Informal Urban Development and Service Delivery in Mozambique:

*Do Boycotts Improve Trash Collection?*

*Prepared for UNU-WIDER*

*Inclusive Growth in Africa: Measurement, Causes and Consequences*

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*Helsinki, Finland*

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*DRAFT-Opinions reflected are those solely of the author. Please email comments to bea.reaud@american.edu*
What factors affect municipal performance in a new democracy?

- **Timeless and Timely**
  - The individual township was the place where local interests, passions, duties and rights clung together and fostered at its heart real political activity which was active, thoroughly democratic, and republican.

  *Alexis De Tocqueville*  
  *Democracy in America*

- **Challenge presumptions that democracies are successful if they:**
  - Have repeated elections/turnover/sanction (Diamond/Dahl)
  - Raise income levels (Przeworski)

- **Democracies are successful if they deliver desired services**
  (Putnam/DeSoto)
What is the extent to which civic participation motivates municipalities to improve service delivery?

**Hypothesis:** Decentralization creates incentives that motivate municipal government officials to act and opportunities for residents to pressure them.

**POLITICAL PRESSURE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Civil Society:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Expected Finding:</strong> Strong civil society can pressure municipal government to improve municipal services.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Finding:</strong> Strong civil society is not a prerequisite to strong municipal performance. Civil society organizations are fluid and adaptive to resource availability. They affect municipal performance based the type of donor assistance it receives and its relationship with the municipality.</td>
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Context: Mozambique


- Posts:
  - Colonial (1975)
  - Conflict (Renamo/Frelimo)
  - Socialist

- Low-income

- Constraints make findings more robust
Method

- Embedded Single Case Design
- 4 mini-cases (Maputo, Beira, Dondo, and Matola)
- Services: Trash Collection and Market Management
- 2 service experiments, 11 focus groups, 14 markets, 120 semi-structured interviews, national and municipal budget and planning documents, elite interviews.
## Definition of Civil Society and Results

- Civil society as participation and voice.
- Ability for citizens to voice concern over and effect municipal policy.
- **Strength:**
  1. access and control over resources
  2. influence over municipal policy
- Strong = 2
- Active = 1
- Weak = 0

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CIVIL SOCIETY</th>
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<th>MUNICIPAL PERFORMANCE</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Expected</td>
<td>Actual</td>
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<tr>
<td>MAPUTO</td>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>Strong. Donors developed neighborhood-based trash collection capacity, which extended municipal capacity to trash to informal communities through municipal contracts.</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trash Collection</td>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>Active. Neighborhood organizations pick up trash in informal neighborhoods but activities were contingent on donor funding.</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEIRA</td>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>Active. Neighborhood groups raise awareness but do not provide services. However, a donor provided substantial assistance towards instituting a participatory budgeting, which has assisted in involving residents in decisions about municipal infrastructure fund allocations.</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DONDO</td>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>Weak. Neighborhood organizations are not active.</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trash Collection</td>
<td>Weak</td>
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<tr>
<td>MATOLA</td>
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Did the Job Get Done?
Trash Collection Monitoring

- 4 cities
  - 2 neighborhoods each
  - formal/informal (sites of focus groups)
  - 6-8 observation sites

- Monitor patterns of trash collection consistent with period of service
  - Maputo: 7 days/24 hours
  - Matola: weekly
  - Dondo: 5 days/twice a week
  - Beira: 7 days/weekly
Beira-Inhamodima


**Photographic Scale of Street Litter Conditions**

Condition 1 = Clean; 2 = Moderately clean; 3 = Moderately littered; 4 = Heavily littered

Condition 1

Condition 2

Condition 3

Condition 4
Beira-Munhava Central


**Photographic Scale of Street Litter Conditions**

Condition 1 = Clean;  2 = Moderately clean;  3 = Moderately littered;  4 = Heavily littered

Condition 1

Condition 2

Condition 3

Condition 4
What is the extent to which civic participation motivated municipalities to improve service delivery?

- **Strong: (2)**
  - Maputo
    - 2002 citizen protest (Mayor, GTZ-AGRESU)
    - ADASBU (MSF), Associação Kithunga
- **Active (1)**
  - Beira: Mayor’s platform
    - Munhava (Africa 70, Italian Cooperation, others)
  - Dondo: Mayor/Participatory Budgeting (Austrian Development Cooperation)
- **Weak (0)**
  - Matola: Selective service provision, no associations
Conclusions

• Path to financial self-sufficiency (Maputo).

• Donor assistance (Maputo and Dondo).

• Technocratic Leadership:

  ■ Inkosa yinkisa ngabantu.
  ▪ (A leader is only a leader because of his people).
    ■ Chi-Shona saying

  ■ I have seen a change since 5 years, specifically in the mandate of this (mayor). Maputo, 2008.

  ■ In 1998, we died like ants. Due to the Mayor, now we see streets paved and things are starting to look normal. Although we may not have trash collection where I am, it is clear that this mayor is working and that things have gotten better. Beira, 2009.
Many thanks for your attention.

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