

Final Report:

**FORMATION OF A NATIONAL
ASSOCIATION
OF MAYORS OR MUNICIPALITIES
IN MOZAMBIQUE**

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A survey of conditions, including expressions of interest, feasibility, value added to the decentralization process, fit to USAID program orientation

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Background: The following information is the result of a two-week visit in February, 1998, designed to "gauge interest within the Government of the Republic of Mozambique other donors, current mayors and national NGO's, in formation of a national association of mayors " The visit was an outgrowth of previous contact (December 1995) between USAID/Maputo and the International City/County Managers Association (ICMA), a USAID contractor providing support for municipal development programs

A secondary objective of the visit was to encourage participation by newly elected mayors in a visit to selected Brazilian cities and towns, a visit that would be coordinated by ICMA's sister organization, the Instituto Brasileiro de Administração Municipal

For reasons that are explained below, such a visit would not make sense in the near future As a result the assignment's objectives were adjusted to focus on the viability of an association of mayors, or, an extension of this concept, an association of municipalities

I SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

It will come as no surprise that the confusion related to the up-coming elections for municipal government, and the practical application of the decentralization process, make it impossible at this time to uncover anything more than a general interest in an association of mayors or municipalities

The very same confusion, in combination with a crying need for investment in municipal infrastructure and the related administrative capacity, lead to the conclusion that such an association would be helpful in the future Given the scale of the challenge, one can conclude that an association could be useful sooner rather than later

The experience that exists, often related to programs with foreign donor support, suggests that good improvement in revenue generation and service delivery is possible It may take more time to achieve than one would like, but there is experience that could be productively disseminated among municipal administrators

This experience could be disseminated by central government agencies, university and technical training institutions, and by NGO's An Association of Mayors or Municipalities, however, would allow the municipalities and their administrators to own the process and to assure that only the experience they consider truly valuable would receive priority treatment Given USAID efforts to encourage local ownership of the municipal government process, an Association of Mayors or Municipalities would be the best approach

USAID, itself, has had a great deal of experience with the municipal association process Programs in Central America, the Ivory Coast, and through contracts with organizations such as the International City/County Managers Association, provide a foundation for any future work of this sort in Mozambique

In this context, but somewhat outside the Scope of Work of this review, USAID experience with technical assistance to municipal government could be made available in support of initiatives such as the Local Empowerment in Governance Activity (LEGA) The Municipal Development Support Program (681-0004) in the Ivory Coast, carried out in the early 1990's, provided good results in areas such as revenue generation and operating procedures for small and medium-sized municipalities The Director of USAID's Regional Urban Develop-

ment Office (RUDO) in Pretoria managed the project during much of its life. It would make sense to take advantage of the proximity of such experienced personnel.

In conclusion, it is recommended that USAID/Maputo remain alert to the opportunity to support an association of mayors or an association of municipalities as conditions become more favorable. There is no need to wait for a specific request from Mozambicans sources. The associative process, the stimulation of dialogue, are already at the core of USAID's LEGA and other Mission activities. USAID could collaborate with the MAE and other donors to build a nationwide training program in municipal administration shortly following the elections. There is a wealth of localized experience that could be drawn together productively through such a collaboration.

Ideally, regional or provincial seminars and workshops on very specific, high profile, high priority subjects (sanitation, drainage, water supply, budgeting) could work to stimulate interest in further association. An outreach program, that is, travelling teams of experts in budgeting or maintenance, for example, could also be a first step, as it was in the Ivory Coast. The travelling experts themselves become the intermediaries. Through "cross-pollination" of concepts and techniques they suggest reasons for officials in different localities to be in contact.

II PRESENT CONDITIONS

A Structural and Personnel Change

1 Upcoming Election of Municipal Governments

The Government of the Republic of Mozambique (GRM) has worked, since 1994, on legislation that allows for some decentralization of governmental authority to the local level. Passage of Law 2/97, the foundation for the process now underway, allows for direct election of Municipal Councils and Mayors in 33 municipalities. Eleven of these, the ten Provincial capitals and Maputo, have been classified as municipalities for some time. Another twelve have been recognizably urban areas within Districts, but without their own municipal government.

The remaining ten to elect Municipal Councils and Mayors in the election scheduled for June 30th, 1998, are new municipalities created from "Vilas." There are now 68 "Vilas." The Law allows for designation of future municipalities from the remaining 58 "Vilas" that are not converted to municipalities in this first round of elections.

The Law also provides the basis for the gradual transfer of responsibility for local administrative activity from the District Administrations to the newly designated municipalities. The regulations providing a sharper definition of this transfer, however, do not yet exist. As a result, the process has generated a great deal of uncertainty, classified by many as outright confusion.

The election process itself is surrounded by controversy. The main opposition Party, RENAMO, has indicated that if the electoral census governing the elections is not revised, it will not participate in the elections. All the people contacted during this visit seemed convinced that this dispute between the two major Parties (FRELIMO is the governing Party) will be resolved so that the elections may proceed roughly within the time frame already established. The dispute, nevertheless, adds to the confusion.

The elections will result in major changes in municipal leadership. These changes are the focus of concern for present and future municipal officials, as well as for those international donor organizations that have been working on improving the administrative capacity of existing municipal government staffs. In addition, some previously well placed Party members will take great professional risk by running for office. Others may see a reduction in their responsibility. At best, any decentralization process will nurture the fear among the governing cadre that previously held prestige and perquisites will be handed over to new actors. The present changes are no exception, leading functionaries to adopt a "watch and wait" attitude.

2 The Division of Responsibility a Source of Concern

The division of assets between the central government authorities (usually District Administrations) and the newly created municipalities, identifying properties and staff to be transferred, has been completed. In addition, support offices have been created at the Provincial level to help the new councils work through the decentralization process. Even with this help, the new municipal administrations are likely to be greatly challenged by the details of the separation of Municipality and District during the first and second years of their existence.

Some observers predict that the transfer of financial and administrative authority to the newly established municipalities will be a cause for conflict. It has been suggested that only those municipal leaders who are able to identify with the town or city, as contrasted with their political affiliation, will do well in technical terms (i.e. effective service delivery). Those who rely on political relationships will find that they must defer to the central authorities, with the attendant reduction in benefits for the town itself.

It may be worth noting that experience in Portugal suggests that where strong central government has been the rule, there is value in having active opposition parties. A straw poll would suggest that many of the best managed towns and cities in Portugal are those with a city government in the hands of the Communist Party. One possible reason for this situation is that the Party has no power at the national level (it gets about 12% of the vote in national elections, with some help from splinter left coalition partners). As a result, its active politicians focus closely on local matters, and are forced to manage local resources effectively while local governments dominated by other parties are distracted by the battle for national position.

3 A Stable Technical Staff

The creation of new municipalities will require employment of new staff, or, at least the reorientation of technicians previously tied to the District Administration. Furthermore, the changeover is likely to blur the line between technical staff and politically active staff. Some of the donor organizations have spent many years investing in the development of more effective technical staff. There is no guaranty that these professionals will be left in their positions as new administrators try to build a loyal team. In recent years the change in personnel in Beira that resulted from changes at the Provincial level (within the same Party) has provided an example of how such changes can have a negative impact.

A Revived Interest in Service Delivery

1 Increased Citizen Participation

As the nation leaves the wartime period further behind, it is natural that the citizenry should

become more concerned with local or neighborhood issues. Municipal officials can expect increasing pressure for effective service delivery. It appears that many international donor programs will support this process. If they achieve their objectives, the pressure on local officials will only be greater.

2 Limited Resources and Low Levels of Maintenance

Municipal infrastructure dating back to the pre-independence era has not been maintained, exacerbating the gravity of service delivery problems. Provincial capitals, and the nation's two largest cities, Maputo and Beira, have been overwhelmed by the rural exodus that creates newly urbanized areas that lie outside the zone serviced in the colonial period. Each year services, principally electricity and water are extended to larger areas. Sewer and street drainage, however, follow way behind. Solid waste collection lags also, effected by inefficient street networks in new neighborhoods, the lack of adequate resources to fund municipal operations, and the inadequate preparation of staff.

The scale of the need is such that new municipal governments, even in the Provincial capitals, will be staggered by the challenge of responding to the increased interest in improved delivery.

3 Foreign Donor Support

The World Bank, through its participation in the Programa de Reforma dos Orgãos Locais (PROL) may offer the largest amount of financial support for the five largest municipalities. Its focus has been on financial management and an urban planning effort (assessment of needs). These activities will be followed by a water and wastewater treatment program.

Many other donor programs have joined the effort, some with highly focused operations restricted to certain cities or Provinces. Among these are

Sweden in Beira (Sofala), solid waste collection, improved revenue collection
 in Monapo (Nampula), Lichinga (Niassa), and Mocímboa da Praia (Cabo Delgado), administrative support and basic infrastructure
 Finland in Nacala (Nampula), land planning, municipal management
 Ireland in Niassa and Inhambane Provinces, financial administration
 Norway (NORAD) in Cabo Delgado Province, administrative support and basic infrastructure
 Holland in Nampula Province, administrative support and basic infrastructure
 Denmark in Tete Province, and also in the District of Milange (Zambezia), administrative support, basic infrastructure and local governance building
 Austria in Sofala Province, including support for the future municipality of Marromeu
 Germany (GTZ) in Vilanculos (Inhambane), Vila Manica (Manica) and Angoche (Nampula), support in civic education, and administrative support, as well as directly to the Direcção Nacional de Administração Local

USAID is now launching the Local Empowerment in Governance Activities (LEGA) Program. Its main objective is "to foster local stakeholder empowerment in governance in the two se-

lected districts and three municipalities through their engagement in local planning and decision making, and to increase the capacity of local governments to respond to the needs of residents." Though this Program has limited funds for investment in service delivery, a primary result should be increased pressure for improved service delivery

4 Differing Types of Urban Area

The 33 municipalities differ importantly in the scale of the problems to be addressed. Maputo has more than one million inhabitants, Beira has about one half that, Nampula perhaps 350,000 and nine of the newest municipalities have 20,000. The technological solutions to better service delivery will vary widely, as will the resources required. It may be possible, however, to consider solutions for certain neighborhoods in Maputo and Beira that are comparable to those that would work in the smaller cities

A Public Administration

1 Technical Experience in Mozambique

The National Government has been in the hands of the FRELIMO since independence, a condition that could encourage exchange of municipal or district government experience among responsible officials. There have been some training programs, and, in 1996, a national conference on local government was organized by the Ministério de Administração Estatal (MAE). The MAE has also established the Instituto Médio de Administração Pública (IMAP) which provides technical training for municipal government officials. There are plans to expand the outreach of this Institute beyond Maputo to other regions of the Country

Another source of training in public administration, directed at District Administration officials, is the Centro de Formação da Gestão Pública. The Center has established a relationship with Portugal's Institute for Municipal Administration in Coimbra. Unfortunately, this Institute is not known for innovative programming

There is, however, no continuing, formal support for an exchange of experience between municipal officials. The Eduardo Mondlane University has no program of public administration, removing a source of technical staff, as well as the research that accompanies university level programs. Some effort is being made now to develop such a University level program, but it is in the earliest stages of development. Some commentators suggest that even the process of information exchange itself is not well appreciated among government officials who would prefer to favor political channels over independent technical organizations or associations

2 Related foreign experience

USAID has supported local empowerment in transition periods in other countries with some real success. The MUNICIPAL DEVELOPMENT SUPPORT PROGRAM - 681-0004, provided technical assistance to a number of small municipalities in the Ivory Coast. The Program focused on revenue generation and improved operating procedures. The most successful aspects were training seminars, preparation of operating manuals and follow-up technical assistance visits. Part of the effort to assure Program sustainability included support for an association of municipalities. The Appendix includes relevant excerpts from an evaluation of the Program carried out in 1994

USAID has also supported the exchange of information among municipal officials in various countries in Central America. National municipal associations played an important role in support of the decentralization process. USAID Programs also supported training and investment in infrastructure. Excerpts from an ICMA report on this experience may be found in the Appendix.

ICMA has also established a working relationship with The Instituto Brasileiro de Administração Municipal (IBAM) which has operated consulting services for municipal governments, with a special focus on financial administration and legal issues. It has also organized seminars on a wide range of topics of timely interest to municipal officials. These topics have included citizen participation in the municipal budgeting process as well as the transfer from state and central government of responsibility for wastewater treatment, and the related contracting options.

IBAM has been involved with World Bank financed PROL activity in Mozambique, participating in the preparation of a manual for financial management. Through its collaboration with ICMA, IBAM expertise can be made available to USAID supported programs. IBAM is particularly well suited to support the development of a program of information exchange with Mozambican municipal officials as the Brazilian municipal experience covers a wide range of types of urban areas and issues. The Appendix includes a summary description of IBAM activities and programs.

D An Association of Mayors or Municipalities

The Mozambicans interviewed during this visit are not of one mind about the feasibility of an Association of Mayors or Municipalities. While there are no ardent supporters at this time, those contacted agreed that the pressure to associate would build rapidly following the installation of the elected municipal governments. As an example of one extreme, the current Mayor of Beira told USAID that the support of such an organization was needed now to help with the transition. Other contacts suggested that it would be some time before Mayors decided that association was necessary to overcome political or technical obstacles. Thus, this visit has produced no consensus and no obvious "owner" for a process of support for such an association.

An Association of Mayors and an Association of Municipalities are not mutually exclusive. In the Mozambican context it is likely that formation of an Association of Mayors might be simpler because fewer people would be involved. An Association of Mayors would be a more political entity, focusing on the concerns of individuals rather than organizations. The Association of Municipalities could be expected to have more of a technical orientation, considering staff training, etc. Because the recent tradition in Mozambique is loyalty to a political affiliation, there might be greater initial resistance from Mayors to association. The Municipal officials, on the other hand, would think more in technological terms, and would tend to own the idea of a political exchange of professional experience.

I CONCLUSIONS

A An Association of Mayors, or of Municipalities, Makes Sense

1 The challenge is too great for individual effort

The size of the challenge of providing effective municipal services, and the poverty of the resource base argue that municipal officials will have to be constantly comparing notes on a wide range of issues. These will include

- Organization
- Staffing
- Financial resources and administration
- Service delivery, and
- Public/private interchange

They will also include the decentralization and municipal development process itself

Simply put, the base of personnel trained in municipal administration is not broad enough for municipal officials to go it alone. The dialog with the Central Administration over resource allocation is one area that will cry out for some form of municipal organization in support of arguments for local priorities. An association can provide the platform for training programs, turning a series of widely differing international donor programs into sustainable resources. The present experience indicates that the political parties will not provide this platform.

Associations can deal with the critical issues concerning the transfer of authority by providing members with better information about the options, and by organizing arguments so that positions on the unresolved issues may be presented to the National Government.

1 An association complements the existing international donor programs

None of the existing international donor programs are designed to operate in all of the 33 municipalities that will exist after the elections. These programs will leave behind skills ranging from technical assessment of needs to procedures for the public/private dialogue between the citizenry and municipal administrators. Not all the experiences are successful. An association could serve as the institutional memory for the results of these varied programs, increasing the possibility that unsuccessful activities are not repeated, and that the reasons for their failure are understood.

In Beira, both the Swedish Development Agency and the World Bank have had a difficult time introducing compactor trucks for garbage collection. It is as important that the problems be well known as it is that success stories be publicized. This is especially true given a natural human reluctance to recognize weaknesses and to downplay failure. A municipal or mayor's association can retain such information, and help other municipalities with project design. It is more likely that the related skills and experience will be "owned" by municipal administrators than by national level personnel.

2 Municipal or mayors associations help develop political skills

These organization can serve as a political foundation for public officials who are sensitive to local and popular issues, and who are trained in the details of public administration in a way not available to persons who operate only in the national policy arena.

A USAID Support for a Municipal Association Makes Sense as an Objective

1 Mozambican "ownership" of the process

Due to the confusion accompanying the transition period, an "owner" cannot now be found for the idea of an association. It has been suggested that "owners" will turn up naturally following the elections and a start-up period. That seems a reasonable conclusion.

2 An Association would complement the LEGA and other USAID democracy and governance programs

It makes sense for USAID to be alert for opportunities to support an Association of Mayors or Municipalities because it can offer a platform for wider distribution of the experience of USAID projects. The dissemination itself will serve to formalize the use of techniques and procedures developed with USAID support by local governments.

3 USAID does not have to wait for an "owner" to appear to begin building the training programs that would encourage association in the future

USAID need not wait to begin nurturing information exchange among local government officials. The coming two years will witness an explosion of experience with local government issues. International donors will be important contributors to this process. USAID could serve the process well, in collaboration with other donors and the MAE, by drawing on its experience elsewhere.

A program of seminars and workshops at the provincial level, or outreach programs, in which training units go to localities, would stimulate information exchange and nurture the concept of association. Such exchanges are not the custom at present, and may be considered threatening. Any effort that breaks these concerns down and increases familiarity with the exchange process will further the decentralization and democratization effort.

A Previous USAID and Other Foreign Experience can add Value

1 The Regional Urban Development Office (RUDO), Pretoria

The LEGA Program can be expected to generate a tremendous demand for service delivery. The Municipal Management Project in the Ivory Coast developed excellent results in areas that would effectively complement the LEGA output. Carlene Dei, RUDO Director, worked on the design, and later managed the project. The RUDO appears to be a resource that could add value to the work accomplished by USAID-Maputo.

2 The International City/County Managers Association

ICMA serves as a USAID contractor that can bring information about international municipal government practices to the attention of the beneficiaries of USAID support. ICMA is an organization of professional city administrators, thus its focus is on the technical issues related to administration and service delivery. Mozambique does not have professional city administrators, and would benefit from extensive exposure to the concept (i.e. professional administration) and the type of preparation required for such a profession.

For Lusophone countries like Mozambique, ICMA joins with its Brazilian sister organization,

IBAM to provide an appropriate range of information and experience. Brazil's municipal areas run from the largest, most complex in the world, to small impoverished towns. IBAM has worked in all areas related to the municipal experience. Cities like Curitiba have developed systems that have been recognized worldwide for their effectiveness. Other towns will have dealt with problems on a scale that is appropriate for Mozambique's smaller municipalities.

IBAM's organization also provides an interesting example of one kind of municipal association. IBAM provides consulting services to its members, generating income that is vital to its annual operation. IBAM also takes the lead in raising issues that will be of concern to municipal officials, or in disseminating information about solutions developed in one urban area, or section of the country, so that other cities and towns may benefit.

Though it is too early to specify how the ICMA/IBAM experience could help in the development of an Association of Mayors or Municipalities, it seems advisable to keep this resource in mind.

A The Practical Aspects of Encouraging Municipal Association in Mozambique

1 Communication and Education

Mozambique is a large country and the Capital area, with its concentration of national government and educational resources lies at one pole. The distances between urban centers are great, and the roads are bad. New investment is improving the situation daily, but even at its best, gathering municipal officials for workshops or association activities will be costly in both time and money. A donor could offset these costs, but when designing programs for sustainability the distance factor will have to be considered carefully.

Another complicating factor will be the level of education of the municipal staff. At this point in Mozambican history it is difficult to find personnel with a basic education that allows for training in modern techniques of budgeting, maintenance planning, surveying and cadastral work, etc.

Training programs need to be designed carefully to match the education base. As many of the smaller municipalities will be short of materials as basic as typewriters, a condition that will apply in certain departments of the larger municipalities as well, the training process, and the training objective, will have to be simplified. Those persons with a modern professional education will be drawn to work in the Maputo area. They can serve effectively, however, as members of outreach training teams, thereby multiplying the impact of their higher level of training.

2 Electronics

It is tempting to think that because of the lack of investment in basic communications infrastructure, Mozambique is ripe for a technology jump, going from isolation to the Internet. In fact, the complicating factor will be the low level of basic education. A generation gap is bound to develop between the municipal official of today and those of ten years from now.

At present, however, it would appear that computer literacy is far too low to allow for remote training via the Internet, or even via electronic mail. Closed-circuit television should be considered. This mission did not collect information about television communications in Mozam-

bique, but it would appear to offer a more immediate solution to the communications program than computerization. In the near future, it will be easier for donor programs to offer modern equipment than it will be for such programs to train the people to take advantage of these tools.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1.

List of Persons Interviewed

USAID/Mozambique

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