

**The impact of democracy in
Mozambique:**
Assessing political, social and economic
developments since the dawn of
democracy

João C. G. Pereira

Research Report 118

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João C. G. Pereira¹

Abstract

Does democracy enhance the process of development in Mozambique? This report attempts to answer this question through analysing different types of data. Specifically, it examines how democratic institutions have increased accountability and efficiency, and created room for social development changes, including service delivery (basic services, education, and health and welfare) and improved economic conditions for ordinary citizens. The analysis reveals the following findings:

- *Democratic institutions are not supplying what the citizens want with regard to socio-economic benefits. The economy is growing but this is not reflected in the lives of the majority of Mozambican citizens.*
- *Despite the positive shifts in the expansion of education and health systems, the quality of these services remains very poor.*
- *Despite the existence of many forms of accountability relationships (for example formal and informal accountabilities, social, political and electoral accountabilities) between different public institutions, these are weak. Different factors contribute to these weaknesses and the most important are:*
 - a) *few civil society organisations are involved in formal and informal accountability mechanisms*
 - b) *most of the accountability mechanisms have been created recently and are merely consultative by nature*
 - c) *lack of democratic culture among the elected representatives*
 - d) *politicisation of the local consultative forums*
 - e) *a top-down centralist model of governance*

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- f) *lack of linkages between community-based organisations, citizens and government decision-making structures,*
- g) *lack of political commitment to accountability.*

1. INTRODUCTION

Mozambique has a land area of 799 380 km, with a coastline stretching 2470 km and land borders of 4330 km. It is blessed with three deep-sea ports: Nacala in the north, Beira in the centre, and Maputo in the south, which serve both the country and the region.

Mozambique was colonised by Portugal, after Portuguese explorers reached the area in 1498. However, Arab trading settlements had existed along the coast and outlying islands for several centuries before that. From about 1500, Portuguese trading posts and forts became regular ports of call on the new route to the east. Later, traders and prospectors penetrated the interior regions seeking gold and slaves. Although Portuguese influence gradually expanded, its power was limited and exercised through individual settlers who were granted extensive autonomy. As a result, investment lagged, while Lisbon devoted itself to the more lucrative trade with India and the Far East and to the colonisation of Brazil.

By the early 20th century the Portuguese had shifted the administration of much of the country to large private companies, controlled and financed mostly by the British, who established railroad lines to neighbouring countries and supplied cheap - often forced - African labour to the mines and plantations of the nearby British colonies and South Africa. Because policies were designed to benefit white settlers and the Portuguese homeland, little attention was paid to Mozambique's national integration, its economic infrastructure, or the skills of its population.

The last 30 years of Mozambique's history have reflected political developments elsewhere. Following the April 1974 coup in Lisbon, Portuguese colonialism collapsed. In Mozambique, the military decision to withdraw occurred within the context of a decade of armed anti-colonial struggle, initially led by American-educated Eduardo Mondlane, who was assassinated in 1969. When independence was achieved in 1975, the leaders of FRELIMO's military campaign rapidly established a one-party state allied to the Soviet bloc, and outlawed rival political activity. FRELIMO eliminated political pluralism, religious educational institutions, and the role of traditional authorities.

The new government gave shelter and support to South African (African National Congress) and Zimbabwean (ZANU) liberation movements, while the governments of first Rhodesia and later apartheid South Africa fostered and financed an armed rebel movement in central Mozambique called the Mozambican National Resistance (RENAMO). Civil war, sabotage from neighbouring states, and economic collapse characterised the first decade of

Mozambican independence. This period was also marked by the mass exodus of Portuguese nationals, weak infrastructure, nationalisation, and economic mismanagement. During most of the civil war, the government was unable to exercise effective control outside of urban areas, many of which were cut off from the capital. An estimated 1 million Mozambicans perished during the civil war, 1.7 million took refuge in neighbouring states, and several million more were internally displaced. In the third party congress for the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) in 1983, President Samora Machel conceded the failure of socialism and the need for major political and economic reforms. He died, along with several advisers, in a suspicious 1986 plane crash.

His successor, Joaquim Chissano, continued the reforms and began peace talks with RENAMO. The new constitution enacted in 1990 provided for a multi-party political system, a market-based economy, and free elections. The civil war ended in October 1992 with the Rome General Peace Accords. Under supervision of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) peacekeeping force, peace returned to Mozambique.

Does democracy help or hinder economic performance? Does it increase accountability and citizen participation in policy formulation? Does democracy create opportunities for the citizens to express their dissatisfaction with government, government officials, political leaders and political parties? There are few questions in political debate and political economy that have attracted more attention over the years. Recently, with the advent of cross-national data sources and statistical techniques, there have been numerous econometric studies investigating the relationships between political liberties and economic goods, as well as between democracy and political goods (see Barro 1996; Isham et al 1997; Przeworski et al 1993; Tavares et al 1996).

This report aims to answer the following questions:

- Do democratic institutions respond to the citizens' demands in Mozambique?
- Does a democratic system increase accountability and efficiency?
- Does it create room for social development changes including service delivery (basic services, education, and health and welfare) and lead to better economic conditions for ordinary citizens?

The report is part of the Kellogg project that aims to find out whether citizens in selected southern African countries consider their circumstances as having improved or not in terms of their standard of living and economic security. Included in this exercise will be an assessment and analysis of citizens' sense of connectedness to their government in general, their elected political leadership and decision-making processes in particular.

2. METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES

According to Bardhan (2006) the empirical literature that tried to establish a link between democracy and development is generally unpersuasive because many of the studies are beset with serious methodological problems (such as endogeneity of political regimes to economic performance, selection bias, and so on) and problems of data quality (see also Bardhan, 1997; Przeworski et al 1991).

For these and other reasons Bardhan is not a great fan of cross-country regressions, but of old-fashioned methods of comparative institutional analysis to understand the mechanism through which democracy may help or hinder the process of development.

Based on Bardhan's advice this study used the combination of the different methodological tools such as literature review and analysis, semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions.

2.1. Literature review and analysis

This activity had two parts: on one hand, the review of available information such as several documents concerning the democratisation process in Mozambique, donors' governance assessment reports, and the abundant literature (including academic articles) on the diverse aspects of civil society, public participation, decentralisation and social development in Mozambique and around the region. On the other hand, a review was carried out of official policy documents and national strategies (Agenda 2025, Action Plan for the Reduction of Absolute Poverty (PARPA) I and II, Government Five-year Plan, Social Economic Plan and the Joint Review Reports), as well as donors' governance assessment reports and surveys datasets from Afrobarometer², Centre for Populations Studies and USAID.

2.2. Semi-structured in-depth interviews

In addition to the review of available publications and other sources, face-to-face interviews were conducted with political party leaders, citizens, the media, trade unions, and civil society leaders. This study presents original material from interviews with 30 people, including three political party leaders, three journalists, 10 leaders of civil society organisations and 14 citizens with different backgrounds (ie students, lecturers and people in the informal market - see the list of key informants in the bibliography section). In general,

2. The objective of the Afrobarometer Project is to collect, analyse and disseminate cross-national, time-series attitudinal data for up to a dozen new democracies on the African continent. In the last few years the Afrobarometer has conducted different surveys on political, economic and market reforms in Africa, particularly in the countries which belong to the network and which are in transition. In a 2007 co-operation with the Centre for Population Studies and the Unity of Opinion Service and Democracy at Eduardo Mondlane University, Afrobarometer conducted a national survey on political, economic and market reforms in Mozambique. The philosophy of the Afrobarometer surveys is to concentrate on activities of concern to ordinary people in their everyday lives.

when interviews were being carried out the main difficulty encountered was to get the respondents to express their views on democracy and development in Mozambique.

2.3. Focus group discussions

I then conducted five focus group discussions with youths, women and men. Most of these discussions were conducted in the central and northern part of the country - two in Nampula and three in Sofala provinces; six people participated. It was interesting to note that many people showed more knowledge about the country's political and socio-economic situation in this situation than those respondents who were interviewed through a simple semi-structured interview.

3. THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

3.1 Household socio-economic changes

The governance of democracy is a supply/demand relationship. According to Rose et al (1999), the public makes demands about what governors ought to do and what elected officials should supply. Are democratic institutions supplying what the citizens want with regard to socio-economic benefits? Mozambique has been classified by the international community as a success story of economic reform and political transition. However, despite the economic growth rate, which has been portrayed as one of the fastest in Africa, there is increasing economic inequality, and some Mozambicans are measurably better off than others. Official statistics from the household survey (Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas (INE) 2003 and 2004 show that the incidence of absolute poverty is 69.4 per cent, indicating that more than two-thirds of the Mozambican population is living below the poverty line. Poverty is higher in rural areas (71.2 per cent), where 80 per cent of the population lives, than in the urban areas (62 per cent).

Recent official data for the period 2003-2004 show a 16 per cent reduction in poverty in rural areas (from 71 per cent to 55 per cent) and a 10 per cent reduction for urban areas (from 62 per cent to 52 per cent) (INE 1998, 2001, 2003, 2004; Fox et al 2005; Tvedten et al 2006). Despite these positive shifts, the country remains very poor, occupying 168th place out of 177 in the most recent Human Development Report by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) 2007. There are also reservations about the nature and equitability of the growth of the Mozambican economy. As Hanlon (2007) notes in the introduction to a critique of the recent World Bank study (2007), beneath the celebrations of successful economic growth is a paradox of instability and vulnerability:

People's living standards are very insecure; half the rural people above the poverty line in 2002 had fallen below the line in 2005, to be replaced by others rising. Second, differentiation is increasing,

with most of the growth in GDP going to the top 20 percent, while the spread between the poor, very poor and extremely poor is increasing.

Mozambique has nonetheless experienced the economic hardship associated with the transition to a market economy. There are no reliable figures on unemployment, but estimates range from 50 per cent to 80 per cent, while annual inflation rates vary between 20 per cent and 35 per cent. On the other hand, market reforms have increased access to basic food supplies, reducing what Rose et al. (2002) called “window shops” because high prices restricted household consumption. Even so, overall household incomes have worsened for many Mozambicans in recent years. A study done by the United National Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in 2002 used a ‘dollar a day’ income to define the poverty line, and on this basis estimated that 40 per cent of the Mozambican population was living on less than one dollar a day, and about 80 per cent on less than two dollars a day. Here is an account of one peasant who seems to confirm the UNCTAD findings and complains about his household income:

It is very difficult to live in democracy...Everything you need to buy and you do not have money to buy grocery and pay yours bills...During Samora time, my family and I did not need to have so much money to buy grocery... Now if you want to live you need to have around five to ten thousands meticals in your pocket...However, most of us who are working only have equivalent to one thousands metical per months...What can I buy with this money? Can I send my five children to schools? Can I send them to hospital with this amount of money; buy clothes or tablets when they are sick? Democracy has brought to us economic problems rather that jobs and social development...³

The transformation from a command to a market economy has had a tremendous impact on the lives of ordinary people, who previously could access cash money, free education and health care, stabilised prices and jobs ‘for life’, although the country experienced food shortages. In contrast, the market economy brought more food security but at the cost of price hikes, unemployment, inflation and uncertainty about household livelihoods. Here is how one peasant in Nampula saw the market economy policy:

Our fathers and grandfathers lived much better than us without democracy and economic reforms...Without democracy and economic reforms they built their houses, sent their kids to schools and some of them are medical doctors, lawyers, teachers now...But today even if you are public workers or medical doctors you suffer to send your kids to schools...If you ask the government why we are suffering, they only say that it is because of World Bank and International Monetary

3. Pedro V., Interview, Maputo, 17.05.2008

Fund...But tell me who are this World Banks and International Monetary Fund?...Where do they came from...What are they doing in Mozambique?⁴

These findings suggest that democratic institutions are not supplying what the citizens want in respect of their basic socio-economic needs and benefits. The economy is growing but it is not reflected in the lives of the majority of Mozambicans. About the lack of capacity of democratic institutions to respond to the demands of citizens, one eyewitness said this:

We have been abandoned by political elites in this country...They say during election campaigns that democracy and market reforms will solve our problems...However, since 1994 only those who are close to FRELIMO and those who are parliamentarians, national directors, provincial directors, governors are benefiting from economic reforms and democracy...Even the lands that we used to have now they are taking ... They have big houses, nice cars and expensive life styles... We are only poor and paying taxes... What can we do? It is life and we need to survive until GOD calls us...⁵

3.2 Social developments and basic service delivery changes

In the past 15 years the Mozambican government has made significant investments in terms of social development, including the basic service delivery areas of education, health, water and sanitation. As result, the Mozambican government has a reputation of being a 'success' in terms of expanding the education and health systems of the country.

Since the end of the 16-year conflict in 1992, the education system, and in particular primary education, has been expanding rapidly. In 1992 the net enrolment rates for Ensino Primário do Primeiro Grau -EP1 (Grade 1-5) was 34.2 per cent for girls and 43.8 per cent for boys. In 2006, the net enrolment rates for girls and boys rose to 67 per cent and 71 per cent respectively. In 1992, Ensino Primário do Segundo Grau -EP2 (Grade 6-7) net enrolment was as low as 15.9 per cent. In 2006 it rose to 51 per cent for girls and 68 per cent for boys (UNDP 2007; ME 2003a, 2003b; MEC 2005). This result seems to be confirmed by the Afrobarometer findings.

With regard to the Mozambican government's capability to address the educational needs of the population, the perception of the performance of the government seems positive in the eyes of Mozambicans. More than two-thirds (71 per cent) say that their government is doing "fairly well" or "very well" at addressing their educational needs, whereas 23 per cent disagreed, and 6 per cent did not offer any response. On a comparison basis, the Mozambican findings do not differ from those of other African countries. Two-

4. Fatima B., Interview, Nampula, 18.04.2008

5. Rainha T., Interview, Nampula, 18.04.2008

thirds (67 per cent) of respondents in Africa say that their governments are doing “fairly well” or “very well” at addressing their educational needs. An overwhelming 92 per cent of Basotho are happy with their government’s efforts to educate their children, as are 85 per cent of Kenyans and Tanzanians, and 82 per cent of respondents from Botswana. On the other hand, in a handful of countries, less than half the respondents give their government passing marks, including Benin (49 per cent, Malawi (46 per cent), and Zimbabwe (45 per cent), and Nigeria only about one in three (36 per cent) approves of the government’s efforts.

In 1992, Mozambique emerged from the civil war with a seriously weakened health infrastructure, low level of financing and limited technical capacity (Chao et al 2002, Mogedal et al 2006). Since then, the health sector has greatly developed with the reconstruction of infrastructures and the redistribution of qualified health staff all over the country (Lindelov 1999; DFID 2005). In spite of this progress, half of the Mozambican people still do not have access to formal health facilities. Mozambican health indicators are among the most alarming in Africa, with an infant mortality rate of 124 per 1000 live births and a child mortality rate of 178 per 1000 live births. The maternal mortality rate is considered one of the highest in the region (408 per 100 000 live births). The situation has worsened with the spread of HIV/AIDS, as 16 per cent of the population is infected with the virus.

Despite positive shifts in the expansion of education and health systems, the quality of these services remains very poor in the eyes of citizens. This was highlighted in a comment made by a respondent from Nampula. She complains about the poor quality of services at hospitals and schools:

We have now so many public hospital...The government is building more...However, what we need now is not only building, but tables, medical doctors and less corruption...We need ambulance and beds in the hospitals...We need to be treated well by the nurses, not as dog but as human being...The same we can say to schools...We need good teachers...We need table where our kids can seat...⁶

Given the country’s rapid urbanisation, its next stage of economic recovery cannot succeed without well-functioning public services in its cities, where coverage levels for key services such as water and sanitation are declining. Ranked at 168 out of 176 countries on the Human Development Index, Mozambique has recognised that poor access to water and sanitation is a major barrier to growth and health. Indeed, Mozambique has one of the lowest levels of water consumption in the world. With an average of less than 10 litres per capita per day, the country is far below global benchmarks, including those for Africa (Perard 2007; see also MCC, 2008).

6. Isabela M., Interview, Nampula, 19.04.2008

Statistics for the water sector are generally considered to be unreliable, as capacity to monitor water supply and sanitation projects is limited. The National Directorate of Water (DNA) indicates that:

- Urban water supply coverage is 32 per cent, whereas the UNICEF/WHO Joint Monitoring Programme states that it is 76 per cent (UNICEF/WHO, 2006).
- Rural water supply coverage is 34 per cent, whereas the UNICEF/WHO Joint Monitoring Programme states it is 42 per cent (UNICEF/WHO 2006).
- The Department of Rural Water suggested that 12 500 water points exist in the country, of which 4 500 (35 per cent) are broken; a more recent report suggests that there are 13 200 water points, of which 4 000 (30 per cent) are non-operational.
- Seventy-five per cent of rural people do not have access to adequate sanitation.
- Sixty per cent of the urban and peri-urban population do not have access to adequate sanitation (Wateraid, 2005).

Some of these variations reflect different agencies using different definitions of coverage. Similar anomalies occur in recent studies of coverage rates at district levels. In Sanga (Niassa Province), the government calculated that coverage was more than 70 per cent, but a recent detailed mapping exercise showed that coverage was actually 21 per cent. Similar results are emerging from Namarroi and Namacurra (Zambézia Province), with government estimates above 30 per cent, while real coverage in both districts is closer to 18 per cent.

As a result of limited access to water and sanitation, the government has identified water/sanitation as a major policy priority in its poverty reduction and growth strategy. In addition, private sector involvement in the water sector is growing. Some, such as WaterAid, have consciously tried to facilitate the emergence of local private sector companies that can support water supply and sanitation development in the country. National government is generally more open to private sector involvement in the water sector than Non Governmental Organisation (NGO) involvement. Recent major work financed by the lending institutions - such as the African Development Bank - has seen increased foreign private sector involvement in the sector.

3.3 Political and democratic governance changes

Until November 1990, Mozambique was formally a 'socialist', one-party state ruled by FRELIMO. As early as 1983, the government began to introduce various economic and political reforms aimed at transforming Mozambique into a more pluralistic society, and the pace of reform accelerated after 1987. Those efforts culminated in the enactment of a new

constitution in November 1990 which provided for a multiparty political system, a market-based economy, and free elections.

Where a multiparty democracy and freedom of association are concerned, three provisions have been critical. One was the 1990 Constitution, whose Article 77 states that:

- All citizens shall have the freedom to form and participate in political parties; and
- Party membership shall be voluntary, and shall derive from the freedom of citizens to associate on the basis of holding the same political ideas.

The second was Law 7 of 23 January 1991, which established the freedom to create political parties. This law established the following requirements for the formation and working of political parties in Mozambique:

- Parties must have national vision which means that religion, regional and ethnic parties are not allowed
- Protect the national interest
- Contribute through participation in elections towards the exercise of citizens' political rights
- Build public awareness of national and international issues
- Strengthen citizen patriotic spirits and consolidate the Mozambican nation
- Contribute through civic education towards building peace and political stability in the country
- Reject any violent means to change the social and political order
- Contribute to the development of state and political institutions.

Finally, Protocol II of the Rome general peace agreement of 4 October 1992 established "criteria and modalities for the formation and recognition of political parties" (Sitoe et al 2005). These are as follows:

- ❖ The formation of a political party is required by the Ministry of Justice. The Ministry of Justice requires from the proponent party the following documents:
 - a) Statutes and programmes
 - b) Birth certificate, criminal certificate and leadership address certificate
 - c) Nominal list of affiliates with identification of age, local birth certificate and residence, ID numbers and affiliate signatures

- d) Letter of the formation meeting or assembly where the members of the political party who participated approved the statutes of the party.
- ❖ The three copies of the statute to be submitted to the Ministry must include the following information:
 - a) Name or party abbreviation
 - b) Headquarters office address
 - c) Objectives and principles that rule the party
 - d) The composition of deliberative organ
 - e) The modality of election of the leaders and duration of their mandates
 - f) Internal organisational structures
 - g) Financial dispositions
 - h) The rights and obligations of the members affiliated to the party.
 - ❖ The documents that are required to legalise the party should have three leaders' signatures. The signatures must be personal and notarised.

After the enactment of constitutional guarantees for a multiparty political system and the peace agreement, political activity and political parties in the country increased. From 1990 to the third general elections held in December 2004, many opposition parties were created.⁷ Different coalitions were also formed between the 1994 and 2004 elections: the Democratic Union (UD) which contested the 1994 Assembly elections⁸; the Patriotic Alliance (AP) which contested the 1994 Assembly elections⁹; the National Democratic Party (PANADE) and National Party of Mozambique (PANAMO) which contested the 2004 Assembly elections¹⁰; the Mozambique National Resistance-Electoral Union (RENAMO-UE) which contested the 1999

7. These were: the Independent Alliance Party of Mozambique (ALIMO); the United Congress of Democrats (CDU); the Patriotic Action Front (FAP); the Mozambique United Front-Democratic Convergence Party (FUMO-PCD), Mozambican National Movement (MONAMO-PMSD) -Social Democratic Party (social-democratic); Democratic Congress Party (PACODE); Mozambique Democratic Liberal Party (PADELIMO); Mozambique Democratic Party (PADEMO); Liberal and Democratic Party of Mozambique (PALMO) - (populist); National Democratic Party (PANADE); National Party of Mozambique (PANAMO); National Workers and Peasants Party (PANAOC); Democratic Reconciliation Party (PAREDE); Mozambique Social Broadening Party (PASOMO); Party of Freedom and Solidarity (PAZS); National Convention Party (PCN); Party for Peace, Democracy and Development (PDD); Ecological Party-Land Movement (PE-MIT); Independent Party of Mozambique (PIMO); Popular Democratic Party (PPD); Progressive Liberal Party of Mozambique (PPLM); Mozambique People's Progress Party (PPPM); Democratic Renewal Party (PRD); Democratic Reconciliation Party of Mozambique (PRDM); Labor Party (PT); National Unity Party (PUN); Green Party of Mozambique (PVM); Mozambican National Resistance (RENAMO) - (authoritarian); Social Liberal Party (SOL); United Democratic Front (UDF); Mozambique National Union (UNAMO).

8. Member parties include Liberal and Democratic Party of Mozambique (PALMO)

9. Member parties include the Patriotic Action Front (FAP) and Mozambican National Movement-Social Democratic Party (Monamo-PMSD).

10. Member parties include the PANADE and PANAMO

presidential and assembly elections. This coalition was led by the Mozambican National Resistance (RENAMO)¹¹; the Mozambican Opposition Union (UMO) which contested the 1999 assembly elections¹²; the United Front for Change and Good Governance (MBG) which contested the 2004 presidential and assembly elections¹³; the Broad Opposition Front (FAO) which contested the 2004 assembly elections¹⁴ and the Union for the Salvation of Mozambique (USAMO) which contested the 2004 assembly elections.¹⁵

All these political parties and coalitions can be grouped into five separate categories of political parties based on their respective origins:

- ❖ The first group was formed by organisations whose leadership consists of former FRELIMO members. This group includes the Liberal and Democratic Party of Mozambique (PALMO) established by former FRELIMO students trained in eastern European countries, the Social Liberal and Democratic Party (SOL) which was formed after a split in PALMO; the National Democratic Party (PANADE) set up by a former FRELIMO member jailed in the early 1980s on charges of spying for the CIA, and the Democratic Party of Mozambique (PADEMO) formed on the initiative of a Foreign Ministry cadre and former guerrilla soldier in FRELIMO's armed struggle.
- ❖ The second group consists of the only two parties led by political figures from the opposition during colonial rule, which did not join FRELIMO at the time of independence and were exiled in Portugal for many years. They are the Mozambique United Front (FUMO) lead by Domingos Arouca, and the Mozambican Nationalist Movement (MONAMO) headed by Maximo Dias. Both political leaders are trained lawyers.
- ❖ A third group of parties has emerged from the mobilisation of young people educated at Mozambican universities after independence. These include the National Convention Party (PCN), and the Patriotic Action Front (FAP).
- ❖ A fourth group of parties originated in the longstanding communities of Mozambican immigrants from East African countries such as Kenya. This group includes the Democratic Party for the Liberation of Mozambique (PADELIMO), and the Mozambican People's Progress Party (PPPM).

11. Member parties include the Independent Alliance Party of Mozambique (ALIMO), Patriotic Action Front (FAP), Mozambique United Front-Democratic Convergence Party (FUMO-PCD), Mozambican National Democratic Movement-Social Democratic Party (MONAMO-PMSD), National Convention Party (PCN), Mozambique People's Progress Party (PPPM), Democratic Renewal Party (PRD) and National Unity Party (PUN) and the United Democratic Front (UDF)

12. Member parties are the Mozambique Democratic Party (PADEMO) and Democratic Reconciliation Party of Mozambique (PRDM)

13. Member parties include the Mozambique National Union (UNAMO) and the Party of All Mozambican Nationalists (PARTONAMO)

14. Member parties include the Liberal Front (FL) and African Conservative Party (PAC)

15. Member parties include the Socialist Party of Mozambique (PSM), Democratic Alliance for Social Restoration (PAREDE), and Union for Change (UM)

- ❖ The final group consists of a party led by political figures that were part of RENAMO but were out of the party because of internal problems. This party is led by Mrs Raul Domingos, the former top member of RENAMO and peace negotiator, and it is called the Party for Peace, Development and Democracy (PDD). Like many opposition parties in Africa, PDD does not have a clear ideological policy. However, PDD leaders placed the party to the left of right wing RENAMO. If a label for PDD is wanted, it could be seen as a Mozambican version of social liberalism.

Most of these political parties are still in their formation stages. There are a great many challenging demands facing them. The following features are common to many of the parties:

- weak bureaucratic organizations, including unreliable membership data and poor funding base
- a lack of human resources
- the dominance of informal relationships, such as patronage and clientelism as well as strong personalism
- a lack of intra-party democracy and poor communication within the party hierarchy
- a dysfunctional hierarchy
- a high degree of factionalism
- weak formal links to citizens
- a lack of contact with citizens
- a lack of strong ideologies and articulate policies
- predominantly Maputo-based and operate in a difficult environment characterised by high levels of poverty and citizens' lack of trust. (Pereira et al 2007).

The weakness of political parties, particularly the opposition parties in Mozambique (as in many African countries) has been succinctly captured by Olukoshi 1998 who makes a generic observation about opposition parties in most African countries, "Promises which opposition once represented as the bearer of the hopes and aspirations of the generality of the people have substantially faded away. Indeed, in a number of cases, the opposition parties are severely discredited in the eyes of the populace and do not present a viable alternative to the electorate." If they want to play a strong role in the democratic process in Mozambique they need to adopt the following strategy:

- build strong internal structures, vibrant branches and mobilised members
- increase financial resources by ensuring better collection of membership fees
- better policies and trusted leaders
- strengthen the links with citizens and promote intra-party democracy.

In 1994 the country held its first democratic elections. Joaquim Chissano was elected president, with 53 per cent of the vote, and a 250-member National Assembly was voted in with 129 FRELIMO deputies, 112 RENAMO deputies, and nine representatives of three smaller parties that formed the Democratic Union (UD). Since its formation, the National Assembly has made some progress in becoming a body increasingly more independent of the executive. By 1999, more than half (53 per cent) of the legislation passed originated in the Assembly.

After some delays, in 1998 the country held its first local elections to provide for local representation and some budgetary authority at municipal level. The principal opposition party, RENAMO, boycotted the local elections, citing flaws in the registration process. Independent states contested the elections and won seats in municipal assemblies. Turnout was very low (15 per cent).

In the aftermath of the 1998 local elections, the government resolved to be more accommodating to the opposition's procedural concerns for the second round of multiparty national elections in 1999. Working through the National Assembly, the electoral law was rewritten and passed by consensus in December 1998. Financed largely by international donors, a very successful voter registration was conducted from July to September 1999, providing voter registration cards to 85 per cent of the potential electorate (more than seven million voters).

Mozambique's second multiparty legislative elections were held in 1999. FRELIMO received 48.5 per cent of valid votes cast, RENAMO-EU 38.8 per cent, and others 12.7 per cent. FRELIMO leader Joaquim Chissano was re-elected as president with 52.29 per cent of the popular vote. RENAMO leader Afonso Dhlakama gained 47.7 per cent. Voter turnout was about 70 per cent - well down on 1994 - with 8.4 per cent blank votes and 3.2 per cent invalid votes.¹⁶ These election results apparently show an even more bipartisan pattern than was the case in 1994. Neither the UD nor any other minor party or grouping attained the 5 per cent threshold to qualify for a seat in parliament.

The second local elections, involving 33 municipalities with some 2.4 million registered voters, took place in November 2003. This was the first time that FRELIMO, RENAMO-UE, and independent parties competed without significant boycotts. The 24 per cent turnout was well above the 15 per cent recorded in the first municipal elections. FRELIMO won 28 mayoral positions and the majority in 29 municipal assemblies, while RENAMO won 5 mayoral positions and the majority in 4 municipal assemblies. The voting was conducted in an orderly fashion without violent incidents. However, the period immediately after the elections was marked by objections about voter and candidate registration and vote tabulation, as well as calls for greater transparency.

¹⁶ Nine political parties and a coalition of three parties registered for the 1999 parliamentary elections. The presidential candidates were: Joaquim A Chissano and Afonso MM Dhlakama.

In May 2004, the government approved a new general election law that contained innovations based on the experience of the 2003 municipal elections.

The third general election took place on 1-2 December 2004. FRELIMO candidate Armando Guebuza won, with 64 per cent of the popular vote. His opponent, Afonso Dhlakama of RENAMO, received 32 per cent of the popular vote¹⁷. The estimated 44 per cent turnout was well below the almost 70 per cent recorded in the 1999 general elections. FRELIMO won 160 seats in parliament. A coalition of RENAMO and several small parties won the 90 remaining seats. Armando Guebuza was inaugurated as the president of Mozambique on 2 February 2005. The government scheduled provincial elections in 2007, municipal elections in 2008, and presidential and parliamentary elections in 2009.

Although minor parties have contested all three democratic elections in Mozambique, the country exhibits a classic two-party system centred on the competition between FRELIMO and RENAMO. The country's major political cleavage is in fact that which separates the two political forces that faced each other militarily and later obtained the best results in the 1994, 1999 and 2004 elections. The small parties that emerged after 1990 did not affect the main contenders for power in Mozambique. The small parties that managed to enter parliament in the 1999 and 2004 elections came through the 'back door', via coalitions with RENAMO.¹⁸

3.4 Perceptions of political accountability

Voice and accountability are concerned with the relationship between citizens and the state, which is a core feature of the governance agenda. A large body of research and experience has demonstrated that active participation of citizens in the determination of policies and priorities can improve the commitment of government to reduce poverty and enhance the quality of life of its citizens. Similarly, it is increasingly recognised that government/state accountability, and the ability of citizens, civil society and the private sector to scrutinise public institutions and hold them to account is an important facet of good governance.

Deepening voice and accountability in Mozambique, and in developing countries, is about people, including those living in poverty, in making decisions that affect their lives. This means that the agenda is not just about democracy, it is about 'deep democracy' or representative democracy with a strong participatory element. This is the demand side of the accountability agenda. There are many formal and informal forms of accountability in

17. The Constitutional Council accepted five of the eight presidential nominations for the 2004 elections. Three were rejected because they did not present at least 10 000 valid supporting signatures from registered voters.

18. In the 1994 and 1999 elections, smaller parties that did not pass the minimum threshold won 13 per cent of the vote, which meant that only 87 per cent of the electorate was represented in parliament (see Carbone 2003 a; b).

which the voice of citizens or civil society can be heard in Mozambique. Political accountability is enforced through formal processes like elections, and through institutions for community participation and consultation (IPCCs¹⁹) at district and sub-district levels, and also through different informal institutions (eg traditional leaders, local fora, and community development committees) at the local level (DFID 2008). At district level, administrative posts, and localities, different factors contribute towards weaknesses in the level and quality of citizen participation in local governance. The most important are:

- Few civil society organisations are involved in formal and informal accountability mechanisms.
- Most of the consultative forums have been created recently and are merely consultative by nature. In addition, most of the actors involved in the consultative forums are people who have strong links with the ruling party and merely respond to invitations from government departments rather than proactively demanding participation.
- Lack of democratic culture among the elected public representatives.²⁰
- Politicisation of local consultative forums²¹.
- Top-down centralist model.
- Lack of linkages between community-based organisations, citizens and government decision-making structures.
- Lack of political commitment to accountability.

The 2006 mid-year joint review between the government and donors highlighted the absence of progress in implementing the government's Anti-Corruption Strategy (Methven, 2008). Various reports on governance released in 2006 also pointed to alarming levels of corruption, lack of accountability, and deficiencies in the justice system.

Overall there is a clear need for civil society to take a strong position in demanding greater domestic accountability from the government on performance in many areas, and assume a leading role in amplifying the voice of the people. The incapacity of civil society to hold the government to account is often noted, but without assessing what constrains them from taking this role. Demanding accountability assumes that the CSOs have a degree of autonomy which would enable them to take a stance that may be contrary to the views of the government and the donors. For many CSOs this is not a field in which they wish to engage:

19. Consultative councils or bodies (conselhos consultivos) for districts (CCDs), administrative posts (CCPAs) and localities (CCLs).

20 Elected representative see democracy as a slogan rather than beliefs and practising it in terms of ensuring accountability. Their relationship is basically perceived as patron-client relationship.

21 The political parties in Mozambique use their political structure or other resources to control the public spaces.

Our role as leaders of CSOs is not to ask government what they are doing with our public resources...Our role it is to help the government in development areas such as building schools, hospitals and roads, disseminating information about HIV/AIDs...It is the role of parliamentarians or political parties to questions the government not us as CSOs...²²

Despite this weakness, there are some CSOs that play an oversight /watchdog role in relation to government at different levels. These include the Women Law Southern Africa (WLSA), the League of Human Rights (LDH), the Centre for Public Integrity (CIP), and G20²³ in the Poverty Observatory/Development (PO). Recently, the Mozambican government agreed to be part of the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) initiatives as tools of self-accountability and the CSOs participated in it. The APRM is an instrument voluntarily acceded to by member states of the African Union as an African self-monitoring mechanism. The primary purpose of the APRM is to foster the adoption of policies, standards and practices that lead to political stability, high economic growth, sustainable development, and accelerated sub-regional and continental economic integration through sharing experiences and reinforcing successful and best practices, including identifying deficiencies and assessing the needs for capacity building.

Strengthening communication and information processes is central to deepening voice and accountability. However, in the case of Mozambique, despite the fact that government policy documents (eg the Socio-Economic Plan (PES), State Budget (OE) and Annual State Budget (CGE) are public, only a small number of citizens or civil society organisations have access to them, and those who do, do not have the technical capabilities to analyse them. Even the journalist and members of parliament (MPs) do not have the technical capacity to understand these documents. A journalist highlights this problem:

It requires so much skill to understand how budget for the country is designed...Few of us have the skills necessary to debate with government regarding the budget...If you do not have skills what can you do? The same can be said for other government programs...If we want to make government accountable to citizens, we journalists needed to be trained in order to be able to know all the budget processes and government programs...²⁴.

In addition, access to information is undermined by the fact that the informative and watchdog media role is limited by economic and technical capacity factors; state or government aligned media have higher coverage than relatively more independent media. Respondents from different focus group discussions complained about the political environment in which journalists work. Several interviews with journalists and civil society leaders noted the risks that many journalists take and the intimidation and harassment they

²² Focus groups discussion with men, Maputo, 15.05.2008

²³ G20 is the group of civil society organisations participating in the Development Observatory.

²⁴ Felisberto F., Interview, Maputo, 18.05.2008

face when undertaking investigative reporting. Unless the rules of law and media freedom are enforced, participants said, the media is not free to report on issues such as corruption and accountability. Such freedom, they said, is central to sustainable development. Language barriers, illiteracy, and geographic isolation are a further hindrance to access to information.

3.5 Style of government and relations between different tiers of government

With regard to the organisation of political power, the Constitution of the Republic of Mozambique (CRM) defines the President of the Republic, the National Parliament, the Cabinet, the Courts and the Constitutional Council as the sovereignty bodies, which relate among themselves based upon the principle of separation and interdependence of powers (articles 133° & 134°). The description of the normative frame will be done on the basis of three powers - the Executive, the Legislature, and the Judiciary or system of justice administration,²⁵ which complement each other, and the relationship the citizens have with these powers and other state actors.

The CRM defines the Mozambican state as one and whole, yet a state that respects its organisation and the autonomy of the municipalities (Article 8). These elements are reflected in the organisation of the public powers of the Mozambican system, which is a hybrid model consisting of two aspects: the first of these is a decongested form of service rendering and implementing government policies, whose backbone in defining policies is the central government and sub-national authorities. The sub-national authorities are the provinces, the districts, administrative posts, and localities; in this context, the provinces and districts have a greater relevance in interface with the citizens, who are defined as the poles of development. The second aspect is a decentralised form through the municipalities and with greater autonomy and own accountability mechanisms. However, the municipalities are subject to the administrative machinery of the national government, and to national financial and assets management exercised by the Ministry of State Administration, the provincial governor (for the administrative tutelage) and the Ministry of Finance (for the second case of tutelage). Parallel to this the central and local state bodies are subject to internal control by the General Inspection of Finance and that of the State Administrative Inspection, whereas for the municipalities, these bodies only act as external supervisory bodies. Both types of bodies are subject to external control by the Administrative Court.²⁶

25 . Although the courts are the main part of the Judiciary, it would more appropriate to look into the system of justice administration as whole, which includes the Public Ministry, the Constitutional Council and the Ministry of Justice.

26. See Law 2/97 of 18 February; Law 7/97 of 31 May; Law 11/97 of 31 May; Law 6/2007 of 9 February.

The ongoing decongestion process has resulted in the creation of a legal framework that redefines the organisation of provincial and district governments, and assigns new competencies to these bodies. Planning, financial and human resources management, investment, and co-ordination of local community participation in the governance process is through community institutions of participation and consultation (IPCCs)²⁷. Within this scope, the districts do now benefit from a local investment initiative budget, which was initially set at 7 million Meticaís,²⁸ the spending of which must involve local communities that take part in the definition of the local priority policies. Such changes, although based upon the needs, capacities and potentials analysed in accordance with law 8/2003 of 19 May, are made within a political framework where local bodies are called to have a main role in the definition and implementation of the development strategies, regardless of their weak capacity in terms of human and material resources.

Public Administration and the whole apparatus for the delivery of public services are also part of the Executive, together with other ministries in charge of specific areas (health, education, etc), and the Ministry of Public Administration as the entity catering for matters of public administration management that cut across the different areas.

Therefore, the executive framework of the Mozambican political system is made up of the following institutions:

- A Central Government, the Ministers Council in charge of defining national strategies of development, five-year governing programmes, public policies, programmes (the Social Economic Plan-PES), annual budgets (the State Budget) and governance operational tools
- An executive at local level representing the Central Government, the so-called local state bodies (namely the provincial, district, administrative post, locality and village governments). At district and village level these executive bodies are implemented by the IPCCs, consulting bodies with civil society
- A decentralised system that is represented by the municipalities or local autarchies with administrative, patrimonial and financial autonomy, and elected representatives with the right to vote, yet under the administrative tutelage of the Central Government, whose powers can be delegated to the provincial governments.

The supreme Legislative power is the National Parliament (AR), which approves the legislation, the government's five-year plans, annual budgets, and supervises the activities of the Executive including the execution of the State Budget. The AR is made up of 250

27. See Law 2/97 of 18 February; Law 7/97 of 31 May; Law 11/97 of 31 May; Law 6/2007 of 9 February.

28. This fund was set up through the 12/2005 Law of 23 December. Within the new approach the funds will vary among the districts based on criteria such as the number of inhabitants per district, levels of poverty and other factors.

representatives²⁹ from 11 electoral constituencies (Maputo, Zambézia, Sofala, Tete, Manica, Niassa, Cabo Delgado, Inhambane, Gaza and Maputo city) which coincide with the same number of provinces in the country. In its duties as a supervisory body, the Legislature can convene the Cabinet, question the General Attorney of the Republic of Mozambique, and approve the General State Accounts,³⁰ which are submitted by the government and based on its own analysis and that of the Administrative Court. Through its working commissions, the AR can also carry out consultations with civil society on issues related to legislation or public policies that are submitted for approval.

The Mozambican parliament has a limited capacity to perform its role, particularly as concerns accountability roles and duties. The parliament also lacks human and financial resources, and suffers from a lack of the political will and skills to carry out its responsibilities (Pereira, 2005). This finding is also similar to those presented by Nijzink et al (2006) in Africa, which suggests that legislatures in Africa currently have limited institutional capacity to represent citizens, make laws, and ensure the accountability of the executive.

There are a number of reasons for this. The most important are related to the size of parliament, and financial and human resources. The size of parliament is closely related to the size of the population it represents. Taking this into account, Nijzink et al (2006: 7) found that African MPs are generally less fortunate than their Western counterparts. Calculations based on 16 selected countries showed that there are, on average 110 000 African citizens to one MP, while the average ratio in Western Europe is about 89 000 citizens per MP.

In terms of financial resources, most parliaments in Africa do not have enough money to fulfill their responsibilities, especially compared to Western standards of well-resourced legislatures like the American Congress or the German Bundstag. They also do not have skills, contacts, space and time to carry out their responsibilities.

Provincial Assemblies³¹ were set up in 2007. The election of representatives had been scheduled for 2007 but was postponed because conditions were not suitable (eg finance, delay on the voter's registration process, delay in establishment of electoral bodies at provincial, district, administrative post, localities and logistics problems). The CNE was given six months to organise elections from scratch - a daunting task. Nothing was in place; to

²⁹ During the last two decades large numbers of women have entered parliaments in several east and southern African countries. In mid-2007, Mozambique, Namibia and South Africa in southern Africa, and Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda in eastern Africa all had national legislatures consisting of from 25 to nearly 50 per cent women, placing them in the top 30 worldwide. This is far above the sub-Saharan African and world averages of about 17 per cent of women in a single or lower house of parliament.

³⁰ Referring to the execution of the state budget.

³¹ Through Law 5/2007 of 9 February. Although Provincial Assemblies can be an important element of decentralisation, they may also be a focus of conflict. Governors are appointed by the president, and all members of provincial and district governments are appointed centrally. RENAMO won large majorities in two provinces in 2004, Zambézia and Sofala, and would be expected to win majorities in Provincial Assemblies. This could lead to clashes between the provincial government and assembly.

meet electoral legislation requirements, the CNE had to set up election commissions in all provinces and districts, and organise a complete re-registration of the entire Mozambican electorate.

The main role of the Provincial Assemblies is to “approve the programme of the provincial government and to inspect and verify its fulfilment” (*“aprovar o programa do governo provincial fiscalizar e controlar o seu cumprimento”*) as is set out in the constitution. But this power is substantially restricted because the provincial assemblies in practice can only “approve the proposed provincial plan and budget submitted to the Council of Ministers”, which makes the final decision. Nonetheless, this does give the assembly a veto power over the governor, and the law takes this seriously. If the provincial assembly rejects the plan and budget twice, the national parliament (*Assembleia da República*) can dissolve the provincial assembly and call new elections. RENAMO has submitted a motion concerning the dissolution of the Provincial Assemblies for the consideration of the Constitutional Council so it may look into the constitutionality of such entities. According to RENAMO, the National Parliament constitutionality does not have the competency or power to dissolve the Provincial Assemblies.

The autarchies have municipal assemblies with elected representatives through a direct vote system, and these have similar duties to those of other legislators, ie to approve legislation, supervise the municipal executive, and so on.

The justice administration system is made up of the Judiciary courts, the Public Ministry, the Constitutional Council and the Ministry of Justice, the latter being part of the Executive. The Judiciary Courts answer to the Supreme Court. In parallel, there is the Administrative Court, which is the supreme body of the lower administrative, audit and custom courts. Apart from the judiciary courts, there are also community courts, which are the mechanisms used for conflict resolution at community level, whose decisions are non-binding to the formal system of justice.

In order to guarantee the right to justice as consecrated by the Constitution of the Republic, the government has set up a body to provide legal aid to vulnerable citizens, the Institute for the Promotion of Legal Aid (IPAJ), which works under the tutelage of the Ministry of Justice. The existence of bodies originating from different powers within the system of justice administration has been the Achilles heel of the whole sector, failing to efficiently deliver services. In an attempt to improve the interface between the various actors, the government set up the Council for the Co-ordination of the Legality and Justice (CCLJ), which is made up of the Courts, the Public Ministry and the Executive. However, this body was dissolved after the submission of a motion to the Constitutional Council in which RENAMO claimed it was a non-constitutional entity. The dissolution of the CCLJ raises questions concerning the functioning of the justice administration system, which has been

the most criticised sector of all other governing bodies, given its slow pace, even dormant, nature.

The existence of administrative electoral bodies such as the National Electoral Commission and the Technical Secretariat for Electoral Administration, which is represented up to district level, and whose composition is a miscellaneous group of representatives appointed by the political parties with parliamentary representation (FRELIMO and RENAMO), the government and civil society.³² Furthermore, the composition of some governing bodies that take into account the parliamentary representation is one of the distinct features of the Mozambican political system, strongly influenced by the General Peace Accord; this Accord led to the introduction of a philosophy of power sharing between the former belligerents (FRELIMO and RENAMO).

The execution of this ruling framework allows for the carrying out of a set of activities under the tutelage of state bodies as foreseen in any democratic state, such as the representation of the interests of the citizens and their participation in decision-making processes, the delivery of public services, the formulation of public policies, accountability and so on. The ways these activities are carried out depend on the relationships among the various institutions and between these and citizens.

3.6 Perceptions on popular participation in governance

The decentralisation process is expected to promote the development of a 'new democratic space' which includes committees, panels, public hearings and consultations, in order to enable citizens to make their opinions heard and influence local government policies (De Brito 2000). The engagement of citizens in public life through civic participation, contacts with their representatives and involvement in the political processes in general is a crucial component of democracy. When citizens believe that their participation has some degree of political efficacy, or they are confident in their ability to influence public life, democratic

³² Ever since the first multi-party elections of 1994, political parties have dominated successive CNEs. Thus the CNE that ran the 2003 municipal and 2004 general elections had 19 members - 10 appointed by FRELIMO, eight by the RENAMO-Electoral Union coalition, plus a chairperson from civil society, Rev Arao Litsuri of the Mozambique Christian Council. Such a body proved unwieldy, and regularly collapsed into bitter disputes between RENAMO and FRELIMO. Some members of the CNE were chosen not because they possessed any expertise, but because of loyalty to the party machine. The new law cuts the CNE down to 13 members (a concession by FRELIMO, which had wanted no more than nine), a majority of whom will come from civil society. There will be five members elected by the Assembly of the Republic in proportion to the number of seats each party holds (FRELIMO will appoint three and RENAMO two). Any legally constituted civil society body may nominate the other eight. The nominations will go to the Assembly which will vote on them. The CNE chooses its own chairperson from members of civil society. The government appoints a 14th CNE member, who can speak at CNE meetings, but does not have the right to vote. The CNE is supported by provincial and district election commissions, each consisting of 11 members - five appointed by the political parties (three from FRELIMO and two from RENAMO), and six from civil society organisations. In the event of more than six nominations, the party appointees choose which civil society representatives will sit on the commissions. Unlike the CNE, the provincial and district commissions are not permanent bodies. The commissions will consist of 1 771 members, 805 of whom will be party appointees. The new law defines STAE (Electoral Administration Technical Secretariat) as "a public, personalised service for election administration, represented at provincial, district and city level", charged with "organising, implementing and guaranteeing the technical and administrative activities of voter registration and elections. STAE is permanently subordinate to the CNE, and its general director attends CNE meetings, with the right to speak, but not to vote. The director prepares documentation for CNE meetings, and must ensure that CNE decisions are carried out. The general director is recruited publicly, and then appointed to a five-year term of office. There will no longer be two deputy directors (one from FRELIMO and one from RENAMO), or the vast and expensive apparatus of political appointees at all levels of STAE.

legitimacy is strengthened. Alternatively, if much of the public is passive or cynical about politics, then legitimacy suffers and the quality of political life is eroded.

The government of Mozambique has created different types of mechanisms or forums that allow citizens to participate in governance issues. However, according to De Brito (2007) citizens do not often use local meetings, demonstration or protest marches and political debate as mechanisms of political participation at municipal level. Only neighbourhood meetings are attended by a considerable percentage of citizens: 68 per cent said that they attended meetings several times or often (De Brito 2007). As those meetings are almost exclusively initiatives of local community leadership (eg community/civic leadership or political leadership), this means that the nature of citizens' forms of participation is still quite 'passive'. Considering the weakness of collective action, the question is to what extent do these citizens really exercise their rights and duties in order to strengthen democratic governance at local government level? The survey results show two aspects in this regard. First, only a small group of citizens has had contacts with elected members of the municipality, the officials or with community authorities and influential persons during past few years (De Brito 2007). Secondly, contacts are much more intense with non-elected leaders (community authorities, religious leaders and influential persons) than with elected representatives of citizens and officials.

It is also known that the turnouts for Mozambique municipal elections in 2003 and general elections in 2004 were extremely low. In the 2003 municipal elections 26 per cent of the registered voters turned out to vote (see Braathern et al 2004; De Brito 2007) and in 2004 general elections the turnout was 30 per cent. This result seems to reflect the weak interest of citizens in local and national politics. The focus group discussions with women and men seem to confirm this.

...In 1994 we went to vote and we used to participate in the meetings organised by our local governments...We thought that democracy and elections would have solved our economic conditions...But now we discovered that the politicians in this country are not serious...They want money only... We discovered that what they want is only to solve their problems rather than to the communities...We know that all the political parties including FRELIMO want power to make their family rich and we poor....If we know what they want the question is: Why vote or participate in local politics?... It is much better for us to go to our lands than to participate in elections or participate in communities meeting...³³.

Another peasant in Sofala, for example, sees popular participation in governance as a game rather than something that can make their lives better:

³³ Focus group discussion, Nampula. 20.04.2008.

We do not know where all these participation discourses came from... who created them...why there are many meetings without results...We know that all these forums in the name of people are simply for their groups of friends and relatives.....What they want is to use our name to get money with international donors...When the money comes we see their relatives driving nice cars, live expensive lifestyles and talk in the name of people...My family and I stopped participating and contacting local government because we discovered that they are not there to solve our problems...³⁴.

4. CONCLUSION

Does democracy enhance the process of development in Mozambique? How readily available are elected public representatives to attend to community problems? Are there any structures in Mozambique (either in government or civil society) through which citizens are able to ensure their views are expressed and taken into account in the formulation of policy? This report analyses different types of data and reveals the following:

- Democratic institutions are not supplying what the citizens want where socio-economic benefits are concerned. The economy is growing but this is not reflected in rising standards of living for the majority of Mozambicans citizens.
- Despite the positive shifts in the expansion of education and health systems, the quality of the services provided by state institutions remains very poor.
- Despite the existence of many forms of accountability relationship mechanisms (for example formal and informal accountabilities, social, political and electoral accountabilities between different public institutions) these are weak. Different factors contribute to this; the most important are that few civil society organisations are involved in formal and informal mechanisms; most of the consultative forums have been created recently and are merely consultative structures; lack of and entrenched democratic culture among the elected public representatives; the politicisation of local consultative forums; a top-down centralist model of governance; lack of linkages between community-based organisations, citizens and government decision-making structures, and lack of political commitment to accountability.

4.1 Interviews

Amandeu de Santos-Professor Secundário

Anastácio Chemba-Professor Universitário

David Simao-Lider religioso da Igreja Assembleia de Deus

³⁴ Jaime Pequenino., Interview, Sofala. 14.02.2008.

Eduardo Tivane-Lider religioso
Eliseu Abucacar-Advogado
Gilmar da Conceicao-Advogado
Jaime Pequenino-Campones
Luis Gunbanza-Lider da sociedade civil
Manuel Sitole-Jornalista
Yolanda de Figueira - Lider da sociedade Civil

Abu Faquir-Membro do PIMO
Bento Periquito-Membro do Partido RENAMO
Caetano Jose-Membro do PDD
Castiano Sabao-Membro do PDD
David A. Marques- Membro do partido RENAMO
Fernando Americo-Jornalista
João Batista -Professor Universitário
Jose Gonsalves-Professor Universitario
Luis de Almirante-Professor Universitario
Manuel de Cadeado-Membro do Partido RENAMO
Marcos da Gabriel-Colunista de diferentes Jornais
Nobrinho de Araujo-Professor Universitário
Orlando Pedro-Membro do Partido RENAMO
Paulo da Conceicao-Jornalista.
Sebastiao Antonio-Membro do PIMO
Vicente Artur-Membro do PARENA

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