



STRENGTHENING CIVIL SOCIETY'S ROLE IN DEMANDING FULFILMENT OF CHILD RIGHTS. APPLYING LESSONS LEARNED FROM BRAZIL TO MOZAMBIQUE

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Executive Summary

The objective of this action learning project within the framework of the UNICEF – INSEAD Leadership Development Programme is to strengthen UNICEF Mozambique's efforts to deliver results for children in partnership with civil society organizations (CSOs) by providing a roadmap building upon experience from Brazil. In Mozambique most CSOs work on service delivery and are heavily dependent for their survival on donor financing. At the grass-roots level, there are no real social movements.

This project, albeit focused on Mozambique, will contribute to the implementation of UNICEF's global mandate, as per UNICEF's Strategic framework for partnerships and collaborative relationships (UNICEF, 2009). It will be especially relevant and useful for the many countries which – like Mozambique – have consistently reported in their Annual Reports of weak and fragmented CSOs.

UNICEF believes that CSOs are critical to deliver results for children and to realize their rights, and has thus been working since its inception with a broad range of CSOs all over the world to achieve these outcomes. CSOs carry out various roles: advocating for, monitoring of, a watchdog, a spokesperson against violations; a supporter of awareness raising to direct implementation and service delivery, particularly in underserved areas. A strong, competent and politically savvy non-government sector is important to a robust child-rights respecting society. (UNICEF, 2011).

Given the diversity amongst CSOs, and in order to define which countries have strong CSOs to learn from their experience, this project identified Brazil as one of the countries with strong CSOs based upon analysis of three indexes: Johns Hopkins Global Civil Society Index (1995-2002); CIVICUS CSI (2003-2006) and the CIVICUS Enabling Environment Index - EEI (2012-ongoing). As a result, Brazilian case studies were identified following consultations with experts on Brazilian social movements. Noteworthy examples include the CSOs involved in the AIDS movement in the late 1980s and early 1990s, leading to public policies providing for free anti-retroviral treatment for all persons living with HIV/AIDS, Community Health Work (CHW) programmes which became a large-scale public policy influenced by strong CSOs such as the Indigenous Missionary Council and movements against child labour, through the Community Organization Movement, the National Movement of Street Children leading to national policy on children, and Child Pastorate Action.

Results stemming from interviews held with representatives of civil society movements in Brazil indicate that the following were key determinants for their 'success' – success being defined as a social movement which led to a public policy be it at sub-national or national level, with government ownership, including state budget allocation (1) Passion, urgency, sense of meaning, and human rights; (2) Many organizations but one voice; (3) 'Occupying' space in public policy dialogues/meetings; (4) Bottom-up / grassroots approach; (5) Concrete asks. Interviewees were also asked to make suggestions as to what civil society in Mozambique could do to ensure their success in terms of influencing public policies, especially for children. Most of the suggested/recommended actions derive directly from their self-perception of the determining factors of their success mentioned in the key results above. These recommendations were then analyzed and revised in light of the further literature on social movements in Mozambique, data on literacy and education levels in the country, discussions with social scientists in Mozambique, and UNICEF colleagues. Considering the educational and poverty levels in Mozambique, the political system in the country marked by a single party rule since independence in 1975, fear by population of complaining or demanding for a government service because they could face retaliation, highly valued virtue of non-conflict, non-complaint leading often to 'acceptance' of the status quo, even if it means lack of health care or vital medicines, it is clear that 'generating' an endogenous passion-filled social movement which will lead to a national or subnational public policy in any domain, will be a slow process. Despite all the aforementioned difficulties, nonetheless, some recommended actions that form a roadmap for UNICEF action include: (1) Tell compelling stories with voices from the ground, which could trigger the 'passion' 'sense of meaning' and

'sense of urgency'; (2) Ensure that throughout all UNICEF programmes a human rights based approach is present; (3) Bring people into the child rights 'movement' that are credible – be it religious leaders, academia, intellectuals, writers or business leaders with the aim of adding voice to the argument. These persons could act as 'agents of change', 'influencers' or 'drivers'.

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Introduction

The Committee on the Rights of the Child recognizes the critical role civil society plays in the fulfillment of child rights. 'States need to work closely with NGOs in the widest sense, while respecting their autonomy. [...] NGO's involvement in the process of implementing the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) is vital. The Committee welcomes the development of NGO coalitions and alliances committed to promoting, protecting and monitoring children's human rights and urges Governments to give them non-directive support and to develop positive formal as well as informal relationships with them. The media can be valuable partners in the process of implementation'. (CRC Committee General Comment no. 5, 2005).

For child rights to be implemented effectively a range of actors in addition to the State Parties, are accountable - parents, faith-based organizations, civil society organizations, grass-roots organizations, business, media, academia, regional and international organizations, United Nations, and development partners. UNICEF believes that CSOs are critical to deliver results for children and to realize their rights, and has thus been working since its inception with a broad range of CSOs all over the world to achieve these outcomes. UNICEF understands civil society as the sphere of autonomous associations that are independent of the public and for-profit sectors and designed to advance collective interests and ideas. CSOs may be formal or informal, and they work within a broad range of political, legal, economic, social and cultural contexts. They do not represent a unified social force or a coherent set of values; they are as diverse as the people and issues around which they organize. (UNICEF, 2009). CSOs include international and national non-governmental organizations, community-based organizations, social movements, advocacy groups, trade unions, women's groups, foundations, faith-based organizations, professional voluntary associations, kinship-based networks, youth-led organizations, ethnic and tribal associations, independent media, social networks, think tanks and research institutes (UNICEF, 2012).

CSOs carry out various roles: advocating for, monitoring of, a watchdog, a spokesperson against violations; a supporter of awareness raising to direct implementation and service delivery, particularly in underserved areas. A strong, competent and politically savvy non-government sector is important to a robust child-rights respecting society. (UNICEF, 2011). Therein lies the challenge, particularly for post-conflict countries

where CSOs have limited voice, weak capacity, organizational limitations and poor human and financial capital.

In Mozambique, CSOs are weak in breadth, depth and diversity of citizen participation (FDC, 2008). Most CSOs act as donor conduits for service delivery, although a few also engage in policy advocacy, and are heavily dependent for their survival on donor financing. Very few have a membership base, the main examples being professional associations, employers' organizations or trade unions, and these are small and largely limited to the cities. At the grass-roots level, there are no real social movements, although faith-based organizations and traditional authorities both have a wide social base. These weaknesses may be attributed to structural factors such as the dispersed and predominantly rural nature of the population, high levels of poverty and illiteracy (Hodges and Tibana, 2005, Bellucci, 2002). The financial dependency of CSO mirrors the Government of Mozambique's dependency on foreign aid. Whereas in most functioning and healthy economies the citizens pay taxes in return for government accountability, in Mozambique as in many aid-dependent countries, *"foreign aid 'short-circuits' this link. Because the government's financial dependence on its citizens has been reduced, it owes its people nothing. A well-functioning civil society and politically involved citizenry are the backbone of sustainable development. The particular role of strong civil society is to ensure that the government is held accountable for its actions."* (Moyo, 2009, p. 58)

Scope of the Problem

This project will address the problem: How to strengthen civil society organizations in Mozambique to demand fulfilment of children's rights and ensure increased state budget allocations for children? - by identifying determining factors for the success of Brazil CSO-led social movements to propose recommendations on how to strengthen Mozambique CSOs' role as child rights advocates. Specific deliverable will be a UNICEF Mozambique roadmap on strengthening CSOs advocacy role for child rights. This project, albeit focused on Mozambique, will contribute to the implementation of UNICEF's global mandate, as per UNICEF's Strategic framework for partnerships and collaborative relationships (UNICEF, 2009) and in line with the organization's policies and procedures (UNICEF, 2011). It will be especially relevant and useful for countries which – like Mozambique – have weak CSOs.

Objectives of the Project

The objective of this project is to strengthen UNICEF Mozambique's efforts to deliver results for children in partnership with civil society organizations (CSOs) by providing a roadmap for strengthening Mozambican CSO's role as child rights' advocates building upon experience from Brazilian successful civil society-led social movements.

The end result of the project is a more vibrant, engaged, inspired and passionate Mozambican civil society organizations working on children's rights with a roadmap for action. This project, albeit focused on Mozambique, will contribute to the implementation of UNICEF's global mandate, as per UNICEF's Strategic framework for partnerships and collaborative relationships (UNICEF, 2009) and in line with the organization's policies and procedures (UNICEF, 2011). It will be especially relevant and useful for the many countries which – like Mozambique – have consistently reported in their Annual Reports of weak and fragmented CSOs. The lessons learned from Brazil on how CSOs which had previously focused on service delivery shifted to (1) galvanizing faith and support of the people, to advocate together on rights and government responsibilities and (2) being grounded in rights and using the language of rights in their daily work will be valuable for the work of many if not all UNICEF country offices.

The roadmap will serve as a guide for UNICEF Mozambique engagement with CSOs, which could be a simplified, 'adapted' consolidated Mozambican version of the following UNICEF policies: 'UNICEF (2009)

United Nations Economic and Social Council. UNICEF Executive Board. UNICEF strategic framework for partnerships and collaborative relationships (E/ICEF/2009/10) and UNICEF (2012) Civil Society Guide to Working with UNICEF. New York, USA.

Methodology

The methodology for this project consisted of literature review and in-depth telephone and personal interviews with Brazilian CSOs, Mozambican scholars, UNICEF colleagues in Brazil and Mozambique.

An initial literature review was conducted of relevant sources in the realm of civil society, governance, political science and sociology stemming from universities – including inter-alia Center for Civil Society Studies - Johns Hopkins University, London School of Economics Centre for Civil Society, Mozambican research institutes, with the objective of narrowing the scope of the project, by identifying developing countries with strong civil society movements which would be relevant to learn lessons from to apply to the Mozambican context. This literature review, and especially the CIVICUS index led to the identification of many countries with strong civil society organizations, mainly in industrialized countries. Even amongst developing countries in Latin America and Africa, which would have been interesting to explore as case studies, the number of countries was still too large (Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Kenya, Mexico, Peru, South Africa and Tanzania). Thus, given the need to narrowing the scope of countries, for the project at hand, interviews with UNICEF Mozambique colleagues (Mazzoti, Interview) and Mozambican civil society actors (Francisco, Interview) were held to establish criteria for narrowing – to one country - the scope of the project, resulting in the following criteria: (1) country with 'strong' or 'successful' civil society movements and (2) country whose experiences could serve as a learning ground to strengthen civil society movements in Mozambique, given cultural, linguistic, political, economic, cultural or other commonalities with Mozambique (3) country with a track-record in partnering with Mozambique to strengthen civil society movements.

'Strong' civil society movements were defined for the purpose of this project as civil society movements which have succeeded in influencing public policies in a given field – be it Education, Health, Water, leading to Government allocation of state budget (at national or subnational level) to address the demand of the civil society movement. Albeit the effectiveness of Argentina and the African countries' civil society movements in terms of influencing and putting an end to wars, contributing to democratization processes and being at the forefront of opposition to authoritarian or military regimes, they did get involved in demanding and achieving state budget allocations to social sectors. From the remainder of countries with 'strong' civil society organizations - Brazil, Colombia and Peru - as defined by the author, could Mozambique learn from? Brazil was identified as the case study country to learn lessons from.

Despite differences between Brazil and Mozambique in economic/GDP per capita (World Bank, 2014), human development (UNDP, 2014), literacy (UNESCO) and geographic terms, Brazil was identified by the author as the country from which Mozambican CSOs would be open to and could learn lessons for the following reasons:

- Influence of Brazilian TV on Mozambican society since 1998 with the first Brazilian Globo TV soap-opera (telenovela) broadcast by national public TV channel Televisão de Moçambique (TVM) and by private TV channel STV, followed by the creation of TV Channel Miramar in 1998, which in 2010 became TV Record Moçambique - an affiliate of the Brazilian TV Record channel, has resulted in Mozambican copying/emulating Brazilian culture (Wane, 2011, Castro, 2010).

- Brazilian influence in Mozambican academia, social scientists, government and civil society movements. In academia, Brazil's Undergraduate and Graduate Students Exchange Programme created in 1965 offering students from developing countries - many from Portuguese-speaking African countries, including Mozambique – the possibility to carry out their undergraduate and/or graduate studies at Brazilian universities has led to a cadre of government officials having studied in Brazil (Government of Brazil, 2014). Collaboration and exchange between **civil society organizations** of both countries especially in the fields of agriculture and environment are influencing the way Mozambican CSOs work. (Moll, Interview and Nhampoca, Interview). In agriculture for instance, the Brazilian Landless Movement (O Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra - MST) works in collaboration with the Mozambican National Peasants União (União Nacional de Camponeses - UNAC) in concerted advocacy against the tripartite Brazil, Japan and Mozambique Pro-Savana agribusiness programme in place in Mozambique, whereby Mozambican UNAC states that it does not discard resorting to Brazilian MST-tactics (Pessoa, 2013). In the field of environment, the Brazilian NGO 'Affected by Vale' (Atingidos pela Vale) works with the Mozambican NGO Environmental Justice (Justiça Ambiental) in its pro-environment actions to mitigate environmental impact of Brazilian Vale S.A.' operations in coal extractive industry in northwestern Mozambique.
- Brazil's strong role within South-South Cooperation and emerging role in development aid. Brazil's aid estimated at around \$1 billion per year, of which roughly half is dedicated to 'technical cooperation', mainly in-kind expertise provided by the many Brazilian institutions to transfer knowledge, technologies and skills especially in the fields of agriculture, health and education, given Brazilian policies' successful track record in these fields, providing attractive models for developing countries, including Mozambique which is one of Brazil's main recipients of South South Cooperation. (Cabral and Weinstock, 2010). Brazil's form of South–South development aid has been called a 'global model in waiting' which would render findings of this project also relevant for other UNICEF programme countries beyond Mozambique. (Moll, Interview).
- Influence of Brazilian children's rights legislation in Mozambican legal and policy framework for children's rights, as can be seen with the influence of the Brazil's 1990 Child and Adolescent Statute (*Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente*) in shaping and inspiring the 2008 Mozambican Law for Promotion and Protection of Children's Rights (*Lei da Promoção e Protecção dos Direitos das Crianças*), including technical support to Mozambique by some of the authors of the Brazilian legislation.

Choosing Brazil – or any country for that matter – as learning ground or inspiration for Mozambican CSOs poses the question, to what extent can Brazil's state-society dynamics be transferable, replicable or adaptable to the Mozambican context? The main problem lies that dynamics between state and civil society are to a large extent shaped by local culture, socio-economic structure, political system and history, which are impossible to emulate (Cabral, 2014). The author posed two open-ended questions to the Brazilian coordinators of identified civil society movements as follows: 1. In your opinion, what were the three main factors which led to the success of your social movement in terms of shaping/influencing public policies? 2. Considering that in Mozambique CSOs are weak, don't necessarily work in a network and are reliant on external funding, what recommendations would you put forth for Mozambican CSOs to strengthen social movements?

In an attempt to respond to the limitations of proposing suggestions for action/recommendations stemming from Brazil, the author held in-depth interviews with Mozambican social scientists, during which preliminary findings of the interviews held with Brazilian CSOs were shared and discussed leading to suggestions stemming from Mozambican key informants which of the determinants of success put forth by Brazilian actors were adaptable to the Mozambican context given the differences between both countries.

Literature Review

Given the diversity amongst civil society organizations (CSOs), and in order to define which countries have strong CSOs to learn from their experience, there is a need to capture and measure their multiple dimensions in an objective and clear fashion, to enable comparison and rating amongst countries. Three indexes have been designed to measure civil society related issues: Johns Hopkins Global Civil Society Index (1995-2002; 36 countries) (Salamon, 2004), CIVICUS CSI (2003-2006; 50 countries) and the CIVICUS Enabling Environment Index - EEI (2012-ongoing; 109 countries) (CIVICUS, 2013). Both CSIs were designed to assess the state of civil society in countries around the world and they face similar limitations in terms of (1) limited geographic coverage, thus hampering comparisons between countries globally; (2) they have discontinued; and (3) developed country focus, and thus limited no. of developing countries were analyzed. African countries analyzed were South Africa, Kenya and Tanzania and Latin American countries analyzed were Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Peru and Mexico. However, as these lists are not exhaustive, one cannot make conclusions regarding which countries have strong CSOs in quantitative terms, and one has to turn to qualitative sources of information. Also, unlike the CSIs which measured and scored inter alia the capacity/structure of CSOs and their impact on social, economic and political life, the Enabling Environment Index - EEI (which is the only index on the matter which is still being collected and has the widest coverage) does not include a measurement of the impact of CSOs, but rather focuses on the conditions of society as whole that can positively or negatively impact capacity of citizens to engage meaningfully in civil society. The focus is more on the freedom of association and speech and less on the measurement of CSOs per se.

Noteworthy examples of strong CSOs in Brazil include the AIDS movement during Brazil's transition to democracy in the late 1980s and early 1990s, whereby media strategies and public protests were used to demand responses to the AIDS crisis. Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) formed and demanded that the government adopt antidiscrimination policies, implement prevention and education programs, and provide AIDS treatment and care. Most notably, NGOs such as Associação Brasileira Interdisciplinar de AIDS (ABIA) and Grupo pela Valorização, Integração e Dignidade do Doente de Aids (Pela VIDDA) used the courts to gain legal recognition that the right to health as enshrined in the 1988 Constitution includes rights to prevention, treatment, and care for people living with HIV/AIDS. Brazil's courts have consistently ruled that the right to health includes drugs for AIDS treatment. (Galvão, 2005). This movement was critical for Brazil to adopt life-saving public production of anti-retroviral drugs (ARVs) (Flynn, 2008).

Still in the field of health care, determinants of successful Community Health Work (CHW) programmes are found in the wake of community mobilization efforts, either as part of large-scale political transformation, such as in Brazil or China; or through local mobilization, often facilitated by nongovernmental, community-based or faith-based organizations. However, the large-scale public policy of the CHW programme in Brazil, which was adapted from the Chinese 'barefoot doctors' model was largely influenced by strong CSOs in their role as service delivery in underserved areas, through the Indigenous Missionary Council (Conselho Indigenista Missionário – CIMI), which is linked to the National Brazilian Bishops Conference - Conferência Nacional dos Bispos do Brasil - CNBB. (Fonseca, 2013 and Lehmann, 2007).

Strong CSOs were also instrumental in Brazil's northeastern region of Brazil in the plight for education and eradication of child labour, whereby the 'Community Organization Movement' – O MOC - Movimento de Organização Comunitária, in partnership with the Catholic Church, played a pivotal advocacy role leading to substantial reduction in child labour rates (Magalhães, 2008).

Throughout Latin America, and in some countries in Africa, faith-based organizations have been critical for children's rights. UNICEF and the Latin American Episcopal Conference (CELAM), a conference of Roman Catholic Bishops in Latin America, began partnering together in the early 1980s to address the needs of the most vulnerable children and families. The national chapters of the Episcopal Conference of the Catholic Church have been at the forefront of shaping public policies, such as in Brazil with the Child Pastorate

Action (Pastoral da Criança), in Colombia with the Early Childhood Development Pastorate Action (Pastoral de la Primera Infancia). (UNICEF & Consejo Episcopal Latinoamericano). In Africa, Angola is most likely the strongest example of faith-based organizations leading service delivery in terms of birth registration – church acting as registrar and in the field of child rights more broadly.

In Africa, CSOs are weak in exercising their advocacy role in the plight for democratic consolidation. However, some examples of stronger CSOs emerged from unions and from Christian churches. In the early 1990s, in *Zambia, the Congress of Trade Unions successfully challenged the three-decade incumbency of President Kenneth Kaunda and his United Independence Party; union activism was also pivotal in Mali and Niger. In Ghana, Kenya, and Togo, middle-class associations of lawyers, college professors, and students were highly active in the service of democratization.* Christian churches and their national organizations are seen as 'honest brokers' as credible advocates in the transition to democracy, especially in Kenya and Malawi. The National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK) has been in the forefront of opposition to the authoritarianism of President Daniel arap Moi and his Kenya African National Union. The NCCK was an early and vocal critic of the lack of a secret ballot. Anglican bishops Mnasas Kuria, Alexander Muge, and Henry Okullu earned a reputation as advocates of political change when they disagreed publicly with the conclusions of a government investigation into the causes of July 1990 riots in Nairobi and urged the release of two opposition politicians who had been detained for their alleged involvement in them. A 1992 pastoral letter from Malawi's Catholic bishops, openly criticizing both political repression and the government's mismanagement of the economy, was a seminal event in a country that had long been a bastion of autocratic rule. Christian groups and episcopal conferences in Ghana, Nigeria, and Zambia have also actively fought authoritarianism and supported democratization in their respective countries (Gyimah-Boadi, 1996).

Mozambican CSOs lack financial autonomy and are financially dependent on external funding sources, typically large international NGOs or UN agencies which limits their geographic coverage – predominantly based in urban settings – leaving rural areas which comprise 30% of the country under-represented – and Maputo, the capital, is home to the vast majority of CSOs, given the fact that the employee base of CSOs is literate middle-class who have a university degree. This limits their ability to specialize in a specific field, as they often take on a plethora of causes based on existing funding opportunity/donor interest on a subject rather than on strategic analysis of where their expertise lies and the objectives of the organization. Very few Mozambican CSOs are created endogenously from the bottom-up, hence the social base of the CSO does not lie with the communities. Exceptions to this rule, such as the National Peasants' Union (União Nacional dos Camponeses - UNAC) and religious organizations prefer not to be called CSOs, to highlight the fact that they do hold a grass-roots/activists social base. (Eys, 2002; Ribeiro). Mozambican CSOs are considered to be weak in terms of their size, reach, structure, values and impact of actions (FDC, 2008; Francisco, 2007; Francisco, 2010; Muloongo, 2007). More specifically, in terms of the watchdog and monitoring role of CSOs, Mozambican social scientists are also in unison in perceiving CSOs as weak in their capacity to monitor and influence allocation of state budget (Mathe, 2010; MASC 2013a; MASC 2013b).

Results and discussion from data collection

Key results and conclusions of the literature review and interviews held with representatives of civil society movements in Brazil indicate that the following were key determinants for their 'success' – success being defined as a social movement which led to a public policy be it at sub-national or national level, with government ownership, including state budget allocation:

Passion, urgency, sense of meaning, and human rights: all engaged in the social movement must understand that the Government has an obligation as duty bearer to ensure that the rights of people to

either education, water, etc. are upheld and that the Government is not doing a benevolent act of charity when providing a public service, but rather is fulfilling its mandate. This leads to a 'culture' of citizenship claiming their rights and 'demanding' more vocally, with passion, and commitment. The people feel that and respond to it, and the foundation of rights is crucial in their success. Respondents used phrases such as *"movements must provide a 'mystique' that motivates the people and gives them a sense of meaning"*.

Many organizations but one voice: The term 'capillarity' was perceived by all respondents as a determining factor for their success. This means that the movement must reach out and thus 'social mobilization' of volunteers in poor communities is important to ensure that information on the rights of children to education and health - for instance - trickles down to families. This capillarity also implies that all members of the social movement, however diverse they are – unions, NGOs, religious-based organizations, community-based organizations – must be coordinated (meeting on a regular basis) and working together. Respondents emphasized that the members must understand the common goal of the movement and whilst maintaining their own 'identity' and 'sphere of influence' as an organization they must act collectively as a network and not compete with each other.

'Occupying' space in public policy dialogues/meetings: successful social movements must not restrict themselves to participating in public dialogue strictly pertaining to the issue at hand, i.e. movements for right to access water proved to be successful because the members of the network were at the dialogue table of other 'issues' as well, such as sub-national and national conferences/meetings on food security, right to health, land rights, nutrition, to name a few. Hence, they articulated well the linkage between the 'water – concern' (pumps and cisterns) and the other development concerns and strategically were present and vocal in as many meetings and public debate for as long as possible, speaking with one voice. In sum, all possible spaces for debate of public policies were 'occupied'. If they were not heard in meetings they would also resort to going to the streets to protest/demonstrate.

Bottom-up / grassroots approach: successful social movements were not 'cooked' up in the capitals or in an office, but rather were developed by the concerned population in a participatory, grass-roots, bottom-up approach/methodology.

Concrete asks: social movements reached their 'tipping point' when they shifted their 'discourse' / 'demands' / 'asks' from generic demands, such as right to water, right to development, right to food, children's rights to very concrete demands, i.e. 1 million water holes (cisterns/water pumps) in X, Y or Z locations, using 'X' technology at 'X' cost by XX or in the case of HIV/AIDS – demand for free provision by Government of anti-retroviral drugs. According to respondents, this 'concreteness' led the sub-national and national government authorities to 'take them seriously' and it also enabled social movements to follow-up on Government 'pledges' or commitments' made by using monitoring mechanism with clear indicators of progress and success.

Brazilian interviewees were also asked to make suggestions as to what civil society in Mozambique could do to ensure their success in terms of influencing public policies, especially for children. Most of the suggested/recommended actions derive directly from their self-perception of the determining factors of their success mentioned in the key results above. Hence, the recommendations from Brazil to Mozambique are that the following aspects must be taken into account should social movements wish to achieve government-owned and funded public policy:

- Instilling 'passion', 'urgency', 'drive', 'commitment';
- Citizenship education and human rights' focus
- Strengthening networks rather than individual organizations, speaking with one voice (Priority-setting and determining concrete asks/demands)
- Civil society organizations should shift their focus from 'service delivery' to a more advocacy role.

- Social movements should be 'endogenous' from the grass-roots and not decided upon in the capital

These recommendations were then analyzed and revised in light of the further literature on social movements in Mozambique, data on literacy and education levels in the country, discussions with social scientists in Mozambique, and UNICEF colleagues.

Obstacles identified by Mozambican sources to having a vibrant endogenous civil society movement demanding fulfilment of child rights, or even demanding improved access to basic services in health care, education, justice and water and sanitation, stem from a series of factors ingrained in the society in light of Mozambique's political structure. Mozambique is still 'a democracy in the making' (Francisco, Interview. 19 August 2014) and government-citizen dynamics are marked by an '*acritical citizenship*' which does not differentiate 'Public' from 'Government' matters and perceives the role of Government/Public as a father figure not to be contested. (Shenga and Mattes, 2009). This perception is attributable to political system in the country marked by a single party rule by Mozambican Liberation Front (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique - FRELIMO) since independence in 1975. Within FRELIMO there are very active women's, youth and children's groups and thus the Mozambican perception is that these are the only 'legitimate' civil society movements. CSOs in Mozambique don't usually come together in a network, or umbrella organization, which is necessary to start a CSO-led social movement. Typically, CSOs act as service providers – not advocates – and struggle individually for their own survival by seeking external funding for their subsistence instead of seeking for increasing their contributing membership base to operate more independently and collectively. (dos Santos, Carlos, Interview; Cossa, Interview and Nhampoca, Interview). And given the history of Mozambique that has been plagued by war, highly value is placed on the virtue of non-conflict and non-complaining leading often to 'acceptance' or 'acritique' of the status quo, even if it means lack of health care or life-saving medicines for your child (Couto, Interview).

Mozambican population is also fearful of complaining or demanding for a government service because they could face retaliation (i.e. in the form of their child being denied a life-saving medical treatment or medicine or being denied access to school). Instead of complaining the coping mechanism Mozambicans rely on is to either act individually, for instance parents bribing a health care worker to get better or faster service or accessing medicines for their child or simply Mozambicans opt to have more children, based on the rational analysis that the likelihood that one of their child will die is very high (Couto, Interview). Worker's unions in Mozambique are very weak and there are virtually no strikes in Mozambique. The only strike that occurred - government medical doctor's strike over low pay led by the Mozambique Medical Association (AMM) in January 2013 was short-lived and participating medical doctors suffered retaliation by being transferred to the most remote locations of Mozambique.

Considering the low educational levels in Mozambique and low access to information, the most difficult recommendation from Brazil to 'replicate' in the Mozambican context – as pointed out during discussions of the author with Mozambican social scientists - is ensuring that the social movement be truly 'grass-roots'-based and endogenous. 'Passivity' of the citizens in Mozambique is rooted in illiteracy and lack of information of Mozambicans (Duma, 2005). The proposed alternative would be to adapt this suggestion, by engaging a hero-like figure to propel an endogenous movement, like the lead of the medical doctor's strike Jorge Arroiz – who is fearless of retaliation, but unlike Dr. Arroiz, who doesn't directly depend on the Government for survival. (Francisco, Interview, 16 May 2014). This type of figure is hard to find, as the Government and FRELIMO ruling party permeate most of society. That said, potential figures could be intellectuals or academics with an income or traditional or religious leaders.

Actions taken/planned

It is clear that 'generating' in Mozambique an endogenous passion-filled social movement which will lead to a national or subnational public policies fully owned by the Government with state budget allocations will be a slow process. But despite all the aforementioned difficulties and limitations, given the relevance of CSOs role to ensure increased public expenditure for social policies targeting children, some recommended actions based on the findings of this project were put forward and form a roadmap for UNICEF Mozambique action were articulated. This roadmap will be subsequently translated into Portuguese and will be used to inform discussions with existing NGO platforms.

Roadmap for UNICEF Mozambique support to strengthening civil society organizations in demanding fulfilment of children's rights in Mozambique

- **Tell compelling stories with voices from the ground**, which could trigger the 'passion' 'sense of meaning' and 'sense of urgency' coupled with increasing the use of local languages within UNICEF programmatic interventions, to ensure that information and these 'compelling stories' are reached by the majority of the population to overcome the current situation whereby most of the information is only available in Portuguese and thus only 'understood' by inhabitants of larger towns, with higher educational levels. Continue and expand radio-based communication for development interventions, as these are the stepping stone to start 'planting the seeds' of grassroots social movements.
- **Ensure that throughout all UNICEF programmes a human rights based approach is present.** For example, the health programme could for instance include a communication component on 'patients' rights' to start shifting the current perception of the population that health service provision is a 'gift' rather than a right. Likewise, within UNICEF's work with civil society organizations, another possible action could be to include component of 'citizenship education'. For example, this could entail including a component in new Project Cooperation Agreements that UNICEF has with NGOs whereby in addition to 'proving a service' the NGO also includes 'citizenship' messaging, for instance along the following lines, if applied to health: 'the role of the government in terms of right to health is...', 'every child has the right to health', 'demand better and free treatment from your local government', 'complain if you are being charged for service 'X' that should be free.
- **Bring more people into the child rights 'movement' that could act as agents of change** – be it religious leaders, academia, intellectuals, writers or business leaders with the aim of adding voice to the argument. These persons could act as 'agents of change', 'influencers' or 'drivers'. This recommendations tries to reconcile the difficulty of 'triggering' a grass-roots social movement considering the poverty and education levels in Mozambique and taking into account some civil society initiatives in Mozambique which have used this approach to some level of success, by engaging writers Mia Couto and Paulina Chiziane, the former whom is already engaged in the environmental debate. The moment for this roadmap point is ripe in Mozambique –in terms of engaging writers, academics and religious leaders as agents of change as evidenced by the 21 August 2014 launch of the Mozambique Economic and Social Forum initiative will be held bi-annually, and comprises three areas (economic, social and cultural) and its first edition will take place in 2015, with the aim of *"joining efforts in a true union spirit to identify the challenges Mozambique faces and search for our own solutions. [} creating a wide dialogue and action platform to leverage economic growth in a fast, inclusive and sustainable way"*. The Forum, an initiative of Mozambique's media network - SOICO Group - in partnership with private sector companies - Hidroeléctrica de Cahora Bassa, Millennium bim, Galp and Accenture, also includes universities and 25 public figures, amongst which former President Joaquim Chissano, former Prime Minister Luísa Diogo, President of the Mozambique Bar Association (Ordem dos Advogados), Tomás

Timbane, Anglican Bishop Dinis Sengulane, and novelists Mia Couto e Paula Chiziane. (Agência Lusa, 2014 and MozEFo).

Benefits and risks of roadmap

Benefits of this roadmap includes a more 'vibrant', 'engaged', 'passionate' civil society which demands for children's rights resulting in increased public expenditure and better public policies for children. This in turn leading to better outcomes in terms of education, health and protection of children. Risks include **disillusion** in the population if communication initiatives urging citizens to demand their rights for a specific service – i.e. health care - that simply doesn't exist; UNICEF still currently being 'sole' provider of many NGOs working on children's rights; UNICEF could be perceived as being pro-opposition and could possibly have some negative implications by Government. This last risk should be analyzed taking into account the evolution of UNICEF over the past 20 years is that there has been a shift in proportion of UNICEF funds being invested in programmes implemented by Government vs. Civil Society from 80% Government / 20% Civil Society to a 50/50 ratio currently. Hence, in the view of UNICEF Mozambique colleagues and senior management the benefits outweigh the risks.

Resources and commitments to implement the roadmap

In addition to my support to this action learning project, UNICEF Mozambique has committed financial and human resources in the current UNICEF Mozambique Country Programme 2012-2015 under the leadership of the Communication, Advocacy, Participation and Partnership (CAPP) section to supporting the following initiatives which contribute to the strengthening of civil society movements in Mozambique and to the success of the proposed project:

Adolescent participation: assessment of ongoing UNICEF supported adolescent participation initiatives, including child and youth parliaments, and the Participatory Child Rights Media Network (PCRMN), which inter-alia will enable understanding which of these initiatives have more potential in terms of contributing to a social movements. Preliminary findings indicate that the PCRMN with more than 1,5000 children actively producing programmes every week [disaggregated into three age groups: 9-11 or Child to Child (C2C), 12-14 or Junior Youth to Junior Youth (JY2JY) and 15-18+ or Youth to Youth (Y2Y)] has the potential to trigger social mobilization, as the network already has a sizeable group of youth advocates, as they demonstrated ability to stimulate the engagement and participation of children and young people in development processes as well as providing them with a platform to express their opinions and discuss issues that are affecting them. Using participatory and entertainment-education approaches could contribute to trigger 'urgency', 'passion' as well as 'grass-roots' participation by children themselves and could potentially serve as a basis for a social movement for children's rights led by children themselves.

Involving religious leaders: UNICEF Mozambique pioneered its engagement with religious groups by brokering the development and signing of an agreement between the Child Rights Civil Society Network (ROSC) and Inter-Confessional Council of Religions (COREM) in 2012 with concrete actions for religious leaders on child rights in five priority themes (HIV/AIDS, Nutrition, Violence against Children/Child Marriage and Adolescent Pregnancy, Birth Registration and Alternative Care for vulnerable children). In 2013, UNICEF in partnership with the Inter-Confessional Council of Religions (COREM), Christian Council of Mozambique, Islamic Council of Mozambique, Catholic Church, and the Ministry of Health developed a Multi-Faith Guide for Religious Leaders to promote behavior changes regarding child protection, education and health practices with biblical and koranic passages, with a dedicated chapter on child marriage, which will be rolled out in 2014. Roll-out in high-priority provinces will be complemented by advocacy workshops and training for religious leaders so they are able to reinforce messaging at a community level. UNICEF is committed to engaging with religious groups as 'influencers' and 'drivers' of a social movement for children along with children themselves and civil society organizations.

Strengthening the advocacy role of CSOs within UNICEF Mozambique office-wide, rather than perpetuate the traditional role CSOs carry out in Mozambique of service-delivery. Mozambican examples of incipient civil society forums which taken on an advocacy role include the Women's Forum and the National Child Rights Civil Society Network (ROSC), the latter being the only national network of civil society organizations dedicated advocacy on child rights. UNICEF Mozambique could include in existing collaboration agreements with NGO networks or consortia in specific areas- such as social protection, education, child abuse – which currently work on service-delivery to fill the gaps in Government services, activities pertaining to their advocacy, monitoring and watchdog role backed up with UNICEF- supported capacity development to this effect.

Leadership lessons learnt

This project is valuable for my personal development as a leader within UNICEF. The choice of topic strengthening civil society to demand fulfilment of children's rights, was chosen not only to follow the defined criteria of being of relevance for UNICEF and being outside my usual scope of work as a Child Protection specialist (i.e. out of my 'comfort zone') but especially to have an opportunity to further strengthen my leadership skills as opposed to managerial skills. The project enabled me to go beyond UNICEF programme specialist *modus operandi* which is often more associated with drive for results, financial and human resources management to apply leadership skills, especially in terms of being visionary, thinking 'outside the box', asking the 'difficult' questions, such as 'Are we doing the right things?' instead of only asking ourselves 'Are we doing things right?'. The choice of subject was closely connected with the methodology - in-depth interviews with Brazilian and Mozambican civil society organizations as well as social scientists – which would 'force' me towards strengthening the following skills listening, self-awareness, inter-cultural awareness, tenacity (given the time difference and difficulty in contacting these persons), diplomacy and networking (as I had to reach out to many different persons to identify the successful examples and to obtain their contact information) and bridging the gap between my preferred leadership style towards the leadership style required from my current work at UNICEF Mozambique. Hence, I purposely chose to embark in a time consuming qualitative research method – which was almost 'anthropological' instead of pursuing my usual 'default' mode of quantitative research. In addition, listening to leaders of social movements in Brazil was inspiring for me personally, as it evidences the fact that leaders are not necessarily top managers of an organization, nor politicians or important figures, but rather that the leadership traits/skills lie within any person, irrespective of their position, and using the recommendations of the Brazilian leaders at grassroots level which I listened to between February and July 2014 *leadership means having passion, urgency, sense of meaning, acting collectively, listening to the needs of the 'followers' and being convincing by speaking clearly and concretely.*

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