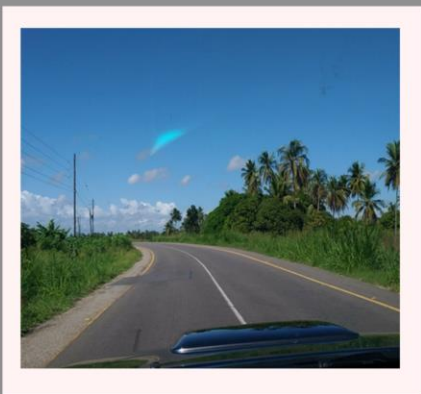


# SAM in Zambezia: What are practitioners learning?



Final Version  
August 2017

## Concern- PSAM Partnership in Mozambique



Works to challenge poverty and inequality, supporting practical actions that enable people to improve their lives and shape their own future. It has its focus on the community and linking evidence base with national strategies and policies through social accountability monitoring at the municipal and the district level. [www.concern.org](http://www.concern.org)



Since 2008, PSAM has partnered to develop and strengthen Concern Universal capacity to train on Social Accountability Initiatives, as well as jointly map public policy and accountability in Mozambique.

Concern Universal has been working in Mozambique since 1996 on integrated local development and humanitarian assistance. In 2008, Concern Universal started doing governance work with Local Consultative Council to help revitalize training of local council members in Niassa province. In 2012, Concern received 3 year funding to promote social accountability by strengthening the capacities of both demand and supply at the local level through a program called Municipal Social Accountability Monitoring (MuniSAM).

MuniSAM – Social Accountability Monitoring Program at the Municipal Level has been implemented by Concern Universal Mozambique in collaboration with local civil society organizations (CSO) and with funding from Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC) between 2012 and 2015 in six (6) Municipalities in the Centre and North of Mozambique namely: in Mocuba and Quelimane (Zambézia Province), Cuamba and Metangula (Niassa Province), and in Montepuez and Mocímboa da Praia (Cabo Delgado Province). In 2016 it was expanded to Nampula Province.

In the year 2016 MuniSAM was integrated into PRODEM, Municipal Development Program which contributes to urban poverty reduction and sustainable development through improvements in municipal governance and the provision of services in 26 Municipalities in the North and Centre of Mozambique, supported by four (4) international development partners (Denmark, Ireland, Sweden and Switzerland). This integration allowed the expansion of MuniSAM's geographic coverage and it currently covers 14 Municipalities.

## Social Accountability Monitoring in Mozambique's Municipalities

MuniSAM seeks to contribute to the realization of the right to Social Accountability- the right to demand explanations and justifications on how public resources are used to meet needs.

Concern's strategy for MuniSAM roll out is through facilitating the creation and training of social accountability committees (SAMCOMs) at the municipal / district level.

SAMCOMs consist of local CSOs, ordinary members of the community and municipal officials.



Concern Universal (CU) piloted the MuniSAM Program in 6 municipalities between 2012-2015 in Niassa & Zambezia provinces.

As of 2016, MuniSAM has been incorporated into a Municipal government development program (PRODEM) being rolled out in 26 municipalities in the Central & Northern region

Social Accountability Monitoring Committees (SAMComs) are civic groups formed and capacitated within MuniSAM. SAMComs are composed of members of civic groups, municipal neighbourhood residents interested in the realization of social and economic rights (e.g. health care, childrens right to basic education, housing, water, employment, etc.) They also work to monitor and improve the economic development and management of public resources at the level of the respective Municipality. The SAMComs meet regularly with the Municipal Councils (Presidents and Councillors), Municipal Assemblies, Local and Traditional leaders and, most importantly, with their own communities, in an attempt to create opportunities so that they can express their needs and concerns to the Municipal authorities, serving as a link between all municipal actors.

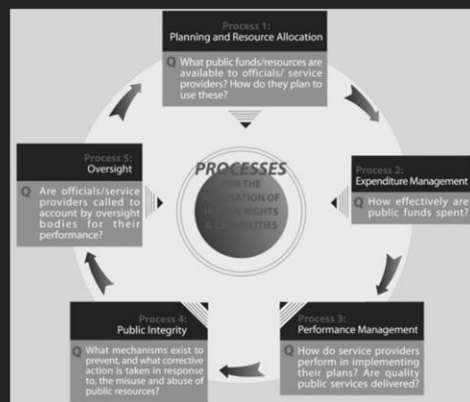
## Methodology of Learning Exercise

- PSAM, along with partners in 4 countries, engaged in a process to deepen and improve their monitoring, evaluation, and learning (MEL) functions and approaches with their overall strategies and social accountability practices.
- In Mozambique, the focus of the exercise was to capture, analyze and reflect on the trajectory of MuniSAM in Zambezia..
- For this project we used an inductive-deductive approach to develop a conceptual framework for the exercise. The framework was built considering the learning questions presented by partners and the literature in the field, adjusted to the resources available for data collection and analysis.
- We traced and documented how Concern applied, iterated, and adapted the PSAM framework, highlighting the interactions and effects of key variables in a context, taking into account a theoretical presumption that we improved over time. We also conducted quick but extensive political economy analysis of areas and organizational relationships of interest.
- The lessons emerged from capturing, analyzing SAM practitioners reflections on why and how they took on the SAM approach and what it has accomplished and triangulating information from other stakeholders and documentation. The insights aim to highlight key aspects of this journey, that complement rather than duplicate existing evaluation and knowledge products about MuniSAM and still may spark reflection about the way forward. This goal also informed the focus of the narrative in this document.
- Pilot activities consisted of in-depth interviews over a week in April of 2017 with various key SAMCom Presidents & their member, Local MuniSAM partner, President of Council/Mayor, Council Members, Municipal Assembly Members, CU Executive and MuniSAM Program Officers (see annex for full list). The team visited Quelimane and Mocuba in Zambezia, as well as Maputo

## A Premise of SAM Work

**PUBLIC RESOURCE MANAGEMENT IS A SYSTEM TO WHICH SAM CAN BE APPLIED JOINTLY BETWEEN STATE AND NON-STATE ACTORS.**

**BUT WHAT ARE WE LEARNING?**



The Social Accountability Monitoring (SAM) methodology allows public resources to be effectively and accountably managed through citizen participation and monitoring of government's public resource management (PRM) system. According to SAM, in order for government to convert public resources into services that meet people's most pressing needs, the state needs to implement five processes that form the basis of a system managing public resources (PRM system):

Process 1: Strategic Planning and Resource Allocation;

Process 2: Expenditure Management;

Process 3: Performance Management;

Process 4: Public Integrity

Process 5: Oversight.

The approach assumes that by applying SAM to the PRM system, demand side actors (civic actors & oversight members) will be able to hold the executive accountable for the use of public funds for service delivery and human rights outcomes.

This learning exercise seeks to explore variations in the application of SAM jointly by civic actors and state actors at the local government level through Concern Universal's MuniSAM program applied between 2012 -2015 in Zambezia province. Mocuba and Quelimane's SAM journeys have specific lessons. The next page previews the insights that stem from looking at those journeys collectively.

## WHAT ARE PRACTITIONERS IN MOCUBA & QUELIMANE LEARNING? A Preview



**Sustainability:** In the quest for sustainability, SAM should not be a solution in search of a problem. Think about whether and how SAM can help your partners to solve problems, then adjust and act. Will they become your constituency?




**Embeddedness:** Organizational & strategic responsiveness to context (how power is exercised & what civil society looks like) – and context can partly, but critically vary across neighboring towns!



**Tricks:** how to engage your local government and community? It's nurturing and navigating the relationships with a bag of tricks. Can you develop the capacities to pull it off?

## Meet Mocuba and its SAMCom: A Speed Date

### **Bom Dia! Mocuba is:**

The second largest municipality after Quelimane in Zambezia Province in Northern Mozambique. It rains  a lot here!

Governed by FRELIMO. Mocuba is a national ruling party stronghold.

An **Autarchy**: an Autonomous Municipality governed by an Assembly and served by a Council.

Pressing **service delivery** challenges : Water; Road Infrastructure; revenue collection!

### **An Intro to SAMCOM Mocuba:**

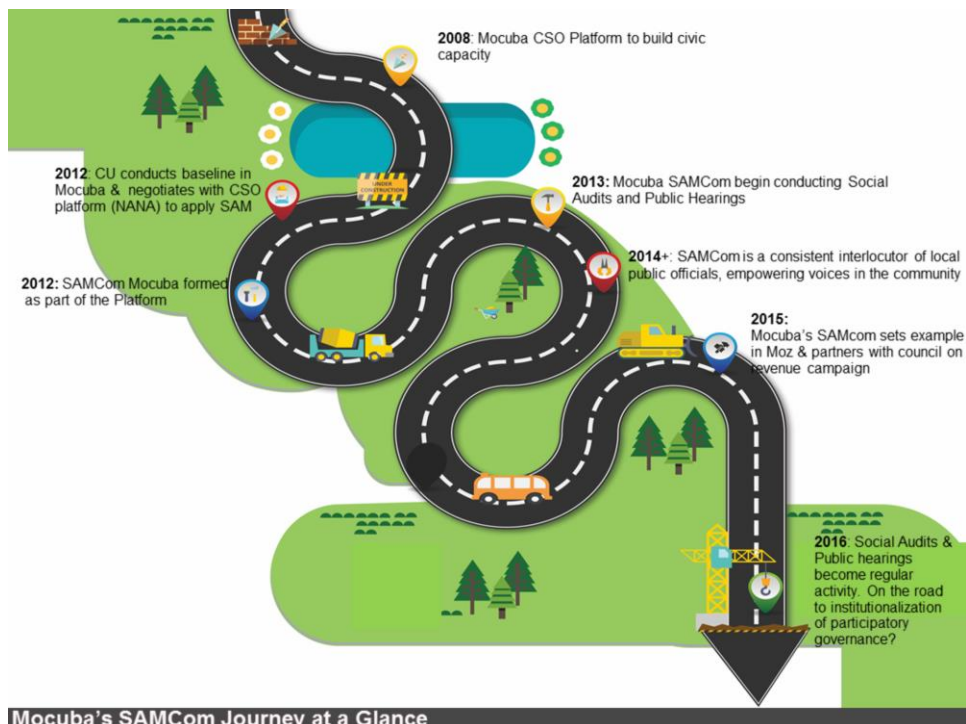
**SAMCom Mocuba:** consists of 35 members from a wide range of community organizations.

It was founded in 2012 with the support of Concern Universal.

The SAMCom is not a standalone organization. It is a committee of a local civil society platform founded in 2008 to combine 'community voice and coordinate action'

**NANA** (Concern's MuniSAM partner) hosts the SAMCOM, providing it with administrative support.





The SAMCom journey formally started in Mocuba in 2012, although groundwork was laid out before. Since then, the journey has been gradual, with twists and turns and some roadblocks and stops. Along the way, SAMCom has achieved a series of milestones (some of them illustrated in the graph). Locally, its social audits and public hearings have become regular activities. Nationally, its experience inspires others. Its members believe they are on a pathway towards participatory governance. The next slides describe some key aspects of the adaptations to SAM that contributed to this journey.





## Civil Society Mobilization From Scratch? Not if you want the benefits of embeddedness

In 2008, NANA and other civic groups in Mocuba started action to strengthen governance and participation, creating the District Platform of civil society organizations to monitor the Economic and Social District Plan.

In 2012 civic leaders in Mocuba saw the value of SAM to solve problems facing the municipality (corruption; poor planning & governance). They were already passionate about accountability.

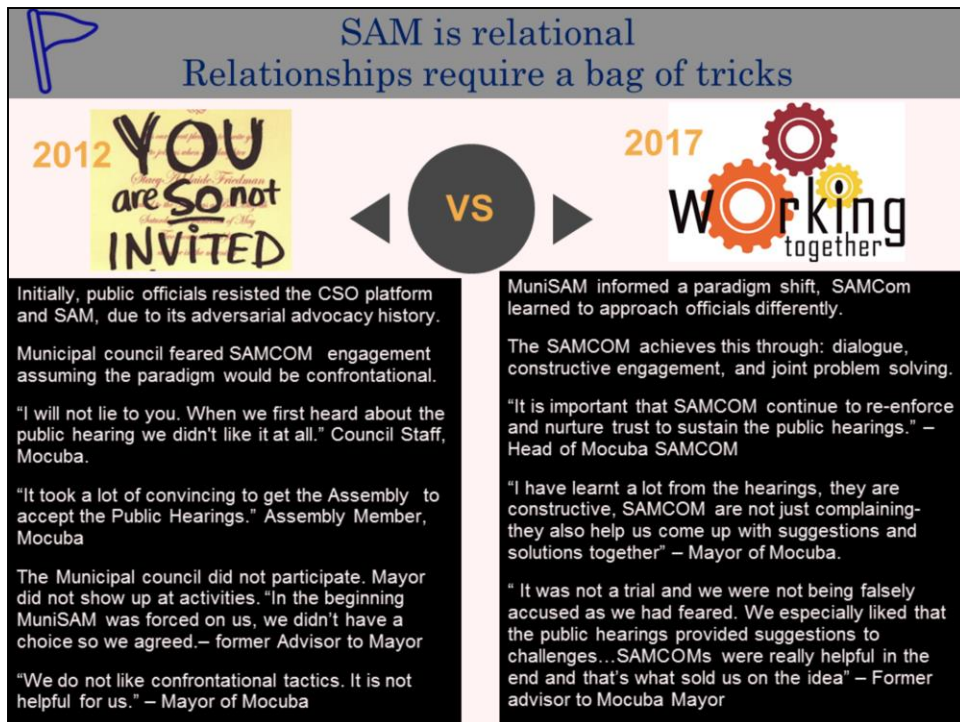
They decided that the SAMCom would become a committee in the local civil society Platform. The Platform would adapt SAM. SAM had to adopt organizational features that enabled collective work among multiple civic groups in town. The Platform worked like a team, with strategic and systematic leadership.

This form of organization embeds SAMCom in the community. Its capacities (and the capacities of its members contribute to the implementation of SAM) support the implementation of SAM (and the pathway). Strong links and involvement of the community has helped the SAMCom get influence, recognition and responsiveness from municipal council.

### Some of the Payoffs of embeddedness

● SAMCOMs have reaped benefits of being embedded into a platform with pre-established relationships between organizations and with the community in Mocuba. As a result they are able to mobilize local communities and organizations". At those SAMCOM meetings a lot of people show up, they have the support of the people and so we will keep attending their public hearings and meetings" – member of Mocuba Assembly

● "SAMCOM had to be legitimized by the public which was very powerful to our strategy. Our committee approach expands our platform and legitimizes our work. It has helped us to go from just an association to an actual organization." – Head of NANA

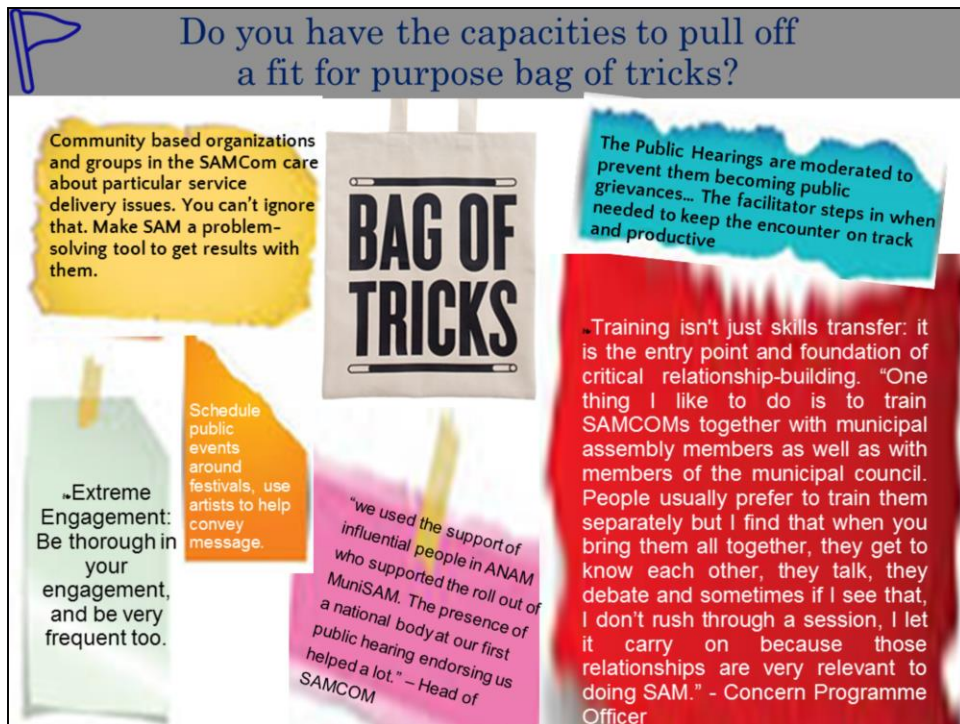


Mocuba SAMCom has a multi-step process to strengthen social accountability. The steps include, but are not limited to i) collecting public documents produced by council (strategic plan and annual report which contains budget expenditures and list of services delivered in the previous year) ii) audited expenditures of services produced as well as checking the quality of services delivered against the previous budget. Beyond producing a technical report, the SAMCom negotiates with the authorities on how they will respond to questions and address problems identified in the report. The report is presented at the public hearing, and the matrix of SAMCOM recommendations for the upcoming year that has been developed in conjunction with the Municipality is signed. The extent to which the municipal council addressed the issues listed in the signed matrix is reviewed in the following year's SAMCOM report. This process does not include all steps in the public resource management process. For example, *Oversight is difficult to monitor due to lack of information, when information is available no one wants to discuss it as they fear persecution, laws do not define clearly which information regarding these processes can be accessed, by whom, how and when, and also there is no law that condemns public officials whom do not share this information.*"- Concern Universal Staff Member

The gradual, but regular implementation of this process over time is one of SAMCom's key achievements, but it would have been unthinkable for most stakeholders 5 years ago. As the quotes in the left slide of the graph illustrate, initially the authorities did not engage in SAMCom's activities. A history of adversarial advocacy informed the negative reaction.

Civil society had to rebuild and reimagine relationships and learn to engage constructively and work to problem solve with public officials facing many constraints. Rather than demand the

implementation of a recommendation, supply and demand work together to find a compromise between what is desirable and what is feasible. “We learned that we have to involve the government to get results.” The change in paradigm – from demanding what is ideal to working together on what is feasible - paved the way for increased public official responsiveness and, in turn, results, from the implementation of recommendations and the yearly process that increases accountability. SAMCOM members are now invited.



The change in paradigm and its implementation has been less than straightforward. It required attention on stakeholder's individual incentives and needs and building and nurturing relationships. *“Social accountability initiatives are not a set of linear, technical, predictable activities but rather complex, systemic and systematic interventions that are both about building relationships and building the capacity of actors to implement mechanisms and tools”* (MuniSAM nd).

Over the years, the Mocuba SAMCom team developed a “bag of tricks” to get the job done. This collection of tricks is more than the sum of the parts. It reflects the development of a new set of capacities to create and sustain smart collective action in Mocuba, including the ability and will to problem-solve with others, relational savviness, strategic and tactical responsiveness to context. These capacities are critical to implement smart social accountability (Guerzovich and Poli 2016).

Probably, the most telling trick to date has been SAMCom starting campaigns and activities that, at first glance, are unrelated to the SAM cycle. They help out with tax awareness campaigns resulting in an increase in Municipal tax revenue. They do garbage collection campaigns, too. SAMCom has found that working on actions that key stakeholders in the public sector need help with, ultimately, helps them open doors for SAM work. Different perspectives on the dynamic (also see MuniSAM nd; Lala and Capela de Oliveira):

*“When we started with MuniSAM we worked only with demand side & putting pressure on the supply side but we found so many gaps on the supply side. They didn't have the resources and capacity to meet our demands. It simply wasn't possible. The municipalities didn't know much about setting and collecting tax. So as of 2014 we started focusing on building the capacities of*

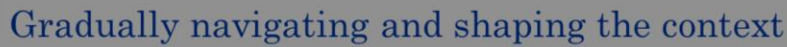
*both supply and demand. How to increase municipal revenue became our biggest focus.” – Concern Programme Officer*

According to the Head of Mocuba SAMCom “We had to show that our approach to social accountability is not only focused on informing citizens of their rights and making demands, its also about citizen responsibility and informing citizens as well as educating citizens about their responsibilities such as paying taxes. According to the Mayor of, *“In 2015 we did a tax sensitization campaign with businesses, religious leaders and the SAMCOM to raise fiscal revenue. We received a lot of revenue that year. The following year when we did not do that much sensitization, the revenue dropped. In 2015 and 2016 there were floods in Mocuba and MuniSAM helped. They provide solutions.”*

The community and SAMCOMS are now very influential – to the extent where they control the activities that we do as a municipality and, what goes in the plan.

*“In terms of municipal competencies and resources, we don’t always have enough. It is not easy to explain this to citizens, SAMCOM help us by making citizens understand our limitations, and to keep communication open.” – Mayor of Mocuba.* Local authorities also relate SAMCOM’s action to increases in local revenue collection. This gives them an incentive to attend but also ask for more citizen engagement and accountability. *“The Public Audit should be carried out more often, maybe every 6 months. This way we can correct our course in a shorter interval instead of having to wait for a whole year.”- Municipal Council Member*

The slide illustrates a range of additional examples that appear in trying to trace how SAMCom nurtured and navigated relationships in Mocuba deploying its bag of tricks. Some of the tricks came from the repertoire of member organizations, others were developed as part of doing SAM. All seem to have been refined using the insights that came from organizations’ embeddedness and understanding of the context.




## - SAMCom Members






The ultimate goal of Mocuba SAMCom members is to institutionalize their achievements. They seem to be on a promising route. The promise is not that the public hearings will become a new formal institution. Too many good formal institutions on paper do not work in practice. The promise seems to be in creating the political conditions for the functioning of the institution. In political science research, there are arguments that explain that policies endure by creating their own constituencies, shifting center of gravity of the policy agenda (Huber and Stephens 2001). The success of social accountability activities that benefit actors on the supply and demand side seem to be helping create, nurture, and mobilize constituencies. Could it be that some of the efforts of the SAMComs are creating the constituencies for the institutionalization they desire?



Recap: SAM in Mocuba “is a very tightly orchestrated exercise”



	<p><u>Sustainability:</u> First steps to move the needle from casual engagement to commitment from local government? Build constituencies to help out</p>		<p><u>Civil Society Dynamics</u> SAM benefitted from building on an existing, indigenous civic structure that provided social capital to the effort</p>		<p><u>Tricks:</u> how to get your local government from shy to excited! It's nurturing and navigating the relationships with a bag of tricks. Can you develop the capacities to pull it off?</p>
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To recap, Mocuba’s SAMCom may be on the road towards institutionalizing more participatory governance of local public resource management. For now, these efforts have been focused on some of the 5-steps of the public resource management system. The contextually feasible steps. The road towards achievements has been gradual and, at times, bumpy. Making different stakeholders pathways cross seems to be a key ingredient in successfully navigating the terrain, from mobilizing civil society groups and public officials to creating positive synergies in their engagement. SAMCom benefitted from building on an existing local civil structure that provided social capital to the effort. It also develops a range of new civic capacities to turn that social capital into results through a well orchestrated effort from a group of civic leaders that try, learn, and adjust.



## Meet Quelimane and its SAMCom: A Speed Date

### Bom Dia! Quelimane is:

- The Capital City of Zambezia Province as well as a politically contested place!
- Quelimane is navigating partisan politics to deliver services and citizen engagement through MuniSAM. It's... complicated. In Quelimane there is an autarchy and a district – 2 centers of power, with overlapping competences, different parties in charge, in 1 territory.
- Partisan tensions are high. Quelimane is governed by opposition party MDM under a Frelimo central government. MDM won the most number of seats in the Quelimane assembly in the last election.
- This influences relations of power between central government and subnational authorities, the local Council and Assembly, and Assembly members' behavior in their communities.
- It affects more than formal politics. This is not the case in neighboring Mocuba.
- Despite differences in political context, these two SAMCOMs share similar service delivery challenges mainly revenue collection!

### An Intro to SAMCOM Quelimane:

**SAMCom Quelimane:** consists of a diverse group of members in different fields of work without previous experience of working together towards a shared voice.

It was founded in 2013 with the support of Concern Universal.

**NAFEZA** (Núcleo das Associações Femininas da Zambézia) is a network of 63 member associations that empowers women in Zambézia Province. It provides a space for SAMCom. Some Members of SAMCom are NAFEZA members. SAMCom is a stand alone organization.

Quelimane and Mocuba share many contextual characteristics. They are neighboring towns in the same Mozambican province. The national public resource management system is the same. Their populations have similar service delivery challenges and revenues are too limited to address them. Yet, when thinking about important contextual conditions for doing SAM, there are important differences. On the one hand, the exercise of power and civic life in Quelimane is colored by partisan tensions and contestation. On the other hand, the levels of coordination and competition among local civil society groups interested in doing SAM between 2012-2017 varies. The rest of the presentation discusses how these conditions may have affected the adaptation of SAM in Quelimane, contrasting insights and trajectories with Mocuba. The team spent only a day doing fieldwork in Quelimane, so the discussion is naturally tentative. Still, the comparison provides useful food for thought.



The SAMCom journey formally started in Quelimane in 2012. Like in Mocuba, the road has been gradual, with high, lows and pushbacks. Along the way, SAMCom has achieved a series of milestones. Some of these critical points on the road are highlighted in the graph above. However, the contextual roadblocks affect this SAM journey more than Mocuba's.



## Intra-Civil Society Dynamics can have Different Effects

In Mocuba the SAMCOM was built on a pre-existing civil society Platform. The platform provided social capital and other individual and collective capacities to the SAM effort.

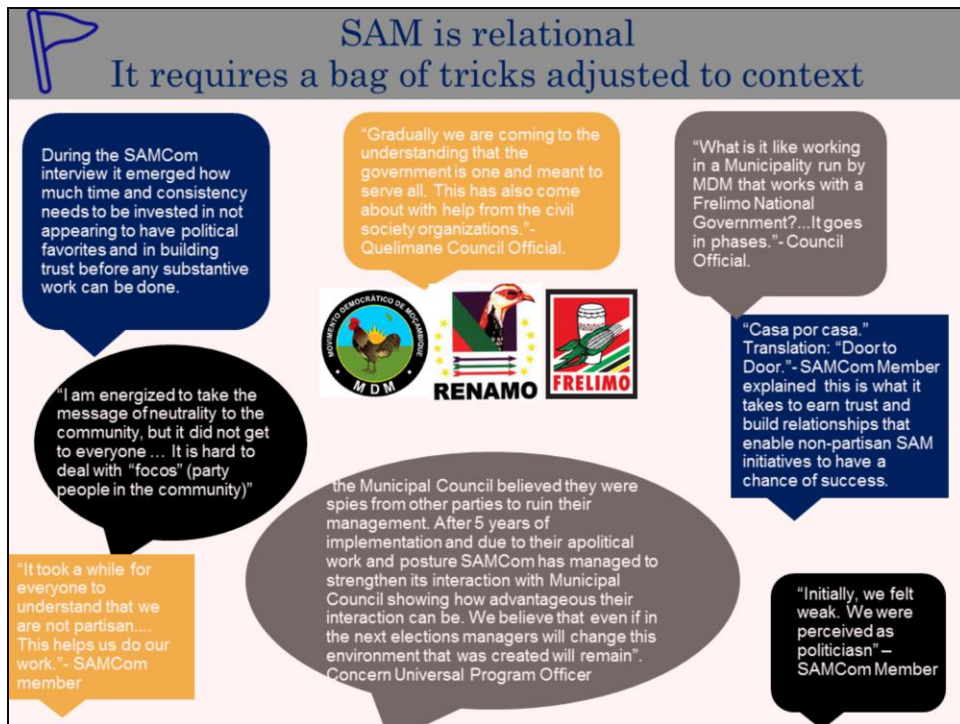
The Quelimane trajectory is different. NAFEZA is a network that brings together groups that do not share the constructive engagement and advocacy approach. They also have other priorities.

Other organizations invited to be part of the SAMCOM had not worked together before. Some of the organizations that joined in initially eventually dropped off. They had to gradually develop their relationships over time. The extra hoops are now paying off as interested organizations are learning to work together.

### Burdens of Intra-societal relationships

The other challenge within civil society is that in Quelimane there was a “competing” effort aimed at promoting governance and accountability in town (Democratic Governance Support Programme Diálogo Local para Boa Governação - known as DIALOGO). Dialogo and MuniSAM were not sharing information or seeing eye-to-eye, creating a competitive environment between the funders for local organizations as well as stakeholders such as the municipal council for results.\* This competitive dynamic wore out relationships with public authorities. “There were issues especially with council, as there was competition between the two programs for council’s attention. It ended up being counter productive but since Dialogo funding ended, SAMCOM is here to stay.” – NAFEZA Head

\* This issue is important beyond Quelimane. A recent analysis of MuniSAM today, which is funded through a National Government program, is not through “co-optation” by the government but misalignment between civil society partners and their “models.” These dynamics create missed opportunities and do not provide space to bring in strengths to bear (Allan, 2016).



Quelimane's SAMCom has a multi-step process to strengthen social accountability that is very similar to Mocuba's – on paper. The road in Quelimane, however, was much steeper. Much more time had to be invested to change the perception about the very feasibility of non-partisan citizen engagement. This seems to have been a necessary, though not sufficient condition to start implementing SAM (also see Sipondo 2015). Paradoxically, when MuniSAM started the assumption was that the strength of the opposition party would facilitate social accountability work.

Quelimane's SAMCom had to develop its own bag of tricks to nurture and navigate relationships with government and stakeholders by adjusting to the partisan context. Many of the tricks that served and worked well in Mocuba helped, such as engaging in tax collection campaigns that public officials believe contributed to increasing collection.

However, a broader range of specific actions had to be taken to appear credible in the eyes of public officials. For Quelimane SAMCom the problem did not lie in their technical competence, but that in Quelimane, SAMCom's "Third Way" approach of non-partisan activity was not perceived as possible. Members with parallel party work had to be excluded from the SAMCom. Door to door efforts were made to build trust in the non-partisan nature of SAMCom in the eyes of communities, as well. In 2012, the SAMCom decided to forgo critical actions and a public hearing, rather than risk losing ground by being entangled in the

electoral process. Partisanship permeates life in Quelimane. The slide illustrates some reactions over time, as SAMCom invested in building its credibility as a neutral stakeholder - on the right is the perspective of public authorities and on the left is the perspective from within civil society. First and foremost is the consistent display of non-partisanship in SAMCom activities.

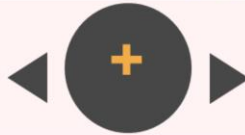
A community journalist explained it this way. The SAMCom faced similar problems with radio. Initially, the community did not trust partisan neutrality. So, when the SAMCom organizes debates on the radio to raise awareness about an issue. It needs to make sure both sides are represented and it doesn't take sides. And still, for sometime "listeners did not get it". The first public hearing made a difference, according to the journalist. "Until the hearing there was confusion, SAMCom was seen as a partisan judge. "No one expected what they did" but "the hearing is not a standalone activity, it's the culmination of a long set of activities that now make sense". As authorities learned, in parallel how to work with shifting configurations of partisan power in the local bodies, the environment may also have become smoother for SAM.

SAM practitioners in Quelimane experimented and built with a similar, yet different bag of PRM and non-PRM related tricks from Mocuba's, paving the way for SAM in their context. Ultimately, these contextual circumstances and by adapting Mocuba's SAMCom, they were able to pull it off. Mocuba's SAMCom seem to have influenced the nature of its journey and the results that are plausible with the same time-horizon.





You get farther in SAM when you solve concrete problems (& in so doing, engage others problems)



**What are the incentives, the benefit and the value of SAM for government, so that they are willing to engage?**

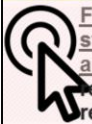
"We need to see what municipalities want and be specific (providing value)" – Concern Staff  
Quelimane's municipality is cash strapped. They are often not able to meet service delivery needs.  
"SAMCOMs aren't really doing budget work or expenditure management work – they mostly do planning work with us – to influence the activities we can control." – Municipal council staff  
In addition, "through SAMCOMs we are able to explain to the people our limitations and what is possible.." – Municipal council staff member  
Plus, local revenues have increased, partly, thanks to SAMCOM's efforts in tax awareness campaigns as well as providing support to improve the oversight of tax collection.

**What are the incentives, the benefit and the value of SAM for government, so that they are willing to engage?**

"The biggest lesson in the Mozambican context thus far is the importance of not just doing social accountability but linking it to service delivery. Always have a link to service delivery when initiating social accountability processes ..." Why? "We have experienced that if you don't show results, you lose momentum, utility, momentum, people move on with their lives"- Concern Programme Officer

The risk, however, is to repeat history. It also wore relationships with communities. Other competing social accountability approaches and participatory budgeting efforts created expectations in the community. The resources to deliver were not there. That created headaches for politicians and reinforced mistrust among communities –

Recap: SAM in Quelimane “is about identifying local problems and finding local solutions”



Focus on the problem  
stakeholders' care

about: focusing on revenue angle to build relationships and get things done “We learned that SAM Work has to be tied to service delivery to be effective and sustainable” – Program Officer at Concern



Civil Society

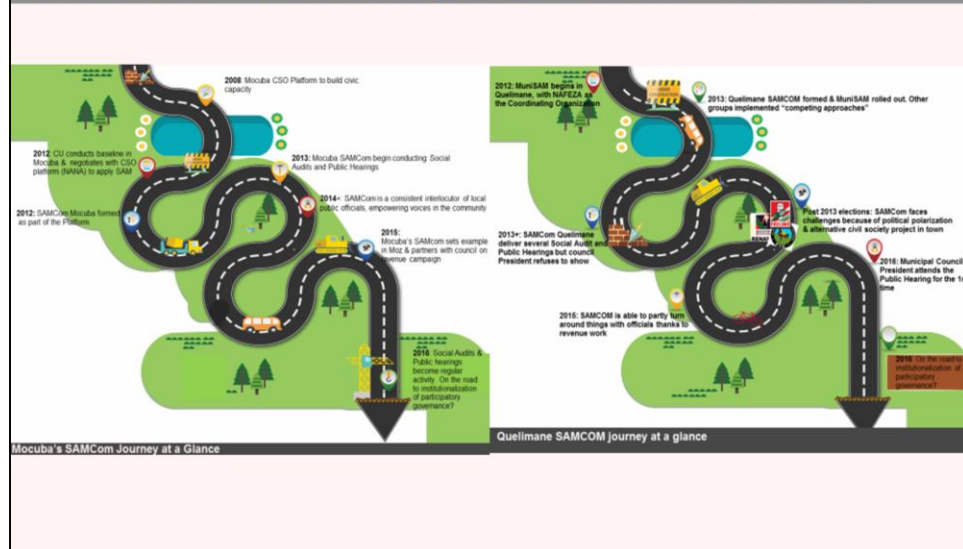
Dynamics SAM had to nurture collaboration without a pre-existing civic structure and weak social capital. Competitive dynamics within civil society created additional hurdles.



Tricks: how to get your local government and community engaged? Nurturing and navigating the relationships with a bag of tricks. Non-partisan tricks as a defining feature.



**“We learned it is better to let SAMComs engage in the work in their own way so long as they are doing SAM work, to avoid setting them up for big failure just because of technocratic rigidity.” -CU Staff Member**



The Mocuba and Quelimane SAMComs Journeys at first glance look the same. They have similar starting points. The journeys have been gradual, with twists and turns and some roadblocks and stops. The innovative nature of SAM requires an “element of flexibility in the design of activities and budgets in order to increase the capacity to react to changes in context, the challenges and constraints encountered during the implementation of activities and lessons learned in the course of the process” (MuniSAM nd)

But there are important differences. The quality of the road (context) and the nurture of the obstacles also varied. Both had to use and build civic and political capacities to navigate the context and pass the obstacles. The drivers of each process (members of the SAMCom) had different starting points, so they were able to rely on their stock of capacities and relationships to a different extent. In Mocuba, it was easier to draw on the bag of tricks of members of the civic platform than in Quelimane. It was also easier for local stakeholders to draw on their experience and understand which tricks would work to mobilize communities and public officials. The nature of civil society’s organization and the way power is exercised in town gave the Mocuba SAMCom an easier terrain to work with, including building, nurturing and mobilizing the supply-demand constituencies that seem critical to hope for the sustainability of the effort.

To be sure the technical competences associated to the SAM process were an asset. Other MuniSAM knowledge products delve on to those issues. The provocation of zeroing on these political adaptations of SAM in Mozambique is to think whether moving forward they will support the institutionalization and sustainability of social accountability processes SAMCom members seem to hope for.

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FIM

