarterly*, 24 (4), pp. 837–889.

Shivji, I.G., 1989. *The Concept of Human Rights in Africa*, Dakar: Codesria.

Sidaway, J.D., 1993. Urban and Regional Planning in Post-independence Mozambique. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 17 (2), pp. 241–259.

Silva, C.N., 2015. Postcolonial Urban Planning in Lusophone African Countries: Spatial Planning Systems in Angola, Cape Verde and Mozambique. In C. N. Silva, Ed. *Urban planning in Lusophone African countries*. Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, pp. 127–150.

Silva, C.N. & Bucek, J., 2017. *Local Government and Urban Governance in Europe* The Urban. C. N. Silva & J. Bucek, Eds., Cham: Springer.

Silva, T. da & Andrade, X., 2000. Beyond Inequalities: Women in Mozambique. *CEA. Maputo*.

Sintomer, Y. et al., 2008. *Les budgets participatifs en Europe: des services publics au service du public*, Éd. La Découverte.

Sintomer, Y. et al., 2009. *I bilanci partecipativi in Europa: nuove esperienze democratiche nel vecchio continente*, Ediesse.

Sintomer, Y., Herzberg, C. & Röcke, A., 2012. Modelos Transnacionais de Participação Cidadã: O Caso do Orçamento Participativo. *Sociologias*, 14 (30), pp. 70–116.

Sintomer, Y. et al., 2013. *Participatory Budgeting Worldwide - Updated Version Study* J. Patterson & M. Wagner, Eds., Bonn: Global Civic Engagement - Service for Development Initiatives.

Smoke, P., 2001. *Fiscal Decentralization in Developing Countries*, Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.

Smoke, P., 2003. Decentralisation in Africa: Goals, dimensions, myths and challenges. *Public Administration and Development*, 23 (1), pp. 7–16.

Soirri, L., 1999. *Moçambique: aprender a caminhar com uma bengala emprestada? ligações entre descentralização e alívio à pobreza*, Helsinki.

Solow, R.M., 2000. *Growth Theory: An Exposition.* 2nd Ed., New York: Oxford University Press.

Stake, R.E., 1995. *The art of case study research*, Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Tajú, G., 1988. Renamo: Os factos que conhecemos. *Cadernos de História. Boletim do Departamento de História da Universidade Eduardo Mondlane*, (7), p.16.

Taylor, N., 1998. *Urban Planning Theory Since 1945*, London: Sage Publications.

Tetlock, P.., 1985. Accountability: The neglected social context of judgment and choice. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, 7, pp. 397–332.

Tocqueville, A. de, 1984. *Democracy in America.* R. D. Heffner, Ed., New York: New American Library.

Traub-Merz, R., Sintomer, Y. & Zhang, J., 2013. *Participatory budgeting in Asia and Europe: key challenges of participation*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Trindade, C., 2011. Convívio e Solidariedade: Práticas de xitique em Moçambique. In T. Cunha et al., eds. *Elas no Sul e no Norte*. Coimbra: Art.º Feminino, pp. 183–192.

Trindade, J.C., 2003. Rupturas e Continuidades nos Processos Políticos e Jurídicos. In B. de S. Santos & J. C. Trindade, Eds. *Conflito e Transformação Social: Uma Paisagem das Justiças em Moçambique*. Porto: Afrontamento, pp. 97–127.

Tsandzana, A.F., 2010. *Atlas Sócio-demográfico de Moçambique (1997 – 2007) – Uma*

*abordagem SIG*. Universidade Nova de Lisboa.

Turner, B.S., 1993. *Citizenship and social theory*, London: SAGE Publications.

Turner, B.S., 2006. *Vulnerability and human rights*, University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

UCLG, 2011. *Global Charter-Agenda for Human Rights in the City*, Florence: UCLG.

UN, 1945. *Charter of the United Nations and Statute of the International Court of Justice*, San Francisco, United States of America.

UN, 1946. Yearbook of the UN. In Washington, DC: United Nations.

UN, 2016. *Habitat III - Right to the City and Cities for All*, Quito.

UN-Habitat, 2005. *Promoting Local Economic Development through Strategic Planning*, Nairobi: UN-HABITAT and EcoPlan International Inc.

UN-Habitat, 2006. *Urban planning in a state of flux*, Nairobi: UN-Habitat.

UN-Habitat, 2007. *Perfil do Sector Urbano em Moçambique*, Nairobi.

UN-Habitat & MDP, 2008a. *Participatory Budgeting in Africa: A Training Companion with cases from eastern and southern Africa* Vol. I,., Nairobi: United Nations Human Settlements Programme and Municipal Development Partnership for Eastern and Southern Africa.

UN-Habitat & MDP, 2008b. *Participatory Budgeting in Africa: A Training Companion with cases from eastern and southern Africa* Vol. II, F., Nairobi: United Nations Human Settlements Programme and Municipal Development Partnership for Eastern and Southern Africa.

UN-OHCHR, 1993. *Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action*, Vienna.

UNDP, 1998. *Human Development Report 1998*, New York.

UNDP, 1999. *Human Development Report*, New York.

UNGA, 1948. Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

UNGA, 1966. International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights., p.26.

UNSC, 2000. *Resolution 1325 (2000) Adopted by the Security Council at its 4213th meeting, on 31 October 2000*.

UNSD, 1992. *Agenda 21*, Rio de Janeiro.

Valá, S.C., Como Aumentar as Oportunidades Económicas do Meio Urbano. In *O Papel das Cidades no Desenvolvimento do País. Maputo/Moçambique.* Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

Vedor, B. & Cardoso, L., 2010. O Processo de Planificação e Orçamentação Participativa: Estudo de Caso Município do Dondo. Maputo:

Verba, S. & Nie, N.H., 1987. *Participation in America: political democracy and social equality*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Veríssimo, C.F., 2015. Mozambique's Rescaled Dualistic Urbanisation: Dealing with Historical Legacies of Imperialism and Resistance. In C. N. Silva, Ed. *Urban planning in Lusophone African countries*. Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, pp. 183–202.

Wampler, B., 2005. Reconstructing Brazil: Institutional Reform, Economic Liberalism, and Pluralism. *Latin American Research Review*, 40 (2), pp. 242–252.

Wampler, B., 2007. A Guide to Participatory Budgeting. In A. Shan, Ed. *Participatory Budgeting*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.

Wampler, B. & Hartz-Karp, J., 2012. Participatory Budgeting: Diffusion and Outcomes across the World. *Journal of Public Deliberation*, 8 (2).

Watson, V., 2007. Urban Planning and Twenty-First Century Cities: Can It Meet the Challenge. In A. M. Garland, M. Massoumi, & B. A. Ruble, Eds. *Global Urban Poverty: Setting the Agenda*. Washington, D.C: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, pp. 205–237.

WB, 1989. *World Development Report 1989: Financial Systems and Development World Development Indicators*, The World Bank/ Oxford University Press.

WB, 1997. *World Development Report 1997: The State in a Changing World*, New York: Oxford University Press.

Weimer, B., 2002a. Autarcização em Moçambique: Alguns critérios de avaliação para o balanço das primeiras experiências. *A Cobertura Jornalistica do Processo de Descentralização*, (Foundation Friedrich Ebert).

Weimer, B., 2002b. *Moçambique: Dez anos de Paz - Democracia, Governação e Reforma*, Maputo: IESE.

Weimer, B., 2012a. *Municipal Tax Base in Mozambique: High Potential - Low Degree of Utilisation*, Bonn: German Development Institute.

Weimer, B., 2012b. Para uma estratégia de descentralização em Moçambique: 'Mantendo a falta de clareza?': Conjunturas, críticas, caminhos, resultados. In B. Weimer, Ed. *Moçambique: Descentralizar O Centralismo? Economia Política, Recursos e Resultados*. Maputo: IESE, pp. 96–102.

Weimer, B. & Fandrych, S., 1997. *Administrative Reform and Local Government Elections in Mozambique: Democratic Decentralization with obstacles*, Maputo: IESE.

West, H.G. & Kloeck-Jenson, S., 1999. Betwixt and Between: 'Traditional Authority' and Democratic Decentralization in Post-War Mozambique. *African Affairs*, 98 (393), pp. 455–484.

Wiarda, H.J., 1973. Toward a Framework for the Study of Political Change in the Iberic-Latin Tradition: The Corporative Model. *World Politics*, 25 (2), pp. 206–235.

Wiarda, H.J., 1974. Corporatism and Development in the Iberic-Latin World: Persistent Strains and New Variations. *The Review of Politics*, 36 (1), p.3.

Wiarda, H.J., 1997. *Corporatism and comparative politics: the other great 'ism'* II. Series., New York.

Wiarda, H.J., 2009. The Political Sociology of a Concept: Corporatism and the 'Distinct Tradition'. *The Americas*, 66 (1), pp. 81–106.

Wolfensohn, J.D., 2004. Human Rights and Development Toward Mutual Reinforcement. In New York University Law School, Ed. New York.

Yeshanew, S.A., 2011. Approaches to the Justiciability of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in the Jurisprudence of the African Commission on Human and Peoples´ Rights: Progress and perspectives. *African Human Rights Law Journal*, 11 (2), pp. 317–340.

Yin, R.K., 2003. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. Second., London: Sage Publications.

Yin, R.K., 2009. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods* Fourth. L. Bickman & D. J. Rog, Eds., London: Sage Publications.

Zavale, G.J.B., 2007. *Municipalismo e Poder Local em Moçambique: das raízes aos nossos dias, a imagem da Câmara Municipal de Inhambane, após a primeira e a segunda Legislaturas Autárquicas: 1998-2005*. Coimbra.

Zavale, G.J.B., 2011. *Municipalismo e poder local em Moçambique.* Escolar, Ed., Maputo.

Zeleza, P.T., 2006. The struggle for human rights in Africa. In C. Heyns & K. Stefiszyn, eds. *Human Rights: peace and justice in Africa: A reader*. Pretoria: Pretoria University Law Press.

Zeleza, P.T. & McConnaughay, P.J., 2004. *Human Rights, the Rule of Law, and Development in Africa.*, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press.

**Laws and Regulations**

Habeas Corpus Act of 1640 and 1679.

The Charter of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) 25 May 1963.

International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 3 January 1976.

The African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (Banjul Charter) 27 June 1981.

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 23March 1976.

The African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (African Children's Charter) 11 July 1990.

African Platform for Action and the Dakar Declaration of 1994.

Beijing Platform for Action of 1995.

The Protocol establishing the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights (African Court Protocol) 10 June 1998.

Constitutive Act of the African Union 11 June 2000.

The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) October 2001.

Protocol to the African Charter on the Rights of Women in Africa, 11 July 2003.

African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance, 30 January 2007.

ENGLAND, 1689. England Bill of Rights of 1689. London.

USA, 1776. American Declaration of Independence in 1776. Washington.

FRANCE, 1789. French Declaration of Rights of Men and of the Citizens in 1789. Paris.

PORTUGAL, 1976. Constitution of the Republic of Portugal. Lisbon.

BRAZIL, 1988. Constitution of Federative Republic of Brazil. Brasília.

ITALY, 2007. Regional Law 69/2007 (43/2013) on Promotion of Participation in the Formulation of Regional and Local Policies. Regional Authority for Participation. Tuscany.

MOZAMBIQUE, 1975; 1990; 2004. Constitution of the Republic of Mozambique. Maputo.

MOZ, 1978. 7/78 law of 22 April 1978. Maputo.

MOZ, 1994. 3/94 law of 13 September 1994. Maputo.

MOZ, 1997. 2/97 law of 18 February 1997. Maputo.

MOZ, 1997. 6/97 law of 28 May 1997. Maputo.

MOZ, 1997. 7/97 law of 31 May 1997. Maputo.

MOZ, 1997. 8/97 law of 31 May 1997. Maputo.

MOZ, 1997. 9/97 law of 31 May 1997. Maputo.

MOZ, 1997. 10/97 law of 31 May 1997. Maputo.

MOZ, 1997. 11/97 law of 31 May 1997. Maputo.

MOZ, 2002. 9/2002 law of 12 February 2002. Maputo.

MOZ, 2003. 8/2003 law of 19 May 2003. Maputo.

MOZ, 2004. Civil Code. Third Edition. Escolar Editora. Maputo.

MOZ, 2004. 10/2004 law of 25 August 2004. Maputo.

MOZ, 2005. 12/2005 law of 12 December 2005. Maputo.

MOZ, 2007. 6/2007 law of 9 February 2007. Maputo.

MOZ, 2007. 15/2007 law 27 June 2007. Maputo.

MOZ, 2007. 18/2007 law of 18 July 2007. Maputo.

MOZ, 2007. 19/2007 law of 18 July 2007. Maputo.

MOZ, 2007. 21/2007 law of 1 August 2007. Maputo.

MOZ, 2008. 1/2008 law of 16 January 2008. Maputo.

MOZ, 2013. 7/2013 law of 22 February 2013. Maputo.

MOZ, 2014. 34/2014 law of 31 December 2014. Maputo.

MOZ, 1975. 6/75 Decree-law of 18 January 1975. Maputo.

MOZ, 2000. 15/2000 decree of 20 June 2000. Maputo.

MOZ, 2004. 23/2004 decree of 20 August 2004. Maputo

MOZ, 2005. 11/2005 decree of 10 June 2005. Maputo.

MOZ, 2006. 60/2006 decree of 26 December 2006. Maputo.

MOZ, 2009. 67/2009 MD on 17 April 2009. Maputo.

MOZ, 1999-2003. *Programa Quinquenal do Governo.* Maputo.

MOZ, 2012. Resolution 40/2012. Maputo.

**Websites/email address and social media**

www.portugalparticipa.pt, last accessed on 27/10/2015.

www.cidadedequelimane.com, last accessed on 3/12/2016.

https://twitter.com/MQuelimane, last accessed on 3/12/2016.

https://www.facebook.com/conselhomunicipalquelimane/, last accessed on 3/12/2016.

http://www.clubdeparis.org/, last accessed on  9/3/2017.

http://www.dn.pt/globo/africa/interior/unicef-condena-ritos-de-iniciacao-sexual-em-mocambique-1868122.html), last accessed on 22/03/2017.

http://www.sds-1960s.org/, last accessed on 6/4/2017.

http://www.progressivefox.com/misc_documents/PortHuronStatement.pdf, last accessed on  19/7/2017.

http://www.rm.co.mz/index.php/sociedade-comportamento/item/10745-mocambique-e-o-pais-com-maior-numero-de-mulheres-no-parlamento, last accessed in last accessed in 13/8/ 2017.

http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm), last accessed on 27/09/2017.

*Bons sinais,* e-mail: bonssinais@cidadedequelimane.com

# APPENDIX

**List of appendix**

1. **Interview sheet**
2. **Quelimane Budgetary Sheet (2014 - 2015)**
3. **Global Platform for the Right to the City**
4. **Global Charter - Agenda for Human Rights in the City**

# Appendix 1

## INTERVIEW SHEET - 2015/16

| Nº | Nome | Data | Cargo/Função | Instituição |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Maburesa | 04 Setembro | Administrador do distrito | Governo do Distrito de Maxixe |
| 2 | José Jacob | 08 Outubro | Vereador | Conselho Municipal de Maxixe |
| 3 | Sheikh Mussagy | Outubro | Líder Religioso | Masjid Halima Bibi |
| 4 | Jeque José Jeque Malacanha | Outubro | Funcionário Público | Conselho Municipal de Maxixe |
| 5 | Jeque | Outubro | Funcionário Público | Conselho Municipal de Maxixe |
| 6 | Ezequiel | Novembro | Funcionário Público | Conselho Municipal de Maxixe |
| 7 | Cândido David Pedro | 11 Novembro 2015 | Presidente Assembleia Municipal | Assembleia Municipal da Maxixe |
| 8 | Dona Zarina | Novembro | Vice-presidente Assembleia Municipal | Assembleia Municipal da Maxixe |
| 8 | Mr. Agostinho João | Novembro | Chefe da Bancada da Frelimo e Secretário do Bairro Macupula | Assembleia Municipal da Maxixe e Secretaria do Bairro de Macupula |
| 9 | Dr. José Rafael Siniquinha | Novembro | Chefe da Bancada do Movimento | Assembleia Municipal da Maxixe |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Democrático de Moçambique | |
| 10 | Padre Ananias | Novembro | Responsável pelo núcleo juvenil | Paróquia da Igreja Católica na Cidade de Maxixe |
| 11 | Dr. Hermenegildo Rungo | Outubro - Novembro | Agente responsável pelas relações comunitárias | PRM - Polícia da República de Moçambique em Maxixe |
| 12 | Anónimo | Novembro | Vendedor de mercado | Mercado Central |
| 13 | Joana Amílcar | Novembro | Camponesa | Maxixe |
| 14 | Zainabo Ibraimo | Dezembro | Doméstica | Maxixe |
| 15 | Anónimo | Dezembro | Bairro de Bembe | Maxixe |
| 16 | Evaristo Bata | Dezembro | Vendedor ambulante | Maxixe |
| 17 | António Florídia | Abril | Funcionário Público | Florença - Itália |
| 18 | Giaime Berti | Abril | Investigador/ Professor | Pisa |
| 19 | Flávio Croce | Abril | Investigador CISP | Pisa |
| 20 | Mamadou Djaby | Abril | Refugiado | Pisa |
| 21 | Abdulah | Abril | Refugiado | Pisa |
| 22 | Giovanni | Maio | | Pisa |
| 23 | Iman Muhamed | Maio | Vendedor de | Pisa |

| | | | Rua | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 24 | Liza Vensi | Maio | Funcionária Pública | Pisa |
| 25 | Herlindo Omar | Julho/2016 | Funcionário Público | Quelimane |
| 26 | Danilo Ramujane | Julho/2016 | | Quelimane |
| 27 | Razão José | Julho/2016 | Vendedor ambulante | Quelimane |
| 28 | Carlos | Julho/2016 | Líder tradicional | Quelimane |
| 29 | António Muanzé Faife | Julho/2016 | Pedreiro | Quelimane |
| 30 | Luísa Inácio | Julho/2016 | Camponesa | Quelimane |
| 31 | Bento Lázaro | Julho/2016 | Camponês | Quelimane |
| 32 | Joana Custódio | Julho/2016 | | Quelimane |
| 33 | Luísa Inácio | Julho/2016 | Funcionária | Quelimane |
| 34 | António Muanzé Faife | Julho/2016 | Motorista | Quelimane |

**Appendix 2.**

**Box. 1: The Quelimane budgetary sheet (2014 - 2015)**

| DESIGNAÇÃO DA FONTE DE RECEITA 2015 | PREVISÃO DE RECEITAS 2015 | RECEITAS ESPERADAS DURANTE O ANO DE 2014 (MT) | PREVISÃO 2014 | PREVISÃO 2015 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1. Receitas Correntes** | **134,296,913.60** | **121 927 230,14** | **123,170,033.63** | **103,145,893.48** |
| 1.1. Receitas Fiscais | 12,888,366.33 | 12 938 647,90 | 12,938,647.90 | 8,043,257.32 |
| 1.2. Receitas não Fiscais | 53,366,008.27 | 50 690 722,24 | 51,933,525.73 | 39,035,657.40 |
| 1.3. Receitas Consignadas | 0.00 | 0,00 | 0,00 | |
| 1.4. Transferências do Tesouro Público | 67,042,539.00 | 58 297 860,00 | 58,297,860.00 | 56,066,978.76 |
| 1.5. Donativos | 0.00 | 0,00 | 0,00 | |
| **2. Receitas de Capital** | **100,855,350.40** | **109 894 473,09** | **108,651,669.60** | **57,788,636.64** |
| 2.1. Alineação de Bens | 7,373,970.35 | 7 373 970,36 | 7 373 970,35 | |
| 2.2. Outras Receitas de Capital | 19,651,300.35 | 36 967 000,00 | 59,483,849.60 | 0.00 |
| 2.3. Transferências do Tesouro Público | 54,990,374.50 | 47 162 454,73 | 49,167,820.00 | 50,218,822.94 |
| 2.4. Donativos | 18,839,705.20 | 18 391 048,00 | 18 391 048,00 | 7,569,813.70 |
| 2.5. Empréstimos | | 0,00 | 0,00 | |

| DESIGNAÇÃO DA FONTE DE DESPESA | PREVISÃO DE DESPESAS 2015 | DESPESAS ESPERADAS DURANTE O ANO DE 2014 (MT) | PREVISÃO 2014 | PREVISÃO 2015 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1. Despesas Correntes** | **139,640,313.88** | **144 164 753,00** | **142,594,752.99** | **114,198,413.48** |
| 1.1. Despesas com Pessoal | 87,848,531.58 | 87 370 250,52 | 87,550,250.52 | 80,924,511.45 |
| 1.2. Bens e Serviços | 34,299,926.00 | 39 559 821,15 | 40,809,821.14 | 24,084,344.58 |
| 1.3. Encargos da Dívida | 0.00 | 0,00 | 0,00 | |
| 1.4. Transferências Correntes | 12,067,885.95 | 11 810 710,98 | 11,810,710.98 | 9,187,057.45 |
| 1.5. Outras Despesas Correntes | 5,423,970.35 | 5 423 970,35 | 2,423,970.35 | 2,500.00 |
| 1.6. Exercícios Findos | 0.00 | 0,00 | 0,00 | |
| **2. Despesas de Capital** | **95,511,950.13** | **87 656 950,23** | **89,226,950.23** | **48,685,900.53** |
| 2.1. Bens de Capital | 78,190,902.13 | 64 190 902,23 | 68,512,733.47 | 45,676,795.99 |
| 2.2. Transferências de Capital | 0.00 | 0,00 | 0,00 | 0.00 |
| 2.3. Outras despesas de Capital | 9,830,000.00 | 15 975 000,00 | 13,223,168.76 | 0.00 |
| 2.4. Donativos | 7,491,048.00 | 7 491 048,00 | 7,491,048.00 | 3,009,104.54 |

Source: Dias & Allegretti (2015).

# what's the right to the city?

## inputs for the New Urban Agenda
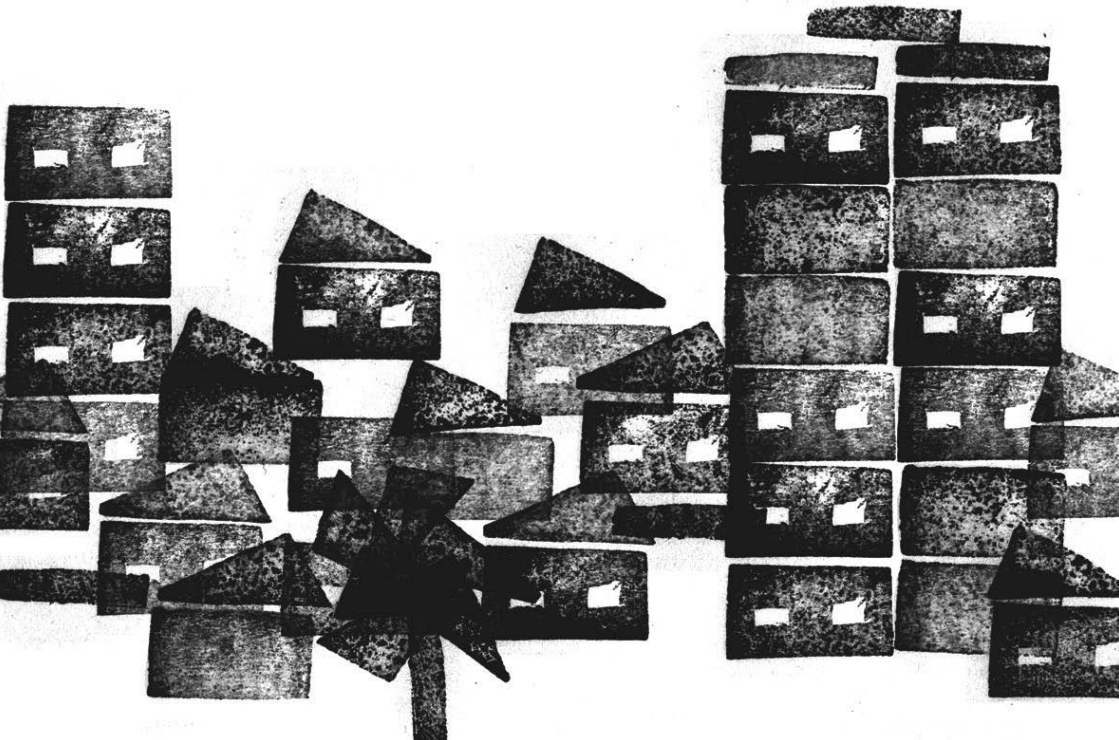
# introduction

The Global Platform for the Right to the City emerged from the initiative of several organizations working on the theme around the world and from the need to promote and mobilize national and local governments, international and regional organizations towards a new paradigm for development, more inclusive and democratic.

The Platform advocate for the recognition and adoption of the Right to the City in the implementation of public policies, therefore it has been participating, through its members, in different spaces and events related to Habitat III process in order to disseminate the concept and to lobby for its adoption as the cornerstone of the New Urban Agenda.

In this sense, the present document, organized by the Platform with the the support of Eva Garcia Chueca, attemps to provide a clear and easy understanding of the right to the city in view of enriching the drafting process of the New Urban Agenda. With this purpose, it begins by providing a graphic of the matrix of the right to the city, which is later further developed. Then, the paper deals with some misconceptions on the right to the city, it refers to the stakeholders who hold the main responsibility to implement it and mentions its legal basis. Finally, the document offers some examples of good practices.

## organizations

ActionAid; Avina Foundation; Brazilian Association of Municipalities; Cities Alliance; Committee on Social Inclusion, Participatory Democracy and Human Rights of the United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG); Huairou Commission; Global Fund for the Cities Development (FMDV); Ford Foundation; Brazilian National Urban Reform Forum; Habitat for Humanity; Habitat International Coalition (HIC); International Alliance of Inhabitants; Intercontinental Network for the Promotion of Social Solidarity Economy (RIPESS); Pólis Institute; Shack Slum Dwellers International (SDI); United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG); WIEGO – Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing; Women In Cities International; TECHO.

## contact

www.right2city.org
contact@right2city.org

# matrix of the right to the city

## pilars

spatially just
resource distribution;
political agency;
socio-cultural diversity.

## DEFINITION

the right to the city is the right of all inhabitants, present and future, to use, occupy and produce just, inclusive and sustainable cities, defined as a common good essential to a full and decent life

## components

a city with inclusive economies; cultural diversity; quality public spaces; enhanced political participation; of genger equality; inclusive citizenship; free of discriminations and susteinable.

A COLLECTIVE & DIFFUSE RIGHT

A CITY AS A COMMON GOOD

## responsibilities

governments and urban dwellers have the responsibility to realise this right

## ownership

inhabitants;
groups of inhabitants;
residents' associations;
NGOs;
Public Prosecutor;

Public Defense, etc.

# 1. what's the right to the city?

> The right to the city is the right of all inhabitants, present and future, permanent and temporary to use, occupy and produce just, inclusive and sustainable cities, defined as a common good essential to a full and decent life.

• It is therefore **an existing collective and diffuse human right**, developed from bottom-up approach, that belongs to all inhabitants of cities. Its interpretation is similar to the environmental rights enshrined in international agreements on the environment and sustainable development and cultural rights, as enshrined in international conventions, which establish precedents for collective and diffuse rights. As a collective right, it pertains to the diversity of all inhabitants on the basis of their common interest. As a diffuse right, the right to the city belongs to present and future generations; it is indivisible and not subject to exclusive use or appropriation.

• It entails conceiving **cities as commons**, meaning all inhabitants should have the capacity to equally access the urban resources, services, goods, and opportunities of city life; and participate in the making of the city.

# 2. pillars and components of the right to the city

The Right to the City has an interdependent and cross-cutting structure based on three pillars:

## pillar1: spatially just resource distribution

> The right to the city envisions a socially and spatially just distribution and planning of material resources, ensuring good living conditions across the human settlement continuum.

These resources, accessible in both formal and informal sectors and areas, are defined by acceptable quality standards, and include:
• public space and the urban commons;
• investments in gender responsive services (e.g. water, electricity, waste, and sanitation);
• appropriate, accessible, affordable and gender responsive transportation system;
• appropriate and dignified housing and settlements;
• equitable livelihoods, opportunities, and decent jobs, including solidarity and circular economy initiatives;
• education;

• material and immaterial cultural heritage;
• healthcare;
• investments in the preservation of ecosystems and biodiversity, and in climate resilience/disaster management (such as: eartquake, storm).

This pillar envisions all inhabitants, particularly **women**, as caretakers and as protagonists in the delivery and enjoyment of these resources for a full life. In this regard, specific policies are required to ensure that **women,** as well as **marginalized groups** (e.g. young people, migrants and refugees, informal workers, street dwellers and the differently abled), have effective access to political agency.

## how would the city look like?

• **a city with inclusive economies** that ensures access to secure livelihoods and decent work for all inhabitants, that gives room to other economies, such as solidarity economy, sharing economy, circular economy, and that acknowledges the role of women in the care economy.
• **a sustainable city** that respects rural-urban linkages, and protects biodiversity, natural habitats, and surrounding ecosystems, and supports city-regions, city-town cooperation, and connectivity.
• **a city with quality public spaces** that enhances social interactions and political participation,  promotes socio-cultural expressions, embraces diversity, and fosters social cohesion; a city where public spaces contribute to building safer cities and to meeting the needs of inhabitants (especially those related to livelihoods).
• **a city fulfilling its social functions**, that is, ensuring equitable access for all to shelter, goods, services and urban opportunities, particularly for women and other marginalized groups; a city that prioritizes the collectively defined public interest, ensuring a socially just and environmentally balanced use of urban and rural spaces.

## pillar 2: political agency

The right to the city is realized only when structures, processes, and policies enable all inhabitants as social and political actors to exercise the full content and meaning of citizenship.

In this regard, specific policies are required to ensure that **women**, as well as **marginalized groups**, have effective access to political agency.
Together with **all levels of government**, the inhabitants of all settlements (including temporary and transitional dwellers) are protagonists in (re)making and

shaping their living environment.

This process takes place to a standard that fully meets the everyday **needs** and **aspirations** of inhabitants, and which is able to confront the challenges faced by settlements.

In this way, this pillar lessens the relatively high control by capital and state elites over decisions regarding the organization and management of the city and its spaces, and reconfigures urban space, land, and property in a manner that maximizes **use-value** for all inhabitants.

It requires transparency, accountability, democratization of data for decision making and the allocation of sufficient opportunities and resources for political participation.

## how would the city look like?

• **a city of inclusive citizenship** in which all inhabitants, whether permanent or transitional, are considered as citizens and granted equal rights;  e.g. women, those living in poverty or situations of environmental risk, informal economy workers, ethnic and religious groups, LGBT persons, the differently abled, children, youth, the elderly, migrants, refugees, street dwellers, victims of violence and indigenous peoples.
• **a city with enhanced political participation** in the definition, implementation, monitoring, and budgeting of urban policies and spatial planning in order to strengthen the transparency, effectiveness and inclusion of the diversity of inhabitants and their

## pillar 3: socio-cultural diversity

The right to the city fully embraces diversity and difference  in gender, identity, ethnicity, religion, heritage, collective memory, cultural and economic practice,  and sociocultural expression.

This pillar calls for the recognition of **culture, neighboring, and stake-holding** as a lever for social cohesion, social capital, innovation, safer cities, self-expression, and identity.

It requires that the city creates possibilities of **encounter, interactions,** and active **connections**, in which reciprocal relations and mutual understanding advances a renewed form of urban life.

5

It requires **respecting and valorizing** all religions, ethnicities, cultures, economies and customs. It also envisions the **promotion of artistic expressions** as a means to unlock social potential and creativity, and to build community and solidarity.

Central to city life is also the use of urban space, particularly for **women** in their reproductive and productive work.

This pillar calls finally for the need to acknowledge **recreation and leisure** as part of a full life.

---

**how would the city look like?**

• **a city free of discrimination** based on gender, age, health status, income, nationality, ethnicity, migratory condition, or political, religious or sexual orientation.
• **a city of gender equality** which adopts all necessary measures to combat discrimination in all its forms against women, men, and LGBT people in political, social, economic and cultural terms; a city which takes all appropriate measures to ensure the full development of women, to guarantee them equality in the exercise and fulfillment of fundamental human rights, and a life free of violence.
• **a city with cultural diversity**, which respects, protects, and promotes the diverse livelihoods, customs, memory, identities, expressions, and socio-cultural forms of its inhabitants.

---

## 3. frequent questions about the right to the city

| Why should we akwnoledge a new right? | It is not exactly a new right as it envisions the effective fulfillment of all internationally agreed human rights, sustainable development objectives (as expressed through the Sustainable Development Goals) and the commitments of the Habitat Agenda. |
| --- | --- |
| | However, the right to the city provides a major opportunity to improve and expand human rights and sustainability as it insists on the need to implement these principles in cities and human settlements from an interdepedent, interrelated and indivisible approach. |

| | |
|---|---|
| Then, the right to the city is the juxtaposition of existing human rights' standards? | No. Classic human rights's standards do not tackle the impact of espatial exclusion. Urban space and its functions are both contributors to and expressions of social and gender exclusion. Thus the need to address spatial exclusion from a rights-based approach.<br><br>The right to the city provides an alternative framework to re-think cities and urbanization trying to minimize social and spatial injustices stemming from the commodification of the city and of its public spaces. |
| Is the right to the city, defined as "collective and diffuse", very different in nature than other existing human rights? | No. The interpretation of the right to the city is similar to environmental rights as enshrined in international agreements, which ackwledge collective rights. See, for example, the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development (1992), which establishes that "[t]he right to development must be fulfilled so as to equitably meet developmental and environmental needs of present and future generations" (Principle 3); the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (1982); and the Declaration and Principles Governing the Sea-bed and Ocean Floor and Subsoil Thereof beyond the Limits of National Jurisdictions (1970), both defining the sea-bed and ocean floor and their resources as the "common heritage of mankind".<br><br>The right to the city is also similar in nature to cultural and natural heritage rights, as enshrined in international conventions, which acknowledge diffuse rights. See, for instance, the Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972), which places a duty on State Parties of "ensuring the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to future generations of the cultural and natural heritage situated on its territory" (art. 4), and acknowledges the spatial dimension of cultural heritage (art. 1). Under this convention, many cities, old towns and other urban districts have been declared "World Heritage" (such as Potosí, Bolivia, 2014; the Old City of Jerusalem and its Walls, 1982; or Liverpool – Maritime Mercantile City, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, 2012).<br><br>These rights and conventions establish precedents for collective and diffuse rights, as well as the possibility to conceive cities as commons. |

| | |
|---|---|
| Does the right to the city deepen the rural/urban divide? | The right to the city is not limited to urban areas, but applies to all cities and human settlements, from large metropolitan areas, to cities, towns, villages and small rural settlements. In fact, the term "city" is understood as "local political community". |
| Will the right to the city increase States' legal obligations? | The right to the city does not impose new human rights obligations on member states as it is not a new human right. It rather provides a framework which boosts the implementation of already existing human rights in cities and human settlements, together with territorial and environmental objectives. |
| Is the right to the city the same as "cities for all"? | No. The right to the city draws on 50 years of debate and social struggles. It was first theorised by French philosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre and later operationalized in global compacts, national legislation, and city charters around the world.

Global compacts include: the World Charter for the Right to the City (2005); the Rio de Janeiro Manifesto on the Right to the City (World Urban Forum, 2010); the Global Platform for the Right to the City Action Plan and Thematic Axes (2014).

Relevant national legislation includes Brazil's City Statute (2001) and Ecuador's Constitution (2008), as well as its National Law on Territorial Occupation and Land Management and Use (2016).

Finally, city charters include the European Charter for the Safeguarding of Human Rights in the City (Saint Denis, 2000), the Mexico City Charter for the Right to the City (2010), the Global Charter-Agenda for Human Rights in the City (UCLG, 2011), and Gwangju Guiding Principles for a Human Right City (2014).

Therefore, the right to the city has a very precise definition and has been endorsed by a number of civil society organisations and urban social movements, as well as national and local governments.

The concept "cities for all" (like other narratives suchs as "cities for people" or "cities for life") have appeared more recently to call for people-friendly cities, cities without discrimination or even physically accessible cities. Its precise understanding seems to vary depending on the stakeholder who uses it. |

## 4. who has the responsibility to implement the right to the city?

The materialisation of the right to the city calls for the strategic alliance of governments, citizens and the private sector.

Among these groups, **women, marginalised groups** and the **urban poo**r should have an enhanced role. Specific policy measures should be taken to eradicate their discrimination and to guarantee their equal say in the making of the city.

The implementation of the right to the city needs to be **trans-scalar** and take place at the global, national, and local level.
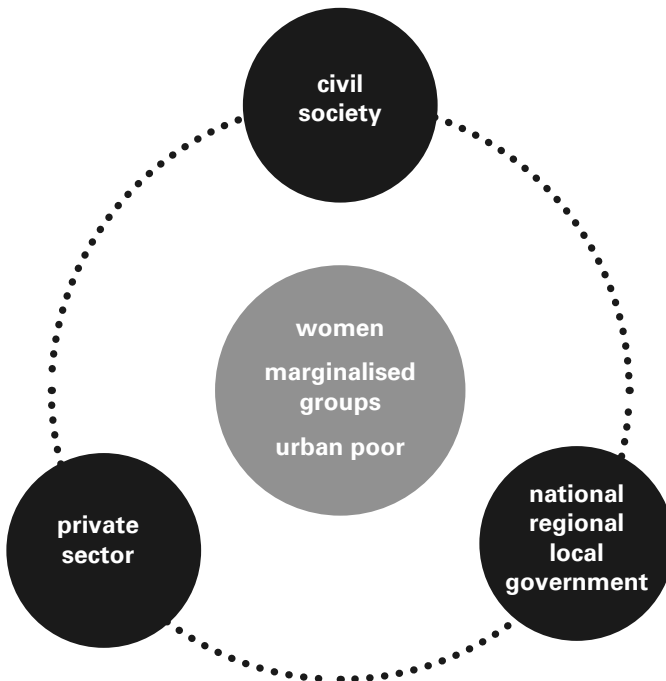
• **Citizens** have a responsibility to participate in the making and shaping of the city, as well as in open governance processes to claim and defend the right to the city. They might do so individually or through groups, communities and their representative organizations (including residents' associations, NGOs, trade unions, worker organizations, and other interest groups). It is particularly important to enable and foster equal participation of women and traditionally marginalized urban groups (e.g. the urban poor, ethnic minorities, etc.).

• **Governments** have the responsibility to ensure an equitable social and spatial distribution of available resources, and to foster political participation and socio-economic diversity within locally agreed interpretations of the right to the city.

   - **National and regional governments** need to focus on enabling legislative frameworks to consolidate and strengthen relevant elements already in place. Some states have even developed constitutional provisions to provide the highest legal foundation to the right to the city. Information-sharing on participatory and rights-based practice is an important government role.
   - **Local governments** are central to implementing the right to the city and to establishing a strategic vision and operational framework for it. Cities have adopted many different approaches: adoption of city charters; adaptation of municipal laws enshrining human rights and the right to the city; establishment of local ombudsman; and creation of social and spatial inclusion programmes, among others. A critical role for local governments is to ensure transparent and participatory program-planning, decision-making, program implementation, and policy monitoring. Developing co-produced knowledge with local communities is key. Establishing a specialized local government department for the right to the city to promote it transversally through all local policies is also important.

• The **private sector** provides much of the funding on which urban development depends. Working in partnership with all tiers of government and civil society is needed to prioritize social investment objectives and ensure inclusive approaches to urban development.

# 5. what's the legal basis of the right to the city?

The Right to the City encompasses all civil, political, economic, social, cultural, and environmental rights as enshrined in existing international human rights treaties, covenants, and conventions.
In accordance with the Vienna Declaration (1993), it calls for a universal, interdependent, and interrelated implementation to human rights.

The following table provides a list of some of the most relevant **human rights instruments** and Sustainable Development Goals from the perspective of the principles of the right to the city.

| components | key human rights instruments | SDG targets |
|---|---|---|
| A city free of discrimination | Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) (Art. 1, Art. 2, Art. 25 (1))<br>The 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (Art. 3, Art. 17, Art. 18, Art. 21)<br>The 1965 International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (Art. 3, Art. 5 (e))<br>The 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (Art. 3, Art. 14 (1, 2) and Art. 15 (2))<br>The 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child (Art. 2, Art. 4, Art. 27 (1, 3))<br>Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action (1993) on universality and indivisibility of human rights | 1.3, 1.4, 1.5 |
| A city of inclusive citizenship | The 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (Art. 2(2), Art. 6, Art. 11(1), Art 15 (a, and b))<br>The 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (Art. 1, Art. 18(1)) | 1.4, 1.5, 5.1, 10.1, 10.6, 10.7 |
| A city with enhanced political participation | Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) (Art. 1, Art. 2, Art. 25 (1))<br>The 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (Art. 1, Art. 18(1)) | 5.1, 5a, 5b, 5c, 11.3 |
| A city with quality public spaces | The 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966) Art. 6, Art. 11, Art 15 (a, and b))<br>Human rights and sustainable development (SDG target 11.7 on public space) | 11.7 |
| A city of gender equality | The 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (Art. 3, Art. 14 (1, 2) and Art. 15 (2) | 5.1, 5a, 5b, 5c |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A city fulfilling its social functions | The 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (Art. 2(2), Art. 6, Art. 11(1), Art 15 (a, and b))<br>1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (Art. 4, Art. 6(1), Art. 11, Art. 12)<br>The 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (Art. 2, Art. 11 and Art.15)<br>The 2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (UNESCO)<br>The 'right to adequate housing'<br>Basic Principles and Guidelines on Development-Based Evictions and Displacement A/HRC/4/18, 2007, Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, General Comment 15, The right to water (Twenty-ninth session, 2003), U.N. Doc. E/C.12/2002/11 (2002), reprinted in Compilation of General Comments and General Recommendations Adopted by Human Rights Treaty Bodies, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.6 at 105 (2003)<br>Resolution The human right to water and sanitation. Resolution A/RES/64/292. UN General Assembly, 28 July 2010 (Art. 1 and Art. 2) | 6.1, 11.1, 11.2, 11.3 |
| A city with cultural diversity | The 2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (UNESCO) | 11.4 |
| A city with inclusive economies | The International Labour Organization's 1962 Convention No. 117 concerning Basic Aims and Standards of Social Policy (Art. 1, Art. 2, Art. 5 (1))<br>International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (1990) (Art.7, Art.43(1)) | 4.4, 8.3, 8.5, 8.8, 9.1 |
| A sustainable city | The 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966) (Art. 2(2), Art. 6, Art. 11(1), Art 15 (a, and b))<br>Declaration and Principles Governing the sea-bed and ocean floor and subsoil thereof beyond the Limits of national Jurisdictions - Resolution 2749 (XXV) of 17 December 1970 (Art. 1)<br>United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, 10 December 1982 ( Art. 133 and Art. 136)<br>Declaration on the Right to Development . Resolution A/RES/41/128 4 December 1986 (Article 1 and Article 2)<br>Human rights and climate change<br>International arrangement on forests beyond 2015 The Economic and Social Council, Recalling its resolution 2000/35 of 18 October 2000<br>Resolution adopted by the Economic and Social Council on 22 July 2015 [on the recommendation of the United Nations Forum on Forests (E/2015/42 and Corr.1)] 2015/33. | |

In many jurisdictions, these components are already protected by **national, regional or local laws.**

In any case, the right to the city is to be **interpreted by member states** through their own legislation and jurisdictions.

However, it is central to the right to the city the **participation of all urban dwellers**, and particularly women and disadvantaged groups, in policy-making, implementation and monitoring.

## 6. good practices

Many examples of good practice are already found. However, the challenge remains to use the right to the city as a paradigm and draw on all its components in order to adopt a holistic approach to its operationalization.

| country/ city | good practice | component |
|---|---|---|
| Brazil | Brazil is one of the few countries in the world having explicitly adopted the right to the city (together with Ecuador). Brazil's City Statute (2001) is a national law that specifically enshrines the right to the city after strong social mobilisation led by the National Urban Reform Movement, a platform gathering civil society organizations and social movements. The City Statue expands on articles 182 and 183 of the Constitution and acknowledges the social function of land and property, and translates this principle into urban planning policies through different types of mechanisms: strategic planning, taxation or participatory city management. The City Statute also gives municipal governments the power to foster the utilization of underused or vacant lots that are important for city development, and to regulate the use of vacant lots in areas defined as "social interest zones" (ZEIS), as well as on the perimeter of the urban center. Owners of underused or vacant lots are further subject to a progressive tax. After a 5-year period, if the site is not developed and occupied, it can be expropriated. Finally, the law established the creation of the Ministry of Cities (set up in 2003) and of a nation-wide participatory mechanism to ensure the involvement of citizens in the conception and follow up of urban policies: the Council of Cities (set up in 2006). | A city with enhanced political participation<br><br>A city fulfilling its social function |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Canadá, Montreal | In January 2006, the city of Montreal adopted the Montreal Charter of Rights and Responsibilites, which binds all elected officials and employees of the city and its agencies, to adopt the charter's principles. The charter has seven themes: democratic life, economic and social life, cultural life, leisure and sport, environment and sustainable development, security and municipal services.<br><br>The text also includes the right of initiative, which entitles citizens to initiate a public consultation at the borough or city level to introduce new public policy (provided it does not refer to any excluded subject, such as the administrative organizational chart, the city budget, or municipal taxes, among others). | A city of inclusive citiizenship<br><br>A city with enhanced political participation |
| Chile | In 2014 the government of Chile enacted a National Policy for Urban Development that considers five pillars to guide the future of Chilean cities: social integration; economic development; identity and heritage; environmental balance; and institutional framework and governance.<br><br>This policy was the result of a participatory process that lasted two years and now is under implementation. To do so, the Government created a National Council of Urban Development made up of representatives from the public sector, academics, professionals and civil society. | A city with enhanced political participation<br><br>A city fulfilling its social function |
| Colombia | The 1991 Constitution acknowledges the social function of private property (art. 58). The Law 388/1997 on Land-use Planning develops this constitutional provision, together with some other dimensions related to the right to the city, namely the right to housing, access to public services, defence of public spaces and environmental protection. | A city fulfilling its social function<br><br>A city with quality public spaces |
| Colombia, Bogotá | The Land-use Plan (2012-2016) seeks to create a city that reduces segregation and discrimination, puts people at the heart of the development process, confronts climate change, and defends and strengthens the public interest.<br>New residential development should reserve a minimum of 20% for social housing, rising to 30%. A nested social, economic and environmental plan should be produced every 4 years. | A city fulfilling its social function<br><br>A sustainable city |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Colombia, Bogotá | The Programme for the Overall Improvement of Neighbourhoods seeks to reduce the imbalances and the territorial, socio-cultural, socio-economic and environmental segregation of urban and rural human settlements, and the precariousness in housing and environmental conditions.<br><br>One of its lines of action entails fostering artistic, cultural and heritage initiatives that promote community organisation, harmonious coexistence in the territory and/or transformations of places and environments marked by violence and insecurity. The programme represented progress in the recognition and affirmation of cultural rights of communities and of the diversity of cultural territories and forms of expression in the city. It also implied the recognition of culture as one pillar of development and coexistence. | A city of cultural diversity<br><br>A city of inclusive citizenship |
| Ecuador | Ecuador's 2008 Constitution includes much-heralded 'rights to nature' and in Arts 30 and 31 a "right to fully enjoy the city and its public spaces".<br><br>Later, the right to the city was included in Ecuador's National Development Plan (2009-2013), followed by the setting up of an Under Secretary of Housing and Human Settlements in 2011 aimed at operationalizing the right to the city, among others.<br><br>The following National Development Plan (2013-2017) refers more overtly to several elements related to the right to the city, such as land planning, environmental sustainability, risk management, democratic management of cities, access to public space, living together and citizen security | A city fulfilling its social function<br><br>A city with enhanced political participation |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ecuador | The National Law on Territorial Occupation and Land Management and Use (2016) establishes several general principles and rules to foster an egalitarian and sustainable territorial development and the implementation of the right to the city.<br><br>The overaching principles of the law are the social and environmental function of property and ensuring an inclusive urban development for the "good life" (buen vivir) of people.<br><br>The law establishes some mechanisms and tools to control land speculation and to guarantee an equitable distribution of urban benefits, public investments and increased land value.<br><br>It also aims at ensuring the right to a safe and healthy habitat, to adequate and decent housing, to citizen participation, and to property in all its forms.<br>To operationalise this set of regulations, the law strengthens the role of local government . | A city fulfilling its social function<br><br>A sustainable city |
| Europe (several cities) | The European Charter for the Safeguarding of Human Rights in the City (Saint-Denis, 2000) devotes its first article to the right to the city.<br><br>The text then enshrines a set of classic human rights principles, combined with some specific provisions related to urban issues and local governance, such as international municipal cooperation (art. 6), the principle of subsidiarity (art. 7), the right to public municipal services of social protection (art. 12), the right to harmonious city development (art. 19), the right to movement and tranquillity in the city (art. 20) and local administration of justice (art. 25).<br><br>Around 400 European municipalities have endorsed the European Charter to date. Among these local administrations, there is a strong presence of Spanish and Italian cities, followed by local governments from France, Germany and the United Kingdom. | A city of inclusive citizenship<br><br>A city free of discrimination |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| France | Le Droit au lodgement opposable (DALO) (enforceable right to housing) is a recognised social right, enshrined in the preamble to the 1946 Constitution, and reaffirmed in a series of laws.<br>Defining the possibility for everyone to have decent housing has been strengthened in 2008 with the Law on the Right to Enforceable Housing, that created an obligation for the state to provide housing solutions for the most vulnerable, considered as public priority by mediation committees (evicted families, homeless…).<br>The right to housing is also enshrined through the public rental housing program, and actions to fight sub-standard housing. | A city of inclusive citizenship |
| France | National urban policies, first put in place after unrest in the 1980s in areas with high indices of deprivation, include an integrated approach; realignment of urban strategies to focus on economic and social regeneration in declining areas; and developing political and conceptual learning from these experiences. The cross-cutting approach combines initiatives on employment, literacy, socio-cultural activities, and anti-discrimination.<br>The program covers almost 700 districts in the country and is updated every three years.<br>A recent evaluation recommended strengthened citizen empowerment, and participatory policy definition, now being developed through a citizen's committee called Coordination Pas Sans Nous (No Coordination Without Us). | A city with enhanced political participation<br><br>A city of inclusive citizenship |
| Germany | The Stadtwerke framework allowed many municipalities to municipalize energy production and consumption, by direct public management or through user cooperatives.<br>In many cases, this way of managing public assets improved quality and access to services, enhanced renewable energy production and created resources for the commons. | A sustainable city<br><br>A city with inclusive economies |
| India | In 2014, India passed a federal law, that seeks protect the livelihoods of street vendors, and to establish a participatory mechanism for regulating street vending. This significant piece of enabling legislation was passed as a result of long-term activism by street vendor organizations and others. | A city with inclusive economies |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Italy | The gradual privatization of water services has been resisted through a strong popular movement and local government resistance, which overturned national government initiatives to privatize water utilities.<br>The Forum Italiano dei Movimenti per l'Acqua (Italian Water Movements Forum), set up in March 2006, defended water as a common good. Privatization was rejected in national referendum in 2011, in which 27 million Italians voted. | A sustainable city |
| Kenya | The principle of participation is enshrined in many places in the 2010 Constitution of Kenya, e.g. in relation to: s.10, national values and principles of governance; s.69, obligations in respect of the environment; s.118, access to parliament; s.174, articles on devolved government; s.184, which provides for, 'participation by residents in the governance of urban areas and cities'; s.196, relating to public participation and county assembly powers, and many other provisions. | A city with enhanced political participation |
| Mexico, Mexico City | Mexico City (Federal District) became the first municipality to adopt a charter on the right to the city in 2011, the so-called Mexico City Charter for the Right to the City. This was the culmination of a three-year advocacy process led several civil society organisations and social movements.<br>The text proposes a series of public policy measures to be carried out by various actors: the central local government, sub-district governments, the Legislative Assembly, the Superior Tribunal of Mexico City, public autonomous organisations, educational entities, social movements, civil society organisations, the private sector and citizens in general.<br>These measures and commitments are related to 6 strategic foundations: full exercise of human rights in the city; social function of the city, of land and of property; democratic management of the city; democratic production of the city; sustainable and responsible management of urban and peri-urban commons (natural, public heritage and energetic resources); and democratic and equitable enjoyment of the city. | A city fulfilling its social function<br><br>A city with enhanced political participation |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Mexico, Mexico City | The Neighbourhood Improvement Community Programme is an initiative by Mexico City's Department of Social Development, in coordination with the Ministry of Works and Services and the Department of Urban Development and Housing. The programme enables social infrastructure projects to be carried out depending on the community's needs, such as community centres, cultural centres, parks, recreation and sports areas, improvement of the urban image, site museums, ecological projects, skateboarding tracks, service works, and the expansion or improvement of existing works, among many others. The programme is aimed at all social, civic, community and neighbourhood groups interested in promoting "comprehensive, sustained and participatory processes" for the physical, symbolic and cultural improvement of Mexico City's districts, neighbourhoods and colonias. | A city with enhanced political participation<br><br>A city of inclusive citizenship |
| Republic of Korea, Seoul | The municipality of Seoul has developed a complex human rights system, consisting of several municipal ordinances, mechanisms to protect and promote human rights, a Human Rights Action Plan and municipal staff training. Three ordinances have been adopted: on human rights; on the rights of the differently abled; and on the protection of the children and youth rights. The Seoul Metropolitan Government has sought to institutionalize rights through creating: a Human Rights Division with a budget of almost USD 1 million, a Committee on Human Rights; a local ombudsperson; a Citizen Jury, and the Seoul Action Plan on Human Rights. | A city of inclusive citizenship<br><br>A city free of discrimination |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Republic of Korea, Gwangju | Gwangju is known as one of key leading human rights cities in the country.<br>Following the adoption of the Human Rights Ordinance in 2009, the first of its kind in Korea, a Human Rights Office was created with a full-scale municipal human rights action plan accompanied by a set of 100 human rights indicators.<br> In 2012 the city adopted the Gwangju Human Rights Charter, and in 2013 established the Ombudsman.<br>In 2014 the municipal government adopted the Gwangju Compact: Guiding Principles for a Human Rights City, with 10 core principles (including the right to the city).<br>Since 2011, Gwangju fosters city-to-city learning and exchange of experience in the field of human rights and the right to the city by organising each year the World Human Rights Cities Forum. | A city of inclusive citizenship<br><br>A city free of discrimination |
| Russia, Rostov-on-Don City | Rostov-on-Don City Duma adopted the Charter of Rostov-on-Don City in 1997 (amended in 2015). The Charter affirms the implementation of individual and collective rights of citizens to self-governance of urban life, as well as other rights established by the country's constitution and legal acts and acts of Rostov oblast (state).<br><br>It reaffirms citizens' rights to a safe and healthy living environment, to local self-governance and political participation, and to free access to socio-cultural resources, education, protection of rights of people with disabilities and pensioners, equal rights for different nationalities. | A city with enhanced political participation |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Spain, Barcelona | Spain concentrates 40 per cent of the total signatory municipalities of the European Charter for the Safeguarding of Human Rights in the City, 90% of them being concentrated in the province of Barcelona. The city of Barcelona has developed a complex human rights policy consisting of a Civil Rights Department, two municipal services to protect human rights (the Office for Non-Discrimination and the Office of Religious Affairs), a local Ombudsman, a Human Rights Observatory, a local charter (the Barcelona Charter of Rights and Duties, 2010), aware-raising initiatives and human rights training.<br>Beyond Barcelona, the supra-municipal government of the province of Barcelona (Diputació de Barcelona) has played a key role with its 311 municipalities in fostering the adoption and implementation of the Charter.<br>The initiatives undertaken by signatory towns and villages of the province of Barcelona are related to the following spheres of action: institutionalisation of human rights (creation of human rights departments within the municipality, adaptation of local regulations to the charter), services to citizens, fostering the right to employment, awareness-raising initiatives, human rights protection mechanisms (namely, local ombudsman) and fiscal measures. | A city free of discrimination<br><br>A city of inclusive citizenship |
| Spain, Region of Catalonia | In 2015, the Region of Catalonia adopted a law to protect inhabitants against evictions and insecurity, which forbids the cut-off of electricity and gas, and creates a framework for local government to protect people against forced evictions. | A city of inclusive citizenship |
| Turquía Çanakkale | Çanakkale 2010 was an arts, culture, and community dialogue project organized by a civil society collective working in partnership with Çanakkale local government.<br>The project aimed to increase visibility for all civil art and culture production; strengthen cooperation among active civil society agents in coordinating and programming cultural activities; and, above all, further local cultural policy development through shared support and ownership by the Municipality and civil society.<br>The initiative was based on 12 themes/issues suggested by city residents during workshops and meetings that were related to Çanakkale and cultural policy. An open call for projects was developed, which prioritised public participation and gave priority to the participation of women, children, differently able people, and youth. | A city of cultural diversity<br><br>A city with enhanced political participation |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| United States, San Francisco | The city of San Francisco has translated and implemented women rights locally as defined in the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). The initiative started in 1998 with the approval of the so called 'CEDAW ordinance'. The policy has been funded through the municipal budget and led, administered, and developed by the City's Commission and Department on the Status of Women.<br><br>The policy aims to support the rights of women, focusing in particular on employment, violence against women and girls, and health care. Implementation has followed two interrelated tracks: city-wide initiatives to integrate women's rights in City operations and a gender analysis of City departments' workforce, budget, and services. Community organizations and private companies have been involved in the policy. The policy has had a practical impact, especially on City departments. To a different extent depending on the case, the gender analysis has raised awareness of gender issues in the departments, has led to budget allocations that benefit more women than in the past, and has made departments' interventions, actions, and services friendlier to women and caregivers at large.<br><br>There is evidence that not only women and girls of different ethnic and racial backgrounds have benefited from the policy, but also people performing care giving tasks, members of minorities, and specific religious groups. | A city of gender equality<br><br>A city free of discrimination |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| United States, Eugene | Eugene, Oregon, has taken a lead role in becoming a "Human Rights City" in the United States. It has an active Human Rights Commission composed of community volunteers appointed by the Mayor and City Council and established by a local ordinance. Its duties include making recommendations to the Mayor and City Council to advance human rights protection, and fostering human rights education and awareness-raising.<br><br>Eugene city government incorporated reference to the full range of civil, political, social, economic and cultural human rights into the Social Equity section of their Triple-Bottom-Line Tool, a set of questions and guidelines that is being used by City government to help it make program and budget decisions. City staff also included an action item in the City's five-year Diversity and Equity Strategic Plan (DESP) that calls for implementation of the human rights framework across all six City departments (e.g., Planning and Development, Library and Recreational Services, Police). | A city free of discrimination<br><br>A city of inclusive citizenship |
| United States, New York | New York City Commission on Human Rights is one of the many local anti-discrimination agencies present in US cities. The Commission implements the city's Human Rights Law, which provides a strong mandate to act in different domains and in different policy areas to prevent discrimination.<br><br>Its main activities include the intake, investigation, and prosecution of complaints alleging violations of the Human Right Law; as well as human rights public education and encouragement of positive community relations. | A city free of discrimination<br><br>A city of inclusive citizenship |

**www.right2city.org**

**contact@right2city.org**

**follow us on
facebook:
Global-Platform-for-the-Right-to-the-City
twitter:
@global_pl**

Organizations:

ActionAid; Avina Foundation; Brazilian Association of Municipalities; Cities Alliance; Committee on Social Inclusion, Participatory Democracy and Human Rights of the United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG); Huairou Commission; Global Fund for the Cities Development (FMDV); Ford Foundation; Brazilian National Urban Reform Forum; Habitat for Humanity; Habitat International Coalition (HIC); International Alliance of Inhabitants; Intercontinental Network for the Promotion of Social Solidarity Economy (RIPESS); Pólis Institute; Shack Slum Dwellers International (SDI); United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG); WIEGO – Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing; Women In Cities International; TECHO.

# GLOBAL CHARTER-AGENDA FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE CITY

### Preamble

Whereas all human beings are endowed with the rights and freedoms recognized in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and the international instruments that build upon it, in particular, the International Covenants on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and on Civil and Political Rights (1966), the regional conventions and charters of human rights protection and other basic human rights treaties,

Whereas all human rights are universal, indivisible and interdependent, as indicated in the Vienna Declaration (1993), and reaffirmed in the Millennium Declaration (2000) and the Declaration for the 60th Anniversary of the United Nations (2005); and that therefore not only is the realization of economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for the full exercise of political rights, but at the same time only the exercise of civil and political rights permits the participation in the decision-making mechanisms that may lead to the achievement of economic and social rights,

Whereas the city is a political community in which all its inhabitants participate in a common project of freedom, equality of men's and women's rights, and development,

Whereas the degree of freedom of women gives the general measure of the freedom of a society; and it is thus appropriate to act in favor of the effective equality of men and women and to actively promote the participation of women in local decision-making,

Convinced of the need to promote in our cities and territories a form of development that is sustainable, equitable, inclusive and respectful of human rights without discrimination; and of the need to act to extend democracy and local autonomy so as to contribute to building a world of peace, justice and solidarity,

Taking particularly into consideration that extreme poverty is in itself a violation of human rights and stressing the need to respect human rights in situations of economic crisis,

Whereas the mission of local governments, through their actions and authority, is to apply this project, they must play a fundamental role in guaranteeing the effective exercise of the human rights of all their inhabitants,

Whereas citizenship, with its rights, duties and responsibilities is particularly expressed at the level of the city.

## GENERAL PROVISIONS

### A. Objective

- *The Global Charter-Agenda for Human Rights in the City* aims to promote and strengthen the human rights of all the inhabitants of all cities in the world.

## B. Scope of Application

- All Charter-Agenda provisions apply to all city inhabitants, individually and collectively, without discrimination. For purposes of this Charter-Agenda, all inhabitants are citizens without any distinction. Any discrimination based on any ground such as sex, race, color, ethnic or social origin, genetic features, language, religion or belief, political or any other opinion, membership of a national minority, property, birth, disability, age or sexual orientation shall be prohibited. A city inhabitant is any person that lives within its territory even if without fixed domicile.
- The exercise of the rights enunciated in the present Charter-Agenda complements, develops and reinforces the rights that already exist at the national level by virtue of the constitution, the laws and the international obligations of the State.
- City obligations listed in this instrument should be understood as the duties of local authorities and administration; in accordance with the powers they have been legally endowed.
- A "city" is defined as a local government of any size: regions, urban agglomerations, metropolises, municipalities and other local authorities freely governed.
- A "territory" is a managed area which falls directly or indirectly under the jurisdiction of the city.
- The reference to "access" in different sections of this Charter-Agenda is to be understood from both a physical or material perspective (proximity) as well as an economic one (affordability).

## C. Values and Principles

The Charter-Agenda is based on the following values and principles:

- The dignity of every human being as a supreme value

- Freedom, equality particularly between men and women, non-discrimination, recognition of differences, justice and social inclusion.

- Democracy and citizen participation as the policy of cities

- Universality, indivisibility and interdependence of human rights

- Social and environmental sustainability

- Cooperation and solidarity among all members of each city, as well as among all cities throughout the world

- Shared and differentiated responsibility of the cities and their inhabitants, in accordance with abilities and means.

## AGENDA OF RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS

## I. RIGHT TO THE CITY

1. a) All city inhabitants have the right to a city constituted as a local political community that ensures adequate living conditions for all the people, and provides good coexistence among all its inhabitants, and between them and the local authority.

b) Every man and woman benefit from all rights enunciated in the present Charter-Agenda and are full-fledged actors of the life of the city.

**Committee on Social Inclusion, Participatory Democracy and Human Rights**

**Global Charter-Agenda for Human Rights in the City**

c) All city inhabitants have the right to participate in the configuration and coordination of territory as a basic space and foundation for peaceful life and coexistence.

d) All city inhabitants have the right to available spaces and resources allowing them to be active citizens. The working and common spaces shall be respectful of everyone else's values and of the value of pluralism.

2. The city offers its inhabitants all available means to exercise their rights.

The signatories of the Charter are encouraged to develop contact with neighboring cities and territories with the aim of building caring communities and regional capitals.

As a framework and summary of all rights provided for in this Charter-Agenda, the above right will be satisfied to the degree in which each and every one of the rights described therein are fully effective and guaranteed domestically.

3. City inhabitants have the duty to respect the rights and dignity of others.

---

Suggested Action Plan

a) Adoption and application of a human rights training program for the employees of local public services, with emphasis on the respect for differences, coexistence and the common good, as well as, if needed, the hiring of human rights specialists.
b) A participatory analysis or audit of human rights in the city, which would allow for a diagnostic of the situation and the formulation of a local development plan based on citizen participation.
c) Periodic evaluation of the Charter-Agenda as part of a public consultation.
d) A participatory local action plan on human rights, as a result of the previous analysis and evaluation.
e) Creation of different institutions, independent of the political authority, empowered to: provide information to citizens on how to gain access to their rights; receive complaints and suggestions from the city's inhabitants; perform inquiry and social mediation functions.

---

**II. RIGHT TO PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY**

1. All city inhabitants have the right to participate in political and city management processes, in particular:
   a) To participate in the decision-making processes of local public policies;
   b) To question local authorities regarding their public policies, and to assess them;
   c) To live in a city that guarantees public transparency and accountability.

2. The city promotes a quality participation of its inhabitants in local affairs, ensures them access to public information, and recognizes their ability to impact on local decisions. The city particularly encourages the participation of women in full respect of the exercise of their rights. It encourages as well the participation of minority groups. It promotes the participation of children in affairs directly relevant to them.

The city promotes the exercise of all its inhabitants' collective and individual rights. To this end, it facilitates the participation of civil society, including human rights protection associations, in the formulation of policies and the implementation of measures aimed at realizing the rights of its inhabitants.

United Cities and Local Governments
Cités et Gouvernements Locaux Unis
Ciudades y Gobiernos Locales Unidos

VILLE DE Nantes

Région PAYS DE LA LOIRE

secrétariat international permanent
droits de l'homme et gouvernements locaux
nantes, pays de la loire, france

3. City inhabitants participate in local affairs according to their abilities and means. They take part in decisions that concern them, and express their opinions towards other individuals and groups in a spirit of tolerance and pluralism. City inhabitants take on the local policy in terms of the common interest, for the benefit of the community.

---

Suggested Action Plan

Short-term:
a) Promote measures for participation in electoral processes.
b) Promote the political and social participation of people that do not enjoy the right to vote in local elections.
c) Establish mechanisms to provide all city inhabitants with access to transparent and accessible public information. In particular, essential information should be published in the city's most common languages.
d) Adoption of measures granting the freedom of movement and the ability to voice opposition when large public events are organized in the city.
e) Annual publication of a clearly drafted summary of the city's budget and balance sheet.
f) Promote associations and social capital in the city via, among other means, the establishment of a system of public premises for the meetings of local entities, movements and associations.

Mid-term:
a) Establish a consultation process for the preparation of the budget.
b) Establish a system of citizen participation for the drafting of local projects, programs and policies, including the city's master plan and the local regulations on participation. Extension of the participatory methodology to the follow-up and evaluation of local policies.
c) Organize consultations open to all city inhabitants, when justified by the general interest issues presented.
d) Adoption of a system to petition the local authorities.
e) Promote before the competent national and international authorities the legal recognition of the right to vote in local elections for all the residents of the city, irrespective of their country of citizenship.

---

## III. RIGHT TO CIVIC PEACE AND SAFETY IN THE CITY

1. All city inhabitants have the right to personal and material safety against any type of violence, including that potentially committed by law enforcement agencies.

2. The city ensures the security and physical and mental safety of all its inhabitants, and takes measures to combat acts of violence, regardless of who the perpetrators may be.

The city is equipped with democratic law enforcement agencies, prepared to protect all its inhabitants without discrimination. Law enforcement officers are expressly forbidden from resorting to any cruel, inhumane or degrading treatment.

When detention, retention or imprisonment facilities exist under the responsibility of the city, those places will allow the visit of certain independent authorities.

The city adopts measures to combat school and domestic violence and, in particular, violence against women and vulnerable groups, such as children, the elderly and the disabled.
The city assumes its role in the management of social tensions, in order to prevent friction between the different groups that live in the city from turning into actual conflict. To this end, it fosters coexistence, social mediation and dialogue among those groups.

**Committee on Social Inclusion, Participatory Democracy and Human Rights**

**Global Charter-Agenda for Human Rights in the City**

3. City inhabitants act in a manner compatible with the promotion of everyone's safety. They respect civic peace.

---

Suggested Action Plan

Short-term:
  a) Start up a participatory process for the different approaches on improving safety across the city's different communities and neighborhoods.
  b) Granting of government credit facilities and financial aid, and provision of business premises for local networks that work in high-risk neighborhoods.
  c) Implementation of a system of coordination and exchange of information on a regular basis with local judiciary authorities.
  d) Specialized training for local police forces, on awareness of and respect towards the different social and cultural realities of the city, in preparation for interventions in high-risk neighborhoods.
  e) Specialist human rights training for local police officers.

Mid-term:
  a) Encourage the different departments in charge of urban planning, parks and gardens, public lighting, police and social services, to adopt all-encompassing measures to make public and semi-private areas safer and more accessible.
  b) Foster the appropriation of public spaces by citizens as a means to build a public identity linked to the design and care of the space.
  c) Encourage the respective national justice systems to analyze crime patterns, with the aim of decriminalizing those categories of minor offenses, petty crimes and antisocial behavior that are easier to combat with non-punitive measures which attempt to rehabilitate and integrate the offenders.

---

## IV. RIGHT OF WOMEN AND MEN TO EQUALITY

1. All city inhabitants have the right not to be treated in a discriminatory manner by reason of their gender.

2. The city adopts all necessary measures, including regulations, prohibiting discrimination against women in all its forms.

The city refrains from engaging in any act or practice of discrimination against women and ensures that public authorities and institutions act in conformity with this obligation.

The city takes all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women by any person, organization or enterprise.

The city takes, in particular in the political, social, economic and cultural fields, all appropriate measures to ensure the full development of women, for the purpose of guaranteeing them the exercise and enjoyment of their human rights and fundamental freedoms on a basis of equality with men.

3. All city inhabitants refrain from engaging in any act or practice that may be detrimental to women's rights.

United Cities and Local Governments
Cités et Gouvernements Locaux Unis
Ciudades y Gobiernos Locales Unidos

VILLE DE Nantes

Région PAYS DE LA LOIRE

secrétariat international permanent
droits de l'homme et gouvernements locaux
nantes, pays de la loire, france

Committee on
Social Inclusion,
Participatory Democracy
and Human Rights

Global Charter-Agenda
for Human Rights
in the City

6

Suggested Action Plan

a) Adoption of a local action plan for gender equality that guarantees non-discrimination between men and women in all fields and that gives credit to women's contribution to the city.
b) Adoption of priority provisions to facilitate the access to social housing by women in single-parent homes or by victims of gender violence.
c) Adoption of measures to promote a better access of public spaces by women.
d) Strive for full equality in the composition of local governmental bodies, including the board of directors of public local companies.

## V. RIGHTS OF CHILDREN

1. All the children in the city , whatever their gender, have the right to living conditions that help in  their physical, mental and ethical development and to enjoy all the rights recognized by the 1989 International Convention on the Rights of the Child. In accordance with this convention, a child is any person under the age of 18.

2. The city ensures that all children live in decent conditions and, in particular, that they have the opportunity to receive normal schooling that contributes to their personal development, in the respect of human rights. Where not provided by other levels of government, the city provides free and compulsory primary education for all and ensures, together with the competent authorities, that secondary education is duly provided.

3. In fulfilling their responsibility, city inhabitants respect the dignity and rights of children including those of disabled children.

Suggested Action Plan

a) Establish a public childcare network, consisting of nursery schools and other premises, located in the various areas of the city and with universal access, to provide comprehensive care for children and youth.
b) Establish a monitoring mechanism that enables the city to intervene in cases where people under the age of 18 are at risk, confronted by danger and violence, particularly orphans, homeless children, children victims of any form of exploitation, HIV/Aids sufferers and those displaced by war.
c) Opening and/or strengthening of care centers for children, with healthcare, counseling and family relief services.
d) Design and implementation of measures for the access to the city by children.
e) Implement specific mechanisms of social protection for youth.
f) Launch an information campaign on the international Convention on the Rights of the Child.
g) Establish specific measures to assist disabled children.

United Cities and Local Governments
Cités et Gouvernements Locaux Unis
Ciudades y Gobiernos Locales Unidos

VILLE DE Nantes

Région PAYS DE LA LOIRE

secrétariat international permanent
droits de l'homme et gouvernements locaux
nantes, pays de la loire, france

**Committee on Social Inclusion, Participatory Democracy and Human Rights**

**Global Charter-Agenda for Human Rights in the City**

## VI. RIGHT TO ACCESSIBLE PUBLIC SERVICES

1. All city inhabitants have the right to a socially and economically inclusive city and, to this end, to access to nearby basic social services in acceptable technical and financial conditions.

2. The city creates, or promotes the creation of, quality and non-discriminatory public services that guarantee the following minimum to all its inhabitants: training, access to health, housing, energy, water, sanitation and sufficient food, under the terms outlined in this Charter-Agenda.

Particularly, in countries with rapid urban growth, the cities take urgent measures to improve the quality of life and opportunities of its inhabitants, especially those of lesser means as well as people with disabilities.

The city is concerned with the protection of the rights of the elderly and encourages solidarity among generations.

The city takes the necessary measures to ensure a fair distribution of public services over its entire territory, in a decentralized manner.

3. City inhabitants use social services responsibly.

---

Suggested Action Plan

Short-term:
  a) Establishment of a social participation system in the design and monitoring of services delivery, especially with respect to quality, fee setting and front office operations. The participation system should focus in particular on the poorest neighborhoods and the most vulnerable groups in the city.
  b) Immediate abolition, where existing, of the legal, administrative and procedural requirements that bind the provision of basic public services to the legal status of city inhabitants.
  c) Review of local procedures and regulatory provisions, to provide low income people with greater access to basic services.
  d) Establish an equitable system of local taxes and fees that takes into account the people's incomes and their use of public services. Provide information to users on the cost of public services and the source of the funds paying for them.
  e) Careful monitoring of the needs of transients and other nomadic populations in the area of basic public services.

Mid-term:
  a) Establish efficient measures to make sure that private sector players who manage social or public interest services respect the rights guaranteed under this Charter- Agenda fully, and without discrimination. Contracts and concessions of the city shall clearly set forth its commitment to human rights.
  b) Adoption of measures to ensure that public services report to the level of government closest to the population, with the participation of city inhabitants in their management and supervision.
  c) Encourage access to all public services and to the life of the city by the elderly.

---

**United Cities and Local Governments
Cités et Gouvernements Locaux Unis
Ciudades y Gobiernos Locales Unidos**

**VILLE DE Nantes**

**Région PAYS DE LA LOIRE**

secrétariat international permanent
droits de l'homme et gouvernements locaux
nantes, pays de la loire, france

**Committee on Social Inclusion, Participatory Democracy and Human Rights**

**Global Charter-Agenda for Human Rights in the City**

## VII. FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE AND RELIGION, OPINION AND INFORMATION

1. a) All city inhabitants have the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion: this right includes freedom to change their religion or belief, and freedom – either alone or with others and in public or private – to manifest their religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

b) All city inhabitants have the right to freedom of opinion and expression. This right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and deliver information and ideas through any media.

These rights may be subject only to such limitations that are necessary for the protection of public safety, order, health or morals, or for the protection of others' rights and freedoms, in the framework of national legislation.

2. The city ensures that its inhabitants have the freedom to manifest their religion or beliefs, including the right of parents to choose the type of schooling for their children.

The city ensures that everyone is able to hold opinions without interference, as well as to seek and receive information and ideas through any media, in private and in public.

The city undertakes to give its inhabitants free access to all existing sources of information and to facilitate the creation and the development of new free and pluralist sources of information.

The city encourages the creation and the development of free and pluralist media and information bodies, freely accessible to all inhabitants, without discrimination.

The city facilitates fact-finding for all journalists without discrimination and ensures that they have free access to the widest range of information, particularly concerning the city administration.

The city encourages debates and exchange of ideas and information. It ensures that all inhabitants have free access to public meeting places and facilitates the creation of such places.

3. City inhabitants have the duty and the responsibility to respect everyone else's religion, beliefs and opinions.

---

Suggested plan of action :

  a) Support religious organizations in creating new places of worship and withdrawal of any obstacles through city planning to that end.
  b) Facilitate the distribution and exchange of information in view of the various faiths and beliefs of its inhabitants, without discrimination.
  c) Encourage initiatives in favor of greater tolerance and mutual understanding, among religions, beliefs and opinions.
  d) Facilitate the creation, development and accessibility of new free and pluralist sources of information, as well as the training of journalists and the organization of public

United Cities and Local Governments
Cités et Gouvernements Locaux Unis
Ciudades y Gobiernos Locales Unidos

VILLE DE Nantes

Région PAYS DE LA LOIRE

secrétariat international permanent
droits de l'homme et gouvernements locaux
nantes, pays de la loire, france

## VIII. RIGHT TO PEACEFUL MEETING, ASSOCIATION AND TO FORM A TRADE UNION

1. a) All city inhabitants have the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association, which includes the right of individuals to associate together and the right to form and join a trade union for the protection of their interests.

b) No one may be compelled to join an association or a trade union.

2. The city ensures that its inhabitants have the right to assemble together and meet peacefully. This right may be subject only to such limitations as are prescribed by law and are necessary for the protection of public safety, order, health or morals, or for the protection of others' rights and freedoms.

The city ensures that its inhabitants have the right to form and join or not to join a trade union, without discrimination. It contributes to the full enjoyment of labor rights by its inhabitants.

3. City inhabitants, particularly those who employ others, respect everyone's right of peaceful assembly, association and to join a trade union, as well as the labor rights of workers.

Suggested plan of action:

   a) Encourage and assist in the creation and the development of associations.
   b) Withdrawal of any legal or administrative obstacles to the setting up of associations and trade unions which are respectful of democratic values and human rights.
   c) Facilitate the exchange of information among associations and unions and take the necessary measures to develop meeting places to this end, including the organization of public association forums.
   d) Encourage consultation and public meetings with local associations and unions in the field of public policies.
   e) Supervise and guarantee the fulfillment of workers rights in all works and services deriving from the city.

## IX. CULTURAL RIGHTS

1. All city inhabitants have the right to inclusive and ongoing quality training and education, and to enjoy culture in all its diverse expressions and forms.

2. The city stimulates creativity, supports the development and diversity of expressions and cultural practices, and sport, together with venues for the dissemination of culture and the arts, in particular, local public libraries.

The city promotes adult training and ongoing education programs.

In cooperation with cultural associations and the private sector, local authorities promote the development of a cultural urban life.

The city ensures all its inhabitants access to communication services and tools. It promotes the learning of electronic and information technologies through free public workshops.

The city respects, protects and promotes the cultural diversity of its inhabitants, the only limit being their full respect towards the rules of coexistence and universally recognized human rights. It promotes likewise the expressiveness, creativity and cultural practices of its inhabitants.

3. City inhabitants respect the city's cultural diversity and treat responsibly the public areas and facilities devoted to culture in the city.

---

Suggested Action Plan

a) Adopt supportive measures for adult education and ongoing training, including vocational training.
b) Expansion of a public library network throughout all the city's neighborhoods.
c) Adopt measures to conserve, protect and sustain the city's cultural heritage, and its sustainable and respectful access by city inhabitants and tourists.
d) Plan for the creation, expansion or maintenance of quality recreational areas open to the public without discrimination.
e) Offer IT training workshops and adopt measures to ensure universal Internet access.
f) Careful attention to the needs of transients and other nomad populations in the field of access to education.
g) Supportive measures for cultural creativity in the city, in order to improve the working conditions of culture professionals and to promote active cultural practices of all city inhabitants.
h) Creation and maintenance of sport facilities.

---

## X. RIGHT TO HOUSING AND DOMICILE

1. All city inhabitants have the right to:
   a) Decent and sanitary housing in a living space with features of urban centrality.
   b) Security of legal title over their home and plot of land.
   c) Unconditional access to a registered address.
   d) Migrants have the right to settlement areas adapted to their needs.

2. The city reconsiders its approach on land use and housing development, to adapt them to the economic, social and cultural needs of the population as a whole, particularly the most vulnerable groups.

The city takes measures to improve the regulation of the local housing market, for purposes of ensuring affordable options for the most vulnerable groups.

The city combats spatial exclusion and segregation with interventions based on social inclusion and diversity.

Furthermore, the city recognizes the right to domicile for all its inhabitants, by promoting the guarantee of their title of occupancy, in particular for the most vulnerable groups, and especially, for the inhabitants of informal dwellings.

In collaboration with other competent authorities, the city takes appropriate measures to offer decent provisional accommodation to homeless populations, as well as an adequate site for migrant populations. It allows homeless people to have a registered address at care centers, in order to ensure that they benefit from social services, particularly health services, in the city.

United Cities and Local Governments
Cités et Gouvernements Locaux Unis
Ciudades y Gobiernos Locales Unidos

VILLE DE Nantes

Région PAYS DE LA LOIRE

secrétariat international permanent
droits de l'homme et gouvernements locaux
nantes, pays de la loire, france

Committee on
Social Inclusion,
Participatory Democracy
and Human Rights

Global Charter-Agenda
for Human Rights
in the City

3. In fulfilling their responsibilities, city inhabitants use their regular home appropriately and promote neighborly relationships. Owners of multiple homes bear in mind that, together with other types of income, housing has a social function.

---

Suggested Action Plan

Short-term:
  a) Assess accommodation needs as a function of the city's population profile, and create or strengthen a local service to recognize these needs.
  b) Assess the situation of informal dwellings in the city, and discuss with their occupiers to guarantee the security of their possessions and their status, and improve their living conditions.
  c) Immediate stop of evictions that do not respect legal procedures and the principles of proportionality and that do not provide fair compensation. Introduction of an alternative protection and accommodation system for evicted people.
  d) Expansion of public land by way of urban development, planning, and well-devised, area-based distribution, through citizen participation and in favor of the low-income people.
  e) Create specialized services for migrants and encourage the local authorities to work with them in the processes of negotiation and management of local policies and services related to the right to housing and domicile.
  f) Careful attention to the housing needs of transients and other nomad populations.
  g) Adoption of a public or subsidized housing construction plan, affordable for low income people, and a plan for the provision of decent shelters for the homeless.

Mid-term:
  a) Establish a procedure for land domain regularization that establishes timeframes and is non-discriminatory, especially to the most disfavored people and groups. Involve the competent government in this procedure, where applicable. In the event of governmental delay or inaction, or risk of eviction, the inhabitants of informal dwellings shall be entitled to legally demand the regularization of their housing.
  b) Enactment of the appropriate regulations to ensure full use of urban land, and of public and private property that is unused, underused or unoccupied, to fulfill the social function of housing. Legislative action on a regional or national scale will be promoted when necessary.
  c) Adoption of a local regulation that ensures the accessibility of housing for the disabled, and introduction of an inspection plan in collaboration with the groups concerned.
  d) Adaptation of local regulations to provide for the legal enforceability of the right to housing.

---

## XI. RIGHT TO CLEAN WATER AND FOOD

1. All city inhabitants have the right to drinking water, sanitation and adequate food.

2. The city guarantees all its inhabitants equal access to drinking water and sanitation services, in adequate amounts and quality.

The city guarantees a minimum level of water and food supply and prohibits cuts in the supply of water for people in precarious situations.

Where competent, the city establishes a public and participatory system of water management and may make use of the traditional and community systems. It promotes local alternatives for water collection.

United Cities and Local Governments
Cités et Gouvernements Locaux Unis
Ciudades y Gobiernos Locales Unidos

VILLE DE Nantes

Région PAYS DE LA LOIRE

secrétariat international permanent
droits de l'homme et gouvernements locaux
nantes, pays de la loire, france

The city also guarantees all its inhabitants access to sufficient healthy and nutritional food, and ensures that no one is deprived of food for lack of economic means. The city takes measures to stop hunger and tackle food shortage, even in cases of natural or other types of disasters.

3. In fulfilling their responsibilities, city inhabitants consume water in a manner that respects its natural resources, and make appropriate use of facilities and equipment.

---

Suggested Action Plan

Short-term:
a) Adoption of local regulations, when competent to do so, that prohibit water cuts for people in precarious situations who show a very low level of water consumption.
b) Establish tiered rates where water would be either almost free or charged a small amount in case of very low consumption. The rates would increase in case of higher consumption, with a view to penalizing water waste.

Mid-term:
a) Negotiate water and energy distribution terms with private sector providers, that are adequate to guarantee the rights provided for under the Charter-Agenda.
b) Introduce quality control to guarantee food safety.
c) Introduce public school meals in partnership with local farmers and producers.
d) Facilitate the creation of urban vegetable gardens and subsidized community restaurants.

---

## XII. RIGHT TO SUSTAINABLE URBAN DEVELOPMENT

1. a) All city inhabitants have the right to quality urban development, with a focus on social integration and with adequate and environmentally-friendly public transport.

b) All city inhabitants have the right to electricity, gas and other sources of energy at home, school and in the workplace, within an ecologically sustainable city.

2. The city ensures that urban development is undertaken with a harmonious balance among all its neighborhoods, in order to prevent social segregation.

The city takes the necessary measures to achieve a healthy urban environment, and makes particular efforts to consistently improve air quality, and reduce inconveniences caused by noise and traffic.

The city is equipped with an efficient public transport system that reaches all neighborhoods in a balanced manner.

The city guarantees equal access to gas, electricity and other sources of energy, in sufficient quality and quantity, to all its inhabitants.

The city prohibits cuts in the supply of gas, electricity and other sources of energy for people in precarious situations who show low levels of consumption.

3. In fulfilling their responsibility, city inhabitants act in a manner that respects the environment and promotes energy saving and the good use of public installations, including public transportation. The inhabitants also participate in collective community efforts to promote quality urban planning and sustainable development, for the benefit of current and future generations.

**Committee on Social Inclusion, Participatory Democracy and Human Rights**

**Global Charter-Agenda for Human Rights in the City**

---

<u>Suggested Action Plan</u>

Short-term:

a) Adopt measures aimed at raising awareness among city inhabitants of their responsibility in the processes of climate change and biodiversity destruction, and at determining the ecological footprint of the city itself, to identify priority action areas.

b) Adopt preventive measures to combat pollution and the disorganized occupation of land and environmentally protected areas, including energy saving, waste management and reutilization, recycling, expansion and conservation of green spaces.

c) Adopt measures against corruption in urban development and against incursion in protected natural land.

d) Adopt measures to promote collective transportation services, free or with low fares, to all the city's inhabitants and progressively introduce environmentally-friendly public transport services.

e) Where competent, adopt regulations prohibiting cuts of electricity, gas and other sources of energy for people in a precarious situation with a very low level of consumption.

Mid-term:

a) Approval of urban and inter-urban mobility plans based on a public **transport** system that is accessible, affordable and adequate for different environmental and social (gender, age and disability) needs.

b) Installation of the necessary equipment in the mobility and traffic system, and adaptation of all buildings used by the public, work and recreational places to ensure access for the disabled.

c) Review urban development plans to ensure that no neighborhood or community is excluded, and that they all have the elements required for an urban center. Planning shall be transparent and organized, based on priorities, with greater efforts on the most disfavored neighborhoods.

d) Metropolitan, and potentially regional and national planning in terms of urban development, public transportation and environmental sustainability.

c) Establish tiered rates where energy would be either almost free or charged a small amount in case of very low consumption. The rates would increase with a higher consumption in order to penalize energy waste.

e) Promotion of sustainable and diverse technologies for energy supply.

f) Establish measures that contribute to the protection of biodiversity on a local scale.

---

**FINAL PROVISIONS**

**A. Adoption and coming into force mechanism of the Charter-Agenda in each city**

- The Charter-Agenda shall become effective in each city after it goes through a consultation process that allows the inhabitants of the city to discuss it and adapt the terms of implementation of the action plan to local conditions and to the national legal framework and upon its acceptance by the city council. The same mechanism shall apply for any review of the local Charter-Agenda.

- The adopted Charter-Agenda will be seen locally at the highest normative level.

**B. Mechanisms of application**

**Committee on Social Inclusion, Participatory Democracy and Human Rights**

**Global Charter-Agenda for Human Rights in the City**

- The City elaborates specific indicators for the fulfillment of each of the rights as well as action plans as established in the Local Charter-Agenda.

- The City sets up the various bodies (expert groups, local observatories, independent commission on human rights or joint committee of elected representatives/civil society) necessary to ensure implementation, follow-up and evaluation of the Charter-Agenda at the local level. It may also introduce a complaint or mediation procedure.

- The City establishes a public consultation process to evaluate the implementation and effects of the Charter-Agenda on a regular basis.

- The City establishes multi-level cooperation with other competent instances (local, regional, national) in order to ensure the right to the city.

**C. Role of the city in the promotion of human rights on an international level**

- The City is committed to promoting transnational local cooperation, in a general manner and in the implementation of this Charter-Agenda and to encouraging respect for human rights worldwide.

- The City endeavors to actively collaborate, within its powers, in the implementation of international mechanisms for the protection of human rights.

*This Global Charter-Agenda for Human Rights in the City*
*has been adopted by United Cities and Local Governments (CGLU),*
*following a wide and global participatory process, at Florence (Italy) on 11 December 2011.*

■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■

For further information:

**Committee on Social Inclusion, Participatory Democracy and Human Rights**
**United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG)**

cisdp@cities-localgovernments.org
www.cities-localgovernments.org/CISDP