Involving Local Authorities In the programming process of EU Cooperation in Mozambique

LOCAL AUTHORITIES ROADMAP FOR THE 2021-2027 CYCLE OF EU COOPERATION

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ANAMM  National Association of Local Government of Mozambique
CIRESP  Inter-ministerial Commission for Public Sector Reforms
CSO  Civil Society Organization
DDR  Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
END  National Development Strategy
EU  European Union
Frelimo  Liberation Front of Mozambique
GoM  Government of Mozambique
INE  National Institute of Statistics
LAs  Local Authorities
MAEFP  Ministry of State Administration and Public Service
MEF  Ministry of Economy and Finance
MPs  Members of Parliament
NAO  National Authorizing Office
NPD  National Program of Decentralisation
PDUL  Urban and Local Development Project
PEND  Decentralisation Policy and Strategy
PROL  Local Government Reform Program
PSRP  Public Sector Reform Programme
Renamo  National Resistance of Mozambique
SDG  Sustainable Development Goal
SGA  Municipal Management System
SOE  State Owned Enterprises
UCLGA  United Cities and Local Governments of Africa
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1. **INTRODUCTION**

The United Cities and Local Governments of Africa (UCLGA) commissioned this report in coordination with the National Association of Municipalities of Mozambique (ANAMM) to analyse the political economy of decentralisation of Mozambique. The report provides information in support of the ANAMM discussion and dialogue toward the new European Union (EU) programming process of cooperation with local authorities (LAs) for the 2021-2027 period. This report was developed in line with another called “Compendium of References” which is also part of the preparation for the EU programming process of cooperation with the Las. The analytical report on political economy pretends to explore the extent to which the central government embraced the conceptualisation of territorial development, the level of commitment of central government in recognizing the role of local authorities in the territorialisation of the national development agenda, and the opportunities and constraints created by the decentralisation system for the empowerment of local authorities as developmental actors. The political economy analysis catches the key aspects of how political and economic power influences the way how decentralisation is implemented and contested, the incentives behind the political actors and interests groups and how they impact the decentralisation reforms outcomes.

The report serves as a background document to a seminar of the members of the ANAMM, which is part of a process of building consensus over the key priority action to include in the municipalities’, or interchangeably called in the report also as local authorities, roadmap for dialogue with the central government and the EU Delegation in Maputo, Mozambique.

The expected result involves the following:

(i) An analysis of the political economy of decentralisation, the feasibility of the new local authorities (LAs) driven political agenda and the opportunities and constraints created by the decentralisation reforms;

(ii) An overview of the state of art regarding the territorialising of national policies and global agendas including SDGs, in terms of both policies and programs adopted in the framework of the national development plan;

(iii) A SWOT quick analysis of the ANAMM; and

(iv) The state of the art concerning the territorialisation of national policies and global programs, including Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), both at the level of policies and programs implemented within the framework of the National Development Plan.

Below is presented an overview of the country’s background context of decentralization.

2.1. **Background context of decentralisation**

Mozambique is located in the southern region of Africa, with a population of about 31.26 million.¹ According to data from the National Institute of Statistics (INE), 52% of the

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population are women, and about 46.6% of the population is under 15 years (INE 2019).² The country became independent from the colonial Portuguese in 25 June 1975, after ten years of armed struggle for liberation. Mozambique occupies an area of 799,380 km², and it has a coastal line of about 2,800 km along the Indian Ocean. The country’s administrative organization is divided in 11 provinces, 161 districts, 408 administrative posts, 1,132 localities, and 53 local authorities – commonly known as municipalities (Republic of Mozambique, 2020). The political system is presidential. The parliament is the legislative organ, also playing a role of oversight to the government. It is composed by a total of 250 members of parliament (MPs).

Between the mid-1990s, Mozambique registered one of the fastest economic growths in the sub-Saharan region, with an average of 7 per cent a year (IMF, 2015; 2016), at least until 2015. Credible macroeconomic policies and structural reforms, donor's support, and favourable external environment that facilitated foreign investments to flow into the country played a role in the positive economic growth trend (Ross, 2014). Despite this impressive growth, in part also influenced by the relative political stability witnessed since the end of the sixteen years of civil war in 1992, until 2013 those determinants of growth have been built under weaker foundations for peace, even-though the country remained in relative peace.

The necessary infrastructure and capacity to manage the economy and future windfall from natural resources remained fragile and the institutions of democratic governance continued being volatile. These factors have driven the country into a low-intensity civil war engendered by the former Mozambique National Resistance (Renamo) militia with the focus in the centre of Mozambique, and an unusual fiscal crisis caused by the debt scandal that hit the country since 2013 but only made public in 2016 (MAP, 2017; Tvedten and Orre, 2016).

Reforms of decentralisation in Mozambique have since been ignited by situation of political contestation and violence. In the 1980s the ruling party, Frelimo, have initiated an internal discussion of decentralisation. In the fourth Congress of Frelimo, held in 1983, decentralisation has been part of the agenda (Ames et al, 2010: 3), although progresses were only been witnessed in the 90s. In 1990 the first multiparty Constitution was approved, and in 1992 the government launched the Local Government Reform Programme, known as Programa de Reforma dos Órgãos Locais - PROL.³

In 1994 the parliament approved through the Law 3/94, of 13 September, the Law of municipal districts, which emphasised the municipalisation of the whole country’s districts. This approach was then abandoned after the first multiparty elections were held in 1994. A Constitutional amendment approved by the Law 9/96 of 22 November, replaced the Law 3/94, and introduced a model of cohabitation of power between devolution and deconcentration, and a new arrangement for the decentralised local authorities (municipalities) was set to rely on the principle of gradualism (Ames et al, 2010; do Rosário, 2015, MAP Consultoria 2017).

The first municipal election in Mozambique was held in 1998, involving only 33 cities and villages local authorities. The country accounts currently with 53 municipalities. The first increase of 10 additional municipalities happened in 2008, during the third local authorities election, and the second increase was in 2013 local authorities elections. A gradual introduction


³ PROL - Programa de Reforma dos Órgãos Locais
of decentralised local authorities and transfer of functions is set as the key principle of the country’s local authorities implementation. The control of power and resources by the central government has been used as an argument for the preservation of national unity (Weimer and Carrilho, 2017).

The implementation of reforms of decentralisation in the mid-90s was in part a consequence of political pressure, and a strategic option to control violence mainly from the main opposition party, Renamo. While the establishment of the local authorities would represent a way of accommodating the opposition, even though Renamo, the main opposition party, boycotted the adoption of the legislative framework in parliament, arguing that the government maintained a disproportionate level of power and resources at the central level, and as a consequence of this refused to field candidates in the inaugural municipal elections. The total of five municipal elections to date, Renamo has only participated in three, with modest victory in few municipalities. The opposition control of municipalities has tended to be frustrated by excessive bureaucracy and oversight and delays in fiscal transfers by the central government (Weimer, 2012a; 2012b).

Recently, a profound revision of the Constitution was introduced through Law 1/2018, which approved a new configuration of the state and the local government restructuring which includes provinces, districts, and municipalities. With these reforms, it was created a space for a deeper transformation of the state although yet hesitant as a result of a process of strong re-centralisation of resource control via representatives of the state at the provincial level. The new model of decentralised governments is still observing realignments and changes after intense debate and contestations.

Some argue that the current reforms of decentralisation have taken place only because of the need for control of violence through, but ensuring limited power sharing. Under the new decentralised governance, the provincial governor is elected and he forms the provincial government. This is a new arrangement in the Mozambican political organization and structure. The local authorities are integrated into the new reforms of decentralisation but with small changes concerning the previous arrangements, which include among others, the election of the mayor via a list of the party, parties coalition, or a group of citizens.

2.2. Methodology

This report was informed by a qualitative analysis grounded on the review of literature, reports from the government and other institutions including non-state actors and research institutions. In addition, few interviews were conducted with key stakeholders of decentralisation reforms in Mozambique and local authorities development experiences in the country. Data from the different sources of information were systematised and triangulated to ensure consolidated analysis of the information gathered and to guarantee an equilibrated analysis of the political economy of decentralisation in Mozambique.

2.3. Organization of the report

This report is organised in five sections. The first section is the introduction, which includes a background of the decentralisation context in Mozambique, the objectives of this report and methodology. The second section is focused on the analysis of the political economy of decentralisation with key discussions on the ideas of territorialisation, local development, and the challenges, constraints and opportunities created by the decentralisation. The third section presents a quick SWOT analysis of the National Association of Municipalities (ANAMM); the
fourth section is a reflection on the territorialisation of the national policies and global programs within the framework of the national development plans. The last section is the conclusion.
2. AN ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY

2.1. The new political agenda of decentralisation

In 2012 the government of Mozambique (GoM) approved the National Decentralisation Policy and Strategy (PEND – *acronym in Portuguese*). The PEND covers different dimensions of decentralisation, and provides guidelines on the way forward toward reforms, but yet it seems to have been conservative, on the one hand, because it approaches the fiscal reforms hesitantly despite the fact that this is fundamental for building strong and effective decentralised tiers of government; and on the other hand, the PEND did not foresee the decentralisation beyond the municipality dimension, such as the provincial and district decentralised governments that are emerging with the new reforms of decentralisation implemented under the Constitutional review approved by the Law 1/2018, of June 12, which is a result of the landmark agreement made between the President of the Republic of Mozambique, Filipe Nyusi, and the (then) Renamo’s opposition leader Afonso Dhlakama in September of 2017.

The new framework of decentralisation broadened the foundation of decentralisation reforms in Mozambique, which has previously been oriented specifically to local authorities. Furthermore, the new reforms redefined decentralisation as a key political agenda for peace building. It represents a turning point, which reveals a clear an upside-down perspective of the countries pathways to decentralisation and local authorities development, and a deeper change in the configuration of the state and power sharing between local and central governments.

The existing PEND provides a roadmap on the consolidation of local authorities. It defines three components to focus the intervention, which includes, (i) to extend local authorities to new territorial unities; (ii) to promote the transfer of functions from the state to local authorities; and (iii) to promote the consolidation of local authorities’ capacities. The progresses on these components have been weak or almost stagnated. The first municipalities (in this report municipalities or local authorities have to be understood as the same) were created in 1998, covering only 33 municipalities. Ten years later, in 2008 the number of municipalities increased with more 10 municipalities, to a total of 43; and in 2013 the second increase took place with more 10 municipalities, thus forming the current 53 municipalities all over the country.

In some specific groups of the society this process was considered to be very slow. In addition, the transfer of functions to local authorities remained stagnated for quite some time. However, the new framework of decentralisation poses enormous challenges to the PEND. The government produced in 2019 the “Documento Base” – *document Base* - for the National Program of Decentralisation (MAEFP, 2019). This document provides de roadmap for the elaboration of the National Program of Decentralisation (NPD), a key policy document for the political and strategic approach to the implementation of the current decentralisation reforms. It was expected that the NPD would immediately have been developed to accommodate the new wave of reforms of decentralisation under implementation. However, its been delayed and until the end of the elaboration of this report there were no clear indication of the status of development.

Mozambique has three types of sub-national governments. These include decentralized provincial governments, with an elected governor, the district government and municipalities. The decentralised provincial government is new structure of the government emerging with the

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4 Decentralisation Policy and Strategy (- Política e Estratégia Nacional de Descentralização - PEND), approved under the Resolution No. 40/2012, of 20 December.
new reforms of decentralisation. The functions of provincial decentralized government have significantly been reduced, and consequently also the resources to be allocated. This emerged amidst the newly reforms of decentralisation and the increase in the role and functions assigned to the representative of the state at provincial level whose a part from tackling with the issues related to sovereignty, were also assigned functions over the key economic and social sectors. The debate over the competences and functions assigned to provincial decentralised governments and the representative of the state remains unfinished and recently a new framework of legislation were approved and some social services, such as secondary education was transferred to the provincial decentralised government.\(^5\)

The second sub-national government refers to district government. The current reform of decentralization established that this level of government the decentralisation process would only be implemented from 2024/2025, with direct election of the main organs of the district government. The third, sub-national government are the local authorities. The local authorities in Mozambique are composed of two types. The first are the municipalities, and the second are those of villages. The municipalities correspond to the territorial circumscriptions of cities and towns, while the local authorities of villages correspond to the territorial circumscription of settlement – in general they coincide with the headquarters of the administrative post.

A systematic devolution of specific functions is fixed to focus on the new decentralized governance bodies, including province and district. The local authorities (municipalities), which represent the first form of decentralised governance in Mozambique, although it is covered by the new reforms, its mandate, functions, and governance structure remained untouched. Currently, the municipalities remain the unique decentralised government body with the most stable institutional arrangements. Despite the few changes introduced by the legislation approved in 2018, the main building walls on the local authorities have not originated relevant contestation over the institutional framework, except the indirect election of mayors (based on the political party or association list) which replaced the former model of direct election.

The whole decentralisation framework is fragmented among various legal instruments. Unstable legislative and regulatory framework approved further in response to decentralisation reform in Mozambique opened a way for contestation. Unfixed issues regarding the definition of functions and competences between provincial decentralised governments and the representation of the state at provincial level is creating tensions between the provincial representative of state and provincial decentralised government. A part from tensions emerging between these bodies of government, ordinary citizens are more and more questioning about the constraining emerging from the role exercised by the representative of the state on the issues they were expecting to be under the responsibility of the elected governors or implemented by the decentralized provincial governments.\(^6\)

\(^5\) Interview with a senior public official at the Ministry of State Administration and Public Services (MAEFP) confirmed the case, and interview with a provincial director of the decentralised provincial government of Zambezia province also confirmed that a review of the legislation was undergoing. (July 2020).

\(^6\) Interview with key state officials at central level, and repeatedly addressed in a focus group meeting with stakeholders from diferente interests groups (government, local municipalities, private sector and civil society). (August, 2020).
2.2. The territorialization of national plans and national sectoral policies

The developmental planning approach in Mozambique is basically informed by a set of programs, policies and strategies. The first and most common document is the Five-Year Government Plan – *Programa Quinquenal do Governo (PQG)*, which a program approved by the government with the indicative intentions of what the elected government is willing to achieve during the five-year of the party that won the election. It’s under the PQG that all sectoral ministries and local government have to align their yearly plans during the five-year government term. In addition to the PQG several other sectoral policies and strategic documents are also taken into consideration in the planning process. In 2014 the government of Mozambique approved the National Strategy for Development (END 2015-2035) as the main strategic plan for the country’s development planning agenda. Therefore, the sectoral and local governments development plans has to be developed in line with the END. However, this has not been the case. In general the sectoral ministries plans are elaborated in line with the PQG. Even-though, the evidence shows a weak alignment of the sectoral and local governments plans to national policies and strategies. The lack of alignment of plans with national and sectoral policies and strategies is also a common fact. Provincial and district governments, as well as local authorities have the tradition of adopting long-term strategic plans of their specific territory, however, it is also normal practice that these strategic tools are forgotten over the years. This complicated practice represents an important constraint to the effort toward territorialisation, and the problem is mostly related to leadership, as well as cultural and technical fragilities than a matter of lack of interest or commitment.

Recently, the Ministry of Economics and Finance (MEF) started reviewing the END, in response to potential challenges emerging with the new reforms of decentralisation. It is a general perception that the dynamics of local development will demand for alignments on the efforts for integrated country’s development interventions. With the potential increase on the local governments autonomy in conducting their own trajectory of development under the new reforms of decentralisation a common agenda for the country’s development to guarantee a coordinated effort is required. Therefore, the planning process should be informed by the national development strategy 2015-2035, as well as other national policies and strategies, including sectoral policies and strategies. This process of review of END represents an opportunity to engage other ministries, local governments, local authorities, as well as the civil society organisation and private sector. Instead, the process of review is taking place within closed door at the MEF.

The political momentum characterized by the introduction of the decentralisation reforms, the wider perception about the potential of decentralisation reforms as a key mechanism for peace, and the increasing interest among donors to support the government effort to decentralisation represent an important opportunity to strengthen the role of local governments in general, and local authorities in particular and their ability to transform themselves into developmental actors capable of promoting local development, and to create the capacity for territorialisation of national agenda plans and the national specific sectoral policies and its implementation.

Under the reforms of decentralisation, which is intended to be country wide, the level of autonomy of local governments will grow significantly and potential unexpected results of the intervention of these autonomous bodies of governments at provincial, district and municipalities level will be imposing serious demand to the national government to set-up mechanisms for coordination and alignment with the national policies and strategies. While

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7 Interview with senior technical officers at the Ministry of Economy and Finance, CEDSIF.
this is yet absent in the current political context of policy development, it’s quite clear that in
the near future the instruments for integrated developmental approach of intervention will
require that it is put in place and the implementation is guaranteed. The process of review of
the END (2015-2035) aim to answer this specific challenge of fragmented agenda of
development. Therefore, the process will additionally require the recognition of the local
governments needs for capacity building, resource allocation and the ability to lead their own
process of transformation and development.

2.3. Challenges and constraining created by the decentralisation

Reforms of decentralisation in Mozambique have a strong connection to party politics. The
nature and the degree of decentralized governance, the determinants of competences and
functions to be transferred to local governments and local authorities may be tailored in a way
that accommodate the interests of a centralized agenda. This is the main characteristic of the
current reforms of decentralisation. But this is not necessarily new. Various scholars such as
Weimer and Carrilho (2017), do Rosario (2015), Buur (2009) and others have noticed how the
central government influenced by specific faction within the ruling elite have constrained the
effort toward effective decentralised governance by imposing refrains and contradicting
measures and deliberate strategy to maintaining control over the state through centralised
mechanisms of government.

Weimer and Carrilho (2017) write that sectoral government agencies at central level as well
as at provincial level have been key restrainers of devolution (decentralisation) in favour of
deconcentration (indeed, a form of centralisation). These authors give example of the ministry
of health, the MEF and others, which carries huge incentives for centralization than
decentralisation. And that is because they intend to continue controlling resource and holding
power, but on the other hand they do so because they suffer from the conception that local
organs did not have the capacity to manage specific services falling within their sector areas.
The MEF is currently developing a system of financial management for local authorities (SGA –
Municipal System Management) aiming to improve transparency and effectiveness in
financial management. The system will be centrally managed.

The progresses in the implementation of reforms on provincial decentralized governance under
the constitutional review of 2018, is marked by episodes of systematic rewriting of regulations
and decrees in attempt to set-up the role of the two centers of power, on the one hand, the
provincial governor and on the other hand, the secretary of state, as well as, a critical
dissatisfaction among the provincial elected organs and the local population due to the
perception of an increasing role assigned to secretary of state regarding the management of
provincial affairs and confusing and overlapping functions between the provincial
decentralized government body and the provincial representative of state body. These
confusing arrangement and unclear role between the two bodies of government at the
provincial level are critical to understand the current political economy of decentralisation in
Mozambique.

The decentralization reform process is a consequence of a negotiation to end political violence
(Weimer, 2020) in exchange of a set-up of an institutional arrangement, which allow for
potential power sharing. The direct negotiation between the President Filipe Nyusi and the
former Renamo’s leader, Afonso Dhlakama, who passed away in 2018, created the room for a
deal both on decentralized local governments at provincial and district levels, and the
disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) of Renamo’s residual forces (Weimer,
The path of an historic trajectory of centralised governance is slowly disappearing, but yet plays a role in the whole process of introduction of reforms of decentralisation.

The current reforms represent a deep change in the political organization of the state, which has been personally driven by the President Nyusi, but that was not supported in fully by important factions within the ruling party. The adoption and implementation of the process of reforms of decentralisation created fear of loss of control of resource and power. The same fear is the heart of the challenges local authorities are facing with regard to transfer of functions and the resistance to increase resource allocation. The ministry of economics and finance has made clear that the discourse of decentralisation should be left out of any debate on fiscal decentralisation, therefore its worth mentioning that this represent an important obstacle to the consolidation of decentralisation and the strengthening of local governments.

2.4. Opportunities created by the decentralisation

The experience of local authorities in Mozambique shows that decentralisation is a critical condition to boost quality of services improvement and empower local population to participate in the local governance and local development. The World Bank report on the experience of the first ten years of local authorities, the report suggest they have evolved to the extent that they consolidated the organizational structure and their role in providing basic services to their populations, managing their territories and leading the economic development of their cities, although the increasing challenges to achieve sustainable and integrated development process in response to the expansion of urban areas and the country as a whole (The World Bank, 2010).

The local development in the context of local authorities in Mozambique is not understood in the same way between urban and rural local authorities, and the dynamics and approaches to development depends on the ability to establish and promote partnerships with the private sector located in the territory of the local authorities. However, this is more likely to be effective in the main cities rather than in the villages or settlements. The weak technical and financial capacity and the lack of a robust private sector in the majority of local authorities of villages and settlements undermine the potential for embracing the local development approach.

The local authorities have the most stable institutional and legal frameworks, in comparison with the adopted new reforms of decentralisation emerging with the recent constitutional review. This characteristic of the local authorities provides rooms that encourages for mobilization of support to the implementation of decentralized agenda aiming to consolidate the role of local authorities, advocate the transfer of functions, strengthening their capacities and increase allocation of resources that may contribute for local development. In more than 2

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10 Interview at the Ministry of Economics and Finance with senior officials (July 2020).
decades of experience of local authorities there’s no example of an entrepreneurial approach of service delivery and local development intervention by these bodies of government. This is far more difficult to be achieved in short or medium term. And such managerial approach is not yet clearly understood among the local authorities’ governments.

Furthermore, the capacity for building coalition toward development is found in big cities such as Maputo and Matola, and that also depends on the existing commitment of private sector enterprises and state owned enterprises (SOEs) to engage in productive coalition for local development. Few other local authorities are investing in establishing partnership with other municipalities outside the country through twinning and partnership agreement for specific development sector activities and capacity building, this is an example of the municipality of Quelimane city. In general, SOEs and other specific public companies operating within the territories of local authorities they articulate with the local government but not in a way that they carry out activities in integrated manner informed by a specific and holistic framework for local development (Kulipossa and Nguenha, 2009) which in general does not exist. The capacity of the local authority to influence the dynamics of operation by the state agencies is limited.

The experience of LAs implementation in Mozambique have been implemented within constraints of limited capacity and weak allocation of resources necessary to implement activities and provide services. The transfers of resources and functions have since been avoided. Resistance against an effective decentralisation is huge among ministries whose transference of functions and resources is contested, and the effort to move further on this is constrained by the fear over the loss of resources and power. This may explain the reason why after 14 years since the approval of the Decree 33/2006, which determine the transfer of health and education primary services to local authorities, the implementation have remained stagnated (MAP Consultoria, 2017), with the exception of the case of the municipality of Maputo City. Until 2015 the municipality of Maputo City was managing a total of 104 primary schools and 5,790 public servants, and 26 health centres and a total of 856 public servants.13

3. SWOT QUICK ANALYSIS OF THE ANAMM

The ANAMM is the representative of the whole municipalities. The general objectives of its creation include promoting cooperation and solidarity among local authorities, dignifying and representing local government, and advocating the interests and rights of its members before the government, development partners, and others stakeholders. The corporate governance of the association is made by structure composed by the following bodies:14

- The Congress;
- The National Council;

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11 of the approval of Decree 33/2006 (replaced by Decree 46/2011, of 21 September) progress was significantly poor.
12 The government approved the Plan for Implementation of the Decentralisation Policy and Strategy (PIPEP 2015 – 2019). Under the PIPEP the government defined the activities to implement and several indicators were established including the number of primary health and education services to be transferred to local authorities until 2019.
14 Estatutos da Associação Nacional dos Municípios de Moçambique – ANAMM.
- The Supervisory Board;
- The Management Board

The Congress is the highest representative body with deliberative power. The National Council is the organ with deliberative power between sessions of the Congress. The Supervisory Board is the body with the mandate of supervising the activities of ANAMM. The Management Board is the executive body, which ensures the effective functioning of the association, which is supported also by an internal audit body. The Secretary-General, who holds both the management and executive role, ensures the functions of the Management Board on a daily basis. This executive board is currently composed of three sectors, namely (i) Advocacy and Knowledge Management; (ii) Municipal Strengthening and Research; and (iii) Administration and Finance. Recently two new areas were approved, namely Technical Assistance, and People Management.15

The association is widely and strongly recognised as the sole representative and interlocutor of the municipalities in the dialogue with the government and other partners of development. ANNAM has a privileged relationship with the government of Mozambique and with the various Ministries overseeing different sectors with services and projects implemented within the boundaries of municipal territories. As the key partner of the government, the association is a key vehicle of dialogue over local authorities' common agenda of development.

The association is challenged by the lack of staff with the skills and knowledge required to fulfil its mandate and provide support to its memberships. Currently, the secretariat is composed of 12 officials, 91% are graduated of university education, and among them, 80% are concentrated in two areas, and 50% are new officials with less than three years at ANAMM, including the Secretary-General. However, it is important to mention that the General Secretary has experience working at the municipal level and participated in the creation of ANAMM itself in 2004. The association requires massive capacity building and resources. Below is the quick analysis of strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats (SWOT) of the ANAMM.

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<td>• A clear vision toward the consolidation of ANAMM as the effective representative of municipalities</td>
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<td>• Stable institutional framework of decentralised municipal bodies</td>
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<td>• The strong recognition of ANAMM as the main representative of the local authorities</td>
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<td>• Young and graduated human resources with a potential for strong and well developed skills and knowledge</td>
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<td>• Existing needs assessment for capacity building and strategic policy documents</td>
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<td>• Recognition of the association by the majority of its members as the main vehicle for dialogue with the government</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Weak technical capacity in providing advisory services to its members</td>
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<td>• Weak capacity and skills for negotiation and lobbying and advocacy</td>
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<td>• Lack of structured and secure source of financial resources</td>
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<td>• Lack of infrastructure and equipment to support its mandate and perform its role</td>
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<td>• Lack of capacity among its members to honour their membership fees</td>
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<td>• The relative power of the government over ANAMM with potential influence on its independence</td>
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<td>• The new impetus on the political agenda of decentralisation</td>
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<td>• Donor’s and other stakeholders interest to partner with ANAMM in the effort for local authorities strengthening</td>
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<td>• The increase of space of dialogue with the government, which has ordinarily set to take place twice a year, and with an open possibility for extraordinary meetings.</td>
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<td>• Lack of financial sustainability</td>
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<td>• The weak capabilities of mobilizing resources</td>
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<td>• Existence of islands of memberships with doubts on the role of ANAMM</td>
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<td>• The potential confusing interpretation over the role of political parties influence within the association</td>
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<tr>
<td>• The potential perception among its memberships over a competing role of ANAMM in relation to mobilization of resources</td>
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The deficit of capacity will require that the association is organized in such a way that it can be able to mobilize resources through regular contributions from its membership, as well as through partners, in order to invest in trainings, allocation of qualified personnel. With the skills on policies and legislation on municipal tax system; land and environment; decentralization and management of municipal finances; and local development, since a profound mastery of these issues will mean a better quality of dialogue and advocacy in favor of the interests of its membership.
4. **TERRITORIALISATION OF THE NATIONAL POLICIES AND GLOBAL PROGRAMS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN**

The government of Mozambique (GoM) approved in 2014, the National Development Strategy for the period of 2015-2035. The main objective of the END is the improvement of the living conditions of the population through a structural transformation of the economy, and the expansion and diversification of national production (República de Moçambique, 2014). The national development strategy claims an integrated social and economic development based on a structural transformation toward a competitive and diversified economy. The developmental approach under the national strategy relies on industrialization, assumed to be the path for the achievement of prosperity and competitiveness. It’s worth mentioning the fact that as an important strategic document for the country’s development goals, it should have been the main guiding document for the economic and social developmental planning in all tiers of the government, including local authorities. Instead, this strategic document has not yet been taken seriously as an instrument of the government's developmental planning and budgeting.

The idea of territorializing the national policies and strategies relies on the localization of these national policies and strategies within the space and territory of the local governments. Therefore, the process requires commitment with the territorial development both by the central and the local governments through recognition of the role and responsibility of the local authorities in driving the processes of development in their specific territories, and ensuring that the local authorities also are well capacitated and appropriate resources are allocated to them (Romeo, 2015; Bilbao, 2015). In Mozambique there’s no clear evidence of an existing experience of territorial development approach under implementation. In general, the country lack a policy and strategy that would serve as the guiding instrument of a developmental agenda for an integrated country’s development planning. Despite the existing National Strategy of Development 2015-2035 the document is not used as an instrument to inform a coordinated and integrated national agenda for development. And the challenge seems to be more technical and cultural than the lack of commitment by the government to embark into territorialisation policy agenda.

Evidences from the local governments and local authorities in particular suggest that their intervention in implementing activities have since been in response to non-articulated effort toward country’s development agenda, but to tackle with specific demand for services or project and activities implementation. Thus, local authorities do not have any structured and conceptualized territorialisation of the national development agenda. This require to be built-up, commencing by developing and/or recuperating the national long-term agenda of development along with a strong initiative of changing the approach of planning the local development in a way that the autonomy of local authorities is valued.

Under the sustainable development goal (SDG) the local authorities have commenced the discussion and analysis of how to align the process of planning and budgeting by integrating the SDGs. ANAMM has directly been working with the local authorities to ensure that the process of planning and budgeting is conducted in a way that the key SDG’s are integrated in and the reporting of activities also addresses how the issues are progressing. The government through the leadership of the Ministry of Economics and Finance is also taking this effort seriously. A preliminary report on the SDG’s implementation report was published in 2018.

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16 Interview with top officials of two municipalities, and members of decentralized provincial governments of Nampula, Zambézia and Gaza (August, 2020).

and in 2020 the government published the Voluntary National Review report of the Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development a process that received a strong support of the President of the Republic of Mozambique. Under this report the government states that the SDGs has strongly been integrated in the national policies including the Five Year Government Program, which allow that the sectoral and local government programs is also enlightened to embrace the same perspective of localization of the SGDs.

5. **Conclusion**

The political economy of decentralization in Mozambique is grounded in a complex structure of incentives that constrain the path of its implementation. The recent progresses on decentralisation have prompted a profound change on the political organization of the state, and a deep reconfiguration of local governments. However, as in the past this process of decentralisation have been marked by contentious issues related to weak transference of functions and competences from the central government to the decentralized bodies of governments. The sector ministries represent the main bottleneck, although they are not alone in this effort that constrains the efficiency of decentralised reforms of governance. The need for continued control of resource and power is the heart of the whole problems of limited role and functions assigned to local decentralised governments. This reality imposes significant challenges also to the local authorities, as they suffer from the same issues constraining the process of implementation of the newly established provincial decentralised governments. Despite the positive effort in pushing for progresses on the reforms of decentralisation, formally established by the Constitution, even-though centralized mechanisms were put in place as a consequence of fear of losing power and control over resources, therefore undermining at some extent the quality of the whole reforms of decentralisation and the ability of transforming local authorities as key players of local development. In effect, these dynamics represent the nature of politics underpinning the past and current reforms of decentralisation in Mozambique, which need to be addressed in the implementation of a specific supporting programme to the decentralisation.

The centralized culture of governance and clientelistic politics play a role in the quality of decentralised local governance and local authorities. The fear of losing control of resources and power is an important constraining factor for an effective implementation of the reforms of decentralization, territorialisation, and local development agenda. However, despite the existing challenges the local authorities also foresee a room of opportunities to develop as a key actors of local development. Currently, the local authorities are among the decentralized local governments the unique body with the most stable institutional and legal frameworks. In the midst of an increasing contestation of recent process involving the provincial decentralised government the local authorities provides opportunities that encourages for mobilization of support to the implementation of decentralised agenda with the potential to push for local development and/or territorial development. As part of the increasing autonomous bodies of government its more likely that the central government will fear to have various fragmented approaches and interventions toward development, thus it may be expected that an effort to put in place an agenda of national development and mechanism for coordinated and integrated planning of development will be of a significant value and mutually beneficial to both local and national governments.

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REFERENCES


Weimer (2020). Walking the talk? A critical perspective on sustainable Peace and Reconciliation in Mozambique. Dakar: FES.


ANNEXES

Annex 1. Indicative agenda for the preparation for the policy dialogue

The ANAMM will be engaged in organising a webinar meeting with all municipalities to discuss about the future EU cooperation 2021-2027, to build consensus on the key areas of support and the road map for political dialogue with the government, the National Authorizing Office (NAO) at the Ministry of Cooperation and Foreign Affairs, and the EU delegation in Maputo. The following table is indicative of the agenda for the local authority’s broader discussion of the key ideas for the EU cooperation with local authorities and political dialogue.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activities</th>
<th>The agenda</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Month 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Webinars for consensus building over the key areas for cooperation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Webinar with the UCLGA team to consolidate pre-action document</td>
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<tr>
<td>Policy dialogue with the EU delegation in Maputo, Mozambique</td>
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<tr>
<td>Policy dialogue with relevant ministries including NAO</td>
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<tr>
<td>Webinar with the UCGLA team to share results of policy dialogue</td>
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<td>Final elaboration of the Action Document</td>
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Annex 2: Key priority areas and action for the future EU cooperation 2021-2027

Bearing in mind the need for unlocking the development potential of local authorities, the EU argues that it is fundamental to empower and strengthen the capacity of local authorities and citizens to ensure that the latter can demand transparency and accountability and that the local authorities have the means and incentives to respond to citizen demands for effective, transparent and accountable governance, adequate quality of service provision, and equitable allocation of resources. Thus, assistance to local authorities should aim at enhancing their capacities and means to execute their institutional mandate as defined by law and consequently to exercise their power of initiative as full-fledged policymakers. This is likely to empower the LAs capacity and leadership, and boost local development through increased democratic participation, active citizenship, the participation of women and youth in the policy decision, and multi-level accountability mechanism. Therefore, learning from the current challenges underpinning the LAs capacities to provide efficient and timely quality services, and promote accountable governance, it is proposed the following provisional four priority areas for the potential programme support and interventions. The priority areas and their specific action are presented in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Outcome</th>
<th>Key areas</th>
<th>Actions</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To strengthen the implementation of capacity building of local authorities</td>
<td>Capacity building and strengthening of LAs</td>
<td>Strengthening institutional capacity to fulfil mandates</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Needs assessment and training of public servants for improved management capacity and quality of service</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Capacity building for territorial planning and land management</td>
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<td>Consolidated data and systems for improved tax collection</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Environmental and climate change and urban development management</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Leadership training</td>
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<td>To enhance local authorities transparency and accountability</td>
<td>Enhancing transparency and accountability mechanisms</td>
<td>Acquisition, installation and capacity development for the implementation of the new municipal management system (SGA)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Consolidation of vertical and horizontal accountability mechanisms</td>
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<td>Participatory budget improvement</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Strengthening participatory citizens’ engagement in the local development</td>
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<tr>
<td>To strengthen the capacity of ANAMM for effective support and assistance to ANAMM</td>
<td>Technical capacity strengthening to ANAMM</td>
<td>Resource allocation for capacity development improvement</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Development of training for skills development and consolidation</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Capacity training for lobbying and advocacy</td>
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<tr>
<td>Outcome</td>
<td>Key areas</td>
<td>Actions</td>
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<td>------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>local authorities</td>
<td>Coordination, lobbying and policy dialogue improvement</td>
<td>Legal recognition of ANAMM, advocate for state budget allocations to ANAMM and other resources to enable the normal functioning of the association.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coordination, lobbying and policy dialogue improvement</td>
<td>Negotiation skills and resource mobilization</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Acquisition of equipment for improved coordination</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Consolidate mechanisms for policy dialogue</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Engage women and people with disability in policy dialogue</td>
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