Cooperation of NGOs at district level in Nampula Province, Northern Mozambique

Author: Armando Ali
ABSTRACT

The present study seeks to increase understanding about organizational, structural and contextual factors that affect and explain the coordination of NGOs in Nampula province. The focus of the analysis is the ongoing experience of coordination among NGOs at provincial level through the Provincial Civil Society Platform (PCSP) and the possibilities of improvement of this coordination at district level.

Civil society organizations in Nampula province, especially NGOs implementing socioeconomic and civic projects, are trying since 2006 to establish a coordination mechanism of civil society intervention in the province. In 2009 they formally established a Provincial Civil Society Platform (PCSP) as a meeting point, in the provincial capital, where civil society organizations meet to coordinate their interventions and to exchange information. In this platform, organizations working or interested in a specific thematic sector meet together to discuss specific problems or to strategise towards a common objective. Despite years of building up this structure and the expressed willingness to be more effective and coordinated at all levels, this platform did not result yet in joint or coordinated interventions at district level that could increase the possibilities of development of citizens in remote areas.

This is a qualitative study, undertaken in Nampula province using the experience of NGOs members of the agriculture and natural resources sector in Ribáuè district. The analytical framework is based on the Sustainable Rural Livelihood approach. Farmers, extension workers and representatives of private sector in Ribáuè and Nampula were interviewed to have their perception about people’s livelihoods and interactions among service providers. Representatives of NGOs and governmental entities were interviewed to get their understanding about opportunities and obstacles for coordination of NGOs at district level.

The study concludes that coordination of NGOs can be improved by information sharing and service exchange. However, different from previous understanding that it is the local government that shapes the coordination of civil society, this study concludes that coordination of NGOs is dependent in the relation that they will establish with their donors. NGOs should reflect upon the role of donor and position themselves in order to achieve a path of coordination that can contribute for sustainable development at local level.

Key words: Civil Society, Donors, Mozambique, Nampula, NGOs, Sustainable
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To Naná, Zizí and Sessé for the inspiration.
To Arsénia for the social support.
## List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AGRA</td>
<td>Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa</td>
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<td>BR</td>
<td>Boletim da República (official publications)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAP</td>
<td>Censo Agro Pecuário / Agro Livestock Census</td>
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<tr>
<td>CLUSA</td>
<td>Cooperative League of United States of America</td>
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<td>CBOs</td>
<td>Community Based Organizations</td>
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<td>CLCs</td>
<td>Community Leaders Committee</td>
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<td>CSOs</td>
<td>Civil Society Organizations</td>
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<td>CSSO</td>
<td>Civil Society Support Organizations</td>
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<tr>
<td>DFID</td>
<td>Department for International Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>DUAT</td>
<td>Land use and exploitation right – document which gives legal right to exploitation of land in Mozambican</td>
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<tr>
<td>ECDPM</td>
<td>European Centre for Development Policy Management</td>
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<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<td>FDD/OIIL</td>
<td>District Development Fund</td>
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<td>FRELIMO</td>
<td>Liberation Front of Mozambique</td>
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<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
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<tr>
<td>GoM</td>
<td>Government of Mozambique</td>
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<td>GovRib</td>
<td>Government of Ribáuè District</td>
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<td>HDI</td>
<td>Human Development Index</td>
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<td>IDL</td>
<td>Development Consulting Firm</td>
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<td>IFAD</td>
<td>International Fund for Agriculture Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>INE</td>
<td>National Institute for Statistics</td>
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<tr>
<td>MDG</td>
<td>Millennium Development Goal</td>
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<tr>
<td>MINAG</td>
<td>Ministry of Agriculture</td>
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<tr>
<td>MZM</td>
<td>Mozambican Meticais – Mozambique’s currency</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non Governmental Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>OLIPA-ODES</td>
<td>Organization for Sustainable Development</td>
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<td>ORAM</td>
<td>Rural Organization for Mutual Support</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>PARPA</td>
<td>Action Plan for the Reduction of Absolute Poverty</td>
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<td>PCR</td>
<td>Saving and Rotative Credit System</td>
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<td>PCSP</td>
<td>Provincial Civil Society Platform of Nampula</td>
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<td>PEP</td>
<td>Strategic Provincial Plan</td>
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<td>PESOD</td>
<td>Socio-Economic Plan and District Budget</td>
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<tr>
<td>PROMER</td>
<td>Market Promotion Program</td>
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<tr>
<td>SADC</td>
<td>Southern African Development Community</td>
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<td>SCIP</td>
<td>Strategy for Community Integrated Program</td>
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<td>SDAE</td>
<td>District Services for Economic Activities</td>
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<td>Sida</td>
<td>Swedish International Development Agency</td>
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<td>SNV</td>
<td>Netherlands Development Organization</td>
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<td>SONIL</td>
<td>Niassa Society Limited (agro company)</td>
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<tr>
<td>SRL</td>
<td>Sustainable Rural Livelihoods</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Program</td>
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<tr>
<td>USD</td>
<td>United States Dollar</td>
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<tr>
<td>YFC</td>
<td>Youth Farmer Clubs</td>
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1. **INTRODUCTION**

1.1. **THE RESEARCH PROBLEM**

This study is about the coordination of Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in the development process in Nampula province, northern Mozambique. Lack of coordination is presented in development literature such as in Todaro and Smiths 2011 as one of the explanation of poverty. It is also pointed out that lack of coordination results in dispersion of resources and reduces the effects and impact of poverty alleviation actions. Among the literature that the author of this study had access, coordination is mainly discussed among state and market entities. There are few reflections about NGO’s coordination especially in Mozambique where the number and scope of their intervention is increasing since the end of the 1980s.

The concept of NGOs and its role in development process is quite new in the recent history of Mozambique. Mozambique became independent from the Portuguese colonial system in 1975, after ten years of liberation war conducted by the Mozambican Liberation Front - FRELIMO. After the independence, it adopted a socialist political system and adhered to the Non-Alignment Movement.

NGOs interventions in Mozambique increased from the middle 1980s. The first forms of NGOs were basically emergency relief agencies that provided food and medical assistance to the victims of hunger, resulting from natural and human disasters such as draughts, refugees, displaced persons and others affected by the “civil war” from 1982 to 1992. The number, role and scope of their interventions increased as a result of the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programs by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) in 1987 and the introduction of political and economical reforms by the Government of Mozambique (GoM) (Hanlon, 1991).

Since then, many NGOs have been involved in actions of poverty alleviation in Nampula province. Presently, more than 20 NGOs are active in the province, providing financial and technical support, extension services, counselling, information, legal advice and market facilitation mainly in the agricultural related sub-sectors (PCSP, 2009).
NGOs are part of a general and broader concept of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs). NGOs alone are not representatives of civil society but the concept of civil society includes NGOs. This distinction will be developed in the conceptual framework chapter. However, to understand coordination of NGOs I propose to enter into the general discussion about (1) the role of civil society and (2) why civil society interventions should be coordinated.

There is an ongoing debate of the role of civil society organization in development issues. For some like Herkenrath (2007, p. 2), the scope for civil society action is a response to the fact that neo-liberalism did not give a better life for all, and had increased inequalities and economic crisis. According to Nancy L. Rosenblum and Robert C. Post (2002, p. 33), healthy civil societies have rich histories of providing whatever public goods citizens deemed important, unless and until government took over. For Sida (2004, p. 22) by assisting poor people to make demands, by pressing the government to respond to those demands and to enable participation of citizens from below, civil society organizations are contributing not only to strengthen the capacity of poor people but also the capacity of the government.

However, some like Hanlon (1991, pp. 97-98) consider some forms of civil society, specially NGOs, as the shock troops of the donors, which maintain parallel systems of basic service provision and sometimes undermining the legitimacy of the government. Others consider that NGOs are not working for the poor they claim to work but to the donors to whom they are accountable (Gray, et al., 2006, pp. 320-321).

There is also a discussion about why civil society should be coordinated. Followers of liberal ideas would say that like the market, civil society does not need regulation or coordination. However, although not addressed specifically to civil society or NGOs, lack of coordination is presented in Todaro and Smiths (2011, p. 156) as one of the causes or explanations of underdevelopment. More so, as formulated by Daniel Künzler in the article “Lost Generation” (Herkenrath, 2007, p. 90), while the state is dominated by the logic of coercion and the market is based upon competition; civil society is founded in voluntary cooperation.
Despite the ongoing debate, in the current world seemingly dominated\(^1\) by an approach of less state and more market, NGOs take part in development process, especially in developing countries. It is estimated that there are around 6,000 and 30,000 NGOs in developing countries, and that over 15 percent of total overseas development aid is channelled via NGOs (Shastri, 2008). These facts together highlight the importance of studying coordination of these actors in the development process. More so, acting based on liberal ideas, uncoordinated activities of NGOs can result in duplication of interventions in one location when others locations are left behind. Some can argue that even when the interventions are well implemented; if they are isolated from other interventions might reduce the impact and the possibility of replication of the effects.

In the context of Nampula province, to strengthen their collaboration, civil society organizations (including NGOs, programs and projects) are trying since 2006 to be more coordinated in order to increase their impact in poverty alleviation. As a result of this, they established formally in 2009 a Provincial Civil Society Platform (PCSP)\(^2\) which objectives are (1) to increase the coordination and information flow among Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and between these and the government, and (2) articulate actions, demands and positions towards socio-economic development of the province (PCSP, 2009)\(^3\).

The PCSP is not a legal entity per se. It is a coordination structure aggregating some civil society organizations and NGOs, national and international, operating in the province. Although it

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\(^{1}\) This position is also a matter of discussion. The emergency of so called “Asian Tigers” and the positions of some European governments after the recent financial crisis since 2009 can challenge this view of a world dominated by neo-liberal ideas. “Asian Tigers” refers to the group of economies composed by Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan that from the 1060 achieved development with strong state intervention promoting production for exports and use of cheap labour force. This approach was followed in the 1990 by other countries like The Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand and Vietnam.

\(^{2}\) The author of this study had been involved in this process from the beginning.

\(^{3}\) Content translated from Portuguese to English by the author
embraces relevant and active organizations in the province, does not represent necessarily the totality of civil society movement in the province.\textsuperscript{4}

Within the second objective of the PCSP previously presented, it was expected by CSOs, government and other stakeholders in the province that NGOs interventions would be more coordinated and mutually reinforced, both in the policy formulation at provincial level, and project or activity implementation at district level.

The PCSP is built up from sector thematic networks. Organizations active or interested in a specific sector like education, agriculture, governance or water, join together in a thematic network to discuss policies and to define intervention priorities on their specific area of knowledge and interest. It is the aggregation of all different thematic networks that constitutes the PCSP.

The PCSP meet regularly twice a year, at provincial level, to discuss general coordination issues, and to define joint intervention priorities. During these meetings, these organizations have recognized that their individual\textsuperscript{5} interventions will not remove rural households from poverty traps. However, despite this recognition and regular meetings at provincial level in the last 8 years, they do not effectively coordinate their activities at district level in order to build up the asset base of the poor and to influence structures and processes to work on the favour of the poor. With some rare exceptions, NGOs continue to create their own constituencies in the district, instead of working with existing community based organizations; they continue to offer conflicting systems of incentives, and not building synergies and complementarities with existing activities of other NGOs.

The main question here is why is it that despite the expressed willingness to be more coordinated and the regular meetings and collaboration at provincial level NGOs does not translate this into concrete activities or coordination platforms at district level? The present study intends to understand this question, by looking at the agricultural sector in Ribáuè district. The choice of this sector is related to its relevance to poverty alleviation, and the relative wide range of

\textsuperscript{4} The abbreviation of PCSP is not official; therefore, have to be used only in the context of the present document.

\textsuperscript{5} Meaning their isolated individual projects of programs
organizations active in the agricultural sector in this district. More explanations about this choice will be presented in the relevance chapter below.

The need for coordination discussed in this study does not emerge necessarily from an academic debate or theory interpretation. It emerges from the authors own experience in the field where NGOs have been trying to coordinate themselves since 2006. During this process, it was possible to understand that coordination is also perceived as important by the PCSP because the role of the NGOs is perceived as not being only of service provision but also of campaigning and advocacy for new policy formulation or enforcement of law. Internal discussions and debates within the PCSP indicate that these fields of advocacy and campaigning require coordination in order to increase the voice of the organizations and the possibility to influence changes.

The present study is not distinguishing between national and international NGOs since in the Nampula PCSP this distinction is not made and all forms of NGOs and other civil society organizations are included in the structure of the platform. The study is not suggesting an external entity or body to coordinate civil society. It refers to internal coordination, organized and implemented by civil society organizations themselves.

The topic will be discussed within the Development Studies field, and will embrace concepts and basic assumption from the Sustainable Rural Livelihoods approach (SRL). Taking into account its foundations and principles, it can be said that the SRL approach is about coordination and multilevel interventions toward poverty alleviation seen through the prism of the household economy. Departing from this approach, some authors have proposed frameworks for coordination to achieve better results in poverty alleviation.

The IDL group\(^6\) intervention model is one of them and will be used as the base for the analytical framework in this study. The point of departure is the assumption that from this approach, poverty alleviation can be effectively addressed if a combination of interventions increases the base of the natural, human, financial, physical and social capitals of rural households (Carney, 1999a, p. 6). The choice of this approach is mainly based on its proposition that poverty

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\(^6\) The IDL group is a development consulting firm that delivers tailored international development consultancy services. Based in the UK, it provides advisory, analytical and process support services to governments, non-government agencies, policy think-tanks and research groups.
alleviation activities need to be coordinated in order to be effective. The IDL process suggests coordination to share the vision of the problem and the ways of collectively solving them

More detailed discussion about ongoing debate on the nature and role of NGOs in development and the need for coordination will be presented in the literature review chapter.

1.2. PURPOSE STATEMENT

The present study seeks to increase understanding about organizational, structural and contextual factors that affect and explain the current stage of coordination of NGOs at district level in Nampula province. The expectation is that with this research, understanding of the NGOs interventions can be increased and recommendations that can probably contribute to an improved and more effective coordination of civil society interventions towards poverty alleviation can be produced.

1.3. THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

To address the research problem of this study, two main questions will drive the research process:

1) Which structural, organizational and contextual factors in the society explain the deficient coordination of NGOs in the agriculture sector in Ribáuè district?

2) How can Civil Society Organizations in Nampula province contribute to build up the asset base of the poor by improving coordination, and influence structures and processes to work on the favour of the poor?

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7 More explanation about the use of the IDL intervention process can be found in the analytical framework chapter.
1.4. **Relevance**

This research topic addresses a local development problem – coordination of actors - and tries to analyse this problem using one of the most referenced approach in development studies: the Sustainable Rural Livelihood. The study aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of the importance of coordination of actors in development process.

Studies about coordination of civil society in Mozambique are very limited. By using the PCSP as reference, this study can contribute to the reflection and discussion of how non state actors can increase effectiveness in poverty alleviation interventions. On the other hand, since NGO’s interventions are backed with donor funds, the study can provide to the donor community, concerns, challenges and alternatives for better coordination of development interventions at local level.

Another relevance of the study comes from the exploration of the SRL approach as a tool to analyse civil society coordination in poverty alleviation. The use of the SRL approach in other cases has proven to be useful to strengthen cooperation and to build structures to work with partners (Farrington, et al., 1999). The SRL analytical framework brings into the analysis the need to focus on how societal structures and processes work in favour of the poor. In the present case, it is expected that from the SRL lens, interventions of NGOs can be understood and how their coordination framework could be improved in order to increase the asset base of rural population in Nampula province.

Throughout the literature review the author find out that there are discussions about market failure and government failure but little about NGOs failure. The literature also offers a diversity of studies regarding the role of civil society in poverty alleviation as well as some reflections about the coordination between CSOs and the government in many thematic areas or sectors. There is also a considerable range of literature about networks and advocacy actions taken by civil society organizations and movements. Some studies are addressing coordination of NGOs in humanitarian interventions. However, for the best knowledge of this report, studies about coordination of NGOs in development actions at local level are limited. More so, studies exploring the use of SRL to understand coordination of NGOs are quite limited.
1.5. DELIMITATION AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Defining the topic of the study as NGOs coordination is itself delimitative since it takes only one portion of the general and wide concept of Civil Society. According to Sida (2004, p. 7), the concept of civil society includes all organizations that we find in the space between the state and the household, which are voluntary in nature, and have significant autonomy from the state. CIVICUS\(^8\) defines civil society as the arena, outside of the family, the state, and the market, which is created by individual and collective actions, organizations and institutions to advance shared interests (CIVICUS, 2008). This concept includes a variety of organizations from self help groups to Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs), from trade unions to consumer groups, from religious organizations to academic and research institutes, from user groups to networks and forums. Therefore, NGOs are only a part of the “large family” of civil society.

Among the wide range of CSOs this study will concentrate only on NGOs that fit into the concept of Support Organizations. Support organizations are independent\(^9\), values-based, civil society organizations whose primary tasks are to provide technical services such as training, research, information, advocacy and networking to strengthen the abilities of their civil society constituents to accomplish their missions (Brown & Kalegaonkar, 1999, p. 9). In the context of this study, by “their civil society constituents” I mean Community Based Organizations (CBOs) mainly at district level. The range of CBOs includes farmer associations and forums, natural resources management committees, rotative credit and saving groups, youth farmer clubs, water management committees, and district networks of water, education and agriculture.

In the provincial context, the study is restricted to only those support organizations that are active in the agriculture sector in Ribáuè, and have identifiable constituency. Activities of three organizations (ORAM, OLIPA-ODES, and SCIP) were defined as the centre of this study. There are other organizations in Ribáuè district but these were chosen by the prolonged existence in the district and relevance of their actual interventions to agriculture and local development.

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\(^8\) World Alliance for Citizen Participation

\(^9\) The concept of independent will be discussed in the conceptual framework chapter.
Geographically, the study will be centred on the experience of Ribáuè district in Nampula province. This focus on the district does not exclude analysis at provincial level because most of the coordination issues that are or should be found at district level are decided upon at provincial level within the Provincial Civil Society Platform. In Ribáuè district, the sector focus is the agriculture sector. Some organizations outside this sector were included in the field work because of their relevance to the understanding of the research problem.

Some limitations can be identified in carrying out the present study. The concept of civil society is wide and that makes it difficult to define one operational concept that can fit the object of the study. Therefore, for the concept of support organizations above mentioned, more attention should be paid for the mission (activities they undertake) rather than for the nature of the organizations. Another limitation comes from the fact that there are few studies about civil society and NGOs in Nampula. However, studies from other countries and contexts such as Efficiency, Equity and Poverty Alleviation: Policy Issues in Less Developed Countries, by Pranab Bardhan (1996); Strengthening North-South Partnerships for Sustainable Development, by Darcy Ashman (2001); NGOs, Donors, and the State in Bangladesh, by David J. Lewis (1997); The effectiveness of NGO campaigning: Lessons from Practice, by Jennifer Chapman & Thomas Fisher (2010); Modelling agent societies: co-ordination frameworks and institutions, by Virginia Dignum & Frank Dignum; The role of civil society in decentralisation and alleviating poverty: An exploratory case study from Tanzania, by Walter Egli & Dieter Zürcher (2007); Enhancing the role of NGOs and civil society in poverty alleviation: Challenges and opportunities, by Catherine Ferguson (2011) showed to be helpful to understand the ongoing experience in Nampula province.

1.6. DISPOSITION
After this brief introduction, a discussion about the main concepts applied for this study will be presented in the conceptual and analytical framework chapter. This is the theoretical foundation for the arguments and analysis that will be discussed in the later chapters. This chapter will also present the ongoing academic discussion about the role of civil society organizations and the use of SRL approach.
The analytical framework used to understand the problem and from which conclusions were drawn is presented in chapter 3.

The methods used to undertake the study will be discussed under the methodological framework chapter. This chapter provides also lessons learned while using the applied methods and their relevance to the final outcome of the study.

Chapter 5 will present the global, national and local development trends that my help to understand the findings. It provides the political, economical and social background from which coordination of NGOs can be understood.

The findings from the field work undertaken in Nampula province are presented in chapter 6. They are a descriptive representation of the farmer livelihoods and the ongoing activities undertaken by NGOs. The current forms of coordination, obstacles and constraints are also presented in this chapter.

Chapter 7 presents the interpretation of the data presented in the findings and the linkages that can be seen between them and (1) the local, national and global context; and (2) the concepts and theories in the development study field. This will be the base for the conclusion that will be presented in the last chapter of this study. The conclusion chapter summarises what can be learned from the study and takes, somehow, a normative path by proposing how coordination of NGOs could be improved.
2. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. NGOs AND CIVIL SOCIETY: THE CONCEPT AND THEIR ROLE IN DEVELOPMENT

2.1.1. THE CONCEPT WHICH?

The present study will deal with coordination of NGOs for poverty alleviation. In the social, political or economical studies, NGOs are included in the general concept of civil society organizations. Others call them non state actors or non-profit private organizations. Therefore, understanding NGOs will need a general conceptualization of civil society organizations, their nature and roles.

Herkenrath (2007, p. 1), defines civil society as the sphere of voluntary social interaction not directly influenced by the state or the narrow interests of the economy. Hall (1995, p. 25) considers that civil society is a particular form of society, appreciating social diversity and able to limit the depredations of political power. Keane (1998, p. 6) defines civil society as an ideal-typical category that both describes and envisages a complex and dynamic ensemble of legally protected non-governmental institutions that tend to be non-violent, self-organizing, self-reflexive, and permanently in tension with each other and with the state institutions that “frame”, constrict and enable their activities.

CSOs include such groups as registered charities, development non-governmental organisations (NGOs), community groups, women’s organisations, faith-based organisations, professional associations, trades unions, self-help groups, social movements, business associations, coalitions, and advocacy groups (Rocha & Sharma, 2008, p. 6; CIVICUS, 2008). The operational definition of NGOs for the purpose of this study is that of Support Organizations presented above in the delimitation of the study chapter.

Most of the times, the concept of CSOs is associated with NGOs and the other way around. CSOs are more than NGOs alone although NGOs are part of the civil society. According to SIDA (2004, p. 7), civil society includes everything between and including big non-governmental organizations and small, informally structured organizations that we can find in remote areas of less developed county. The concept of Non Governmental Organization comes from the need that civil society must be independent from government (Rosenblum & Post,
2002, p. 11). However, this independence is a matter of discussion that we will address in the following paragraphs.

Analysing the concepts of NGOs and CSOs above presented it is possible to identify some assumptions in which they are embedded and to which is important to reflect upon. The assumptions are: (1) they are independent from the governments; (2) they represent the poor and, (3) they are in tension and conflict with the government. These assumptions might represent the expectation of the nature and role of CSOs and NGOs included but are not always true.

In the Mozambican context, NGOs and other CSOs are dependent on national governments that frame their operational context and establish the boundaries and limits of their actions. Many of them are also dependent on foreign governments, the donors, who provide financial support for their operations (Hanlon, 1991, p. 204). Hanlon even consider them as private implementers of foreign policy of donor countries (Ibid.).

Most of the activities developed by NGOs are considered pro-poor activities. The expectation is that they will reach those who are most in need and will work in their favour. Studies in many cases have proved the ability of NGOs to be creative and to reach the poor but this conclusion is not consensual. In Kilalo & Johnson (1999, p. 459) NGOs are considered not being accountable to the communities they serve but more to their donors.

The assumption that NGOs and other CSOs are permanently in conflict with the government is also disputed. There are cases of confrontations but also of cooperation. Sometimes NGOs implement projects as sub-contractors of local governments (Kilalo & Johnson, 1999, p. 458; Gray, et al., 2006, p. 325).

Having these concepts in mind we are going to discuss in the next chapter the perceived roles of NGOs and CSOs in general.

2.1.2. THE ROLE OF NGOs AND CSOS IN DEVELOPMENT

The literature offers a variety of conceptualization about the role of CSOs. For Rosenblum and Post (2002, p. 26), the concept and role of civil society are a result of liberalism as a theory that emphasizes the role of civil and economic liberties and limit the role of the government.
According to Herkenrath (2007, p. 10), the role of civil society is also accepted because it is perceived as offering forms of political participation that are perceived as unspoiled and more genuine. Hanlon however (1991, p. 219), consider NGOs role as the “new missionaries” working for the re-colonization of poor countries.

The discussion about the role of CSOs is also extended to which activities they should and should not undertake. The intervention of CSOs in the sphere of citizenship and governance is often criticized by some sectors that consider a waste of resources that could be used for more “visible” poverty reduction actions. At this respect, Chambers (1983: 140) points out that elites prefer actions that addresses physical weakness (infra-structures like roads, hospitals, schools) but poverty and powerlessness are more basic. To address them effectively is necessary that poor households become able to organize themselves in a way that allow them to make demands and gain and maintain control over assets and incomes (Chambers, 1983, p. 140).

Chambers (1983: 150 – 151) proposes two potential areas in which civil society coordinated interventions could make a difference: alliances to protect the poor regarding (1) the prices and terms of trade and (2) enforcement of the law.

If we use the capability concept of development mostly represented by the conceptualization of Amartya Sen the need to increase the capacities of the citizens to express themselves gains more importance. Sen explains that what matters is not the things a person has – or the feeling this provides – but what a person is or can be, and does, or can do (Todaro & Smith, 2011, p. 16). The extent to which governments in developing countries are willing to promote citizenship and the voicing of the citizens is a matter of discussion. Whether the answer is yes or not, it can be said that in the current dominant discourse interventions of CSOs in the citizenship and governance areas are particularly important.

Among the different views presented about the role of NGOs, Gray et al (2006, p. 325), seems to have summarised well the forms and functions in which NGOs engage. They are engaged in (1) New public management - since they are, in some cases, sub contracted by governments to implement policies and programs; (2) Corporatisation – because CSOs are partnering with companies; (3) Social capital or self-organisation - meaning that CSOs are building trust through
networking with other likeminded organizations; and (4) Activism – because CSOs are monitoring and challenging power-holders.

Criticism about the role of NGOs does exist. Herkenrath (2007, p. 1) considers that there is no consensus about the capabilities of civil society to bring about the changes they are fighting for. Brown and Kalegaonkar (2002, p. 255) consider that NGOs can also embrace problems from lack of competence and credibility to corruption. Daniel Künzler (Herkenrath, 2007, p. 91) goes far by considering that development NGOs in Africa are successful adaptations to changed conditions for the access to foreign resources rather than a sign of transformation in civil society.

Albeit the ongoing debate the role of civil society organizations on poverty alleviation is recognized by a diversity of literature. References about the importance of NGOs and CSOs in development process can be found for instance in SIDA 2004; Banks & Hulme 2012; Banik 2012; Khan, et al., 2003; Todaro & Smith 2011; and Gray, et al., 2006.

Despite the controversy about the role of NGOs, it is important to mention that they are development actors in the current global and local context. Donors continue to channel resources for development via NGOs (apart from other channels). Private corporations and governments sub-contract NGOs to implement projects. In the context of neo-liberalism and minimum role of the state, markets and citizens are expected to play a significant role in development. The focus is on the coordination’s outcome for the poor and how it can contribute for sustainable livelihood. In the following section will be presented how SRL is a coordination tool.

2.2. COORDINATION FROM SUSTAINABLE RURAL LIVELIHOOD VIEWPOINT

As presented in Todaro & Smith (2011, p. 21), development is the process of improving the quality of all human lives. Three equally important aspects of development are (1) raising peoples levels of living – their incomes and consumptions levels of food, medical services, education etc., through relevant economic growth process, (2) creating conditions conducive to the growth of people’s self-esteem through the establishment of social, political and economical system and institutions that promote human dignity and respect and (3) increasing people’s freedom by enlarging the range of their choice variables, as by increasing varieties of consumer goods and services.
The concept of Sustainable Rural Livelihood has been used since the 1990s in development and poverty alleviation arena, and also in development cooperation. It emerged from the DFID environment and development work in 1987 and was progressively used by other actors in the next years. Chambers and Conway (1991, p. 5) define livelihoods as adequate stock and flows of food and cash necessary to the household to meet basic needs\(^\text{10}\). Sustainable refers to the maintenance or enhancement of resource productivity on a long-term basis. Therefore, a livelihood is sustainable if it can cope with and recover/resist from shocks and stress, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generations (ibid. p. 6).

SRL approach has been used for different purposes from poverty assessment to the design of development interventions. However, SRL has been used as a coordination tool. According to Carney (2002, p. 13) the SRL approach requires a commitment to probe beyond technical issues, beyond superficial political and institutional issues to develop a realistic understanding of the livelihood of poor people and how this can be improved. Scooners (n.d., p. 12) explain that using this framework to understand institutional processes affecting people’s livelihoods is possible to identify barriers and opportunities from land tenure to market networks and credit arrangements that affect the composition of portfolio of livelihood strategies. With the above presented views it can then be said that SRL can be an important tool to design interventions that can transform structures and processes which can improve livelihood sustainability.

Nevertheless, interventions to increase the capital asset of the poor do not need to be done by different sectors and actors at the same time and in the same scale. Carney et al (1999) indicates that support can best be initiated in response to particular opportunities or needs, even within sub-sectors or within small areas, and then gradually expanded. One of the main strengths of an SRL approach identified by practitioners so far is that it facilitates cross-sector collaboration by providing a common framework (ibid).

However, the use of SRL approach is not unquestionably effective. There are still some concerns of its operationalization. Carney et al (1999) indicate that among other concerns, it is still not

\(^{10}\) They explains also that livelihood can be at very different levels but the most common is at household level meaning the human group which shares the same hearth for cooking (Chambers & Conway, 1991, p. 6)
clear about how to develop cost effective models of livelihood analysis that ensure that the needs of the poorest are prioritized. They state also that it is not clear how to identify appropriate in-country partners, and developing collaborative approaches to understanding the complexity of poverty and integrating that understanding into a common livelihoods frame.

SRL is not, of course, the only approach to promote development. Other approaches like Right Based Approach (RBA) have been developed in the last years. The right based approach looks into development as a right of all individuals consecrated for instance in the spirit of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Sida (2012) for instance, considers that the rights-based approach puts the human being at the centre of development cooperation and analyzes power-structures in society, the rights of the individual and the duties of states throughout the development process. It continues emphasizing that the approach rests on the basic human rights’ principle of equal dignity and rights for all human beings, and is therefore also a tool for discovering and fighting discrimination. It complements poor peoples’ perspective, gender equality and the protection of vulnerable groups (ibid.).

By considering development as a right, this approach has been used mainly by advocacy institutions to demand development from their governments “as a right of all citizens”. This is the case of the Centre for Social Accountability from the Rhodes University with a large program on social accountability in the Southern Africa region, including Mozambique. The merit of SRL for this study is its appeal for coordinated interventions to achieve development. It can be said that while the RBA is founded in the importance of development, the SRL gives more insight about how development could be achieved.
3. ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

In the present study, coordination of NGOs in Nampula province will be discussed using the SRL approach. The meaning and outreach of the concept was presented in the previous chapter. In this chapter it is presented the framework used to understand the research questions and from which a possible coordination framework can be build. The analytical framework is represented in the following figure adapted by the author from the coordination pathway proposed by the IDL group and the research questions defined for this study. The “merit” of the IDL model is the emphasis on coordination of actors and it matches with the ongoing efforts of coordination of NGOs in Nampula province.

The SRL approach has been widely used for assessment of poverty. The focus has been how people survive and develop their living conditions. Understanding of the five capital assets (natural, human, financial, physical and social) has been the core of the approach. However, SRL has progressively been used for other purposes as project design, program evaluation and monitoring of development interventions. Farrington et al (1999) present the various forms of application of the SRL concept in rural areas. Having in mind the need to increase the asset base of the poor, the IDL group\(^\text{11}\) developed a sequence of steps that organizations, operating in a certain context, should follow while implementing their development interventions. This sequence of steps is the base of the analytical framework of this study.

The following figure is composed by three different columns. Column 1 presents the four main steps that according to the IDL group, organizations or other actors interested to contribute for development based on sustainable livelihood approach should follow. The assumption of this pathway is that sustainable development needs coordination. To be effective in their interventions, organizations should come to a cooperative approach, follow the stages presented in the framework and coordinate their activities.

Indeed, Carney, (2002, p. 17) describes the IDL Group intervention model as based on the possibility of coordination and collaboration of different actors to reduce the transactional costs

\(^{11}\) See what is the IDL group in the introduction chapter
of poor households. These four stages are not part of a strong academic debate neither are evidences of being used or tested in development studies. However, they seem to be very relevant to discuss in the Nampula development context were attempts of coordination of NGOs are already in place.

**Figure 1. Analytical framework**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proposed coordination path to promote sustainable rural livelihoods (from IDL group)</th>
<th>Questions for reflection</th>
<th>Analysis of the opportunities and obstacles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Analyse how people thrive and survive and identify key opportunities/leverage points</td>
<td>a) If this approach was to be used in Nampula context, which opportunities can be identified in each of the steps?</td>
<td>Having into account the opportunities and obstacles, how coordination could be improved?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Attain agreement among key stakeholders on the desired outcome</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Clarify the operational context and development factors that determine what is feasible and help to identify the best entry points</td>
<td>b) If this approach was to be used in Nampula context, which obstacles could be identified for its implementation?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Decide on the nature of the intervention. The most appropriate cooperative intervention.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The IDL group, cited in Carney (2002, p. 17) advocate that facilitating and supporting processes that can help poor people to build robust livelihood, is a key challenge for stakeholders, individuals or organizations, that are livelihoods-oriented actors. The establishment of PCSP in Nampula is an attempt to increase coordination. It does not mean necessarily that the PCSP
should define what each organization member should do. However, could promote complementarity and contribute to fulfilment of the perceived needs of the poor.

The second column is composed by the two main reflection questions used to guide the discussion with the involved NGOs. The aim of the questions is to identify opportunities and obstacles of implementing each one of the four steps in the Nampula development context. The discussion is not whether it is possible or not to implement the IDL intervention model but what opportunities and obstacles would be identified if the model was to be implemented. This exercise was used in order to find the answers for the research question one.

The third column is composed by one main question that leads to the answer of the second research problem. Having identified the potential opportunities and obstacles for coordination, representatives of the three involved organizations discussed how coordination could be improved having into account the context and the need to increase the asset base of the poor. The conclusions drawn from this exercise are not the reproduction of the opinions of the respondents but also the author’s analysis of the problem and the context.

The results of this exercise, together with the analysis of the global and local context, will inform the conclusions and recommendations of this study.

The framework proved to be an important tool to promote the discussion about coordination problems in Nampula. However, given the fact that the framework is a hypothetical situation of implementing an approach, the discussion tended to divert some times. Nevertheless, it was always possible to re-guide the respondents to discuss this hypothetical “ideal” situation. Thus, it was possible to extract lessons from their understanding of the situation and the context.
4. METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

4.1. OVERARCHING METHODOLOGY

The present study seeks to increase understanding about organizational, structural and contextual factors that affect and explain the current stage of coordination of NGOs in Nampula province. The choice of the topic is influenced by a long running intervention of the author\textsuperscript{12} in local development issues with emphasis on civil society activities toward sustainable development of poor households in the province.

This study is embedded in what Creswell called Social Constructivist Worldview (Creswell, 2009, p. 8) following the assumption that individuals try to understand the world in which they live and work, not assuming only their own pre understanding but relying on what others perceive and interpret the same world (Ibid).

The study intends to generate a pattern of meanings from other person’s thoughts. As Crotty (1998) quoted by (Creswell, 2009, pp. 8-9) qualitative researchers seek to understand the context or setting of the participants through visiting this context and gathering the information personally. They also interpret what they find, an interpretation shaped by the researcher’s own experiences and background (ibid.). This was particularly the case of this study which author has been working in the province for several years.

4.2. APPLIED METHODS

This study was undertaken as a field work meaning that the collection and generation of knowledge was based on empirical data collected from the field. It included interviews, analysis of strategic plans and program documents, group discussions, in an approach that Mikkelsen (2005, p. 49) called field work because it includes data collection intertwined with data analysis and possible revision of initial questions.

This field work was carried out in Mozambique during five weeks in the months of April and May 2013. Several stakeholders were interviewed in Nampula, Ribáuè and Maputo. It was

\textsuperscript{12} The author has been working for almost nine years in local development issues in Nampula province.
designed and implemented as a qualitative research. Creswell (2009, p. 4) explains that this is a way of explaining the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to certain social or human problem. In this case, people’s understanding of their capabilities was explored as well as NGOs understanding of opportunities and obstacles for their coordination. In the same way, perceptions of development workers about the possibilities of coordination in a SRL basis were also explored. It proved to be a very important way of approaching this study since made it possible to explore people’s perceptions allowing flexibility from the researcher to be guided by what they demonstrated to be most important.

The study also uses some of the techniques of participatory methods mentioned in Mikkelsen (2005, pp. 63-65) such as direct observation, triangulation, use of secondary sources and use of key indicators. O’Real (2012, pp. 105-106) suggests that participation and observation can be used simultaneously but in a balanced way avoiding that subjectivity dominate the researcher’s findings.

Observation was used at a household level to see how they apply the new agriculture techniques, to know how they organize production activities and the commercialization process. Observations showed to be important to relate what NGOs “claim” as their contribution to local development and how farmers organize their activities. This approach allowed to the study to present the data the more closely to reality as possible. The combination of these methods allowed to increase validity of the results of the study as suggested by Mikkelsen (2005, p. 96).

The study does not aim to generate a theory or to prove a certain hypotheses. It aims to reconceptualise the author’s understanding of coordination of NGOs using one approach inspired by the SRL. The use of the analytical framework in the form and way presented above conducted the present study to the use of an abductive logic of inference hence reconceptualising the author’s pre-understanding. Danermark et al (2002, p. 80) explain that abduction allows re-contextualization and reinterpretation of a given phenomenon using a specific framework. It is also a way of interpreting and re-describing structures and relations from a hypothetical conceptual framework (Danermark, et al., 2002, p. 110). Using the framework presented in the analytical chapter, it was possible to focus the discussion of the activities and possibilities of coordination of NGOs. Possibly, it would be difficult to achieve this result if other approaches like induction were used since they could potentially guide the analysis of the concept of NGOs.
rather than concentrating on coordination. The use of these frameworks and the combined logic of inference make this study qualitative by nature.

Interviews were the main method of data collection in the field. According to Mikkelsen (2005, p. 169), interviewing is the practitioner's method 'par excellence' in development studies. Applying participatory methods they will be more conversational, while still controlled and structured. Only some of the questions and topics were predetermined. Many questions appeared and were formulated during the interview.

Snowball sampling and purpose sampling were used to collect data regarding people’s perception. According to O'Reilly (2012, p. 44) snowball sampling is the method by which the researcher use the initial contacts to gain more contacts, enlarging the sampling. That was particularly relevant in Ribâuè where contacting farmer associations, water networks and NGOs, was possible to meet their constituencies individually. Purpose sampling defined as the use of specific groups with specific characteristics or interests (ibid.), was used to target specific groups such as members of Consultative Councils, tobacco and cotton producers, water committees, and members of agriculture and natural resources network. This was relevant for the study because enabled to discuss and deepen specific topics. Discussions about cash crop production and the role of local structures like Consultative Councils benefited from this approach. These interviews were organized to address specific topics under a minimum guidance (Mikkelsen, 2005, pp. 172-173).

The interviews were conducted using semi-structured guides with open-ended questions to allow the respondents to develop their thoughts and to deepen the questions whenever possible. This approach seemed to be useful because allowed the farmers in special to explain their capabilities and livelihood strategies using their own words and understanding. NGOs discussed how they coordinate their activities and how this coordination could be improved. Private sector and government discussed their views about how sustainable development could be promoted from the household level. All this actors were voluntarily involved in the study providing to them and to the researcher, possibility of learning from other experiences and views.

Interviews were conducted at different levels. Nampula and Ribâuè were the focus but to collect some views from national perspective, some interviews were organized in Maputo. In total, 123
persons were interviewed at different levels. 33 percent of the interviewees were women. At least 52 of the interviewees (women and men, representing 42.2 percent of total interviewees) were farmers or had farming as their main economic activity. Not all of them were individual interviews. Around 30 percent of total interviewees were approached in group discussions or group interviews. Focal group discussions were organized with public extension workers, members of saving and rotative groups, women members of farmer association and a group of men living in Nacololo community.

As mentioned in the above paragraph, a considerable number of interviewees were farmers. This group was targeted to get their perceptions about the importance of the services they are receiving from the NGOs and how those services are contributing to farmers capabilities to develop their living conditions. These interviews also offered a lot of information about the local development context that showed to be very important during the discussions with the NGOs about the possibilities for coordination.

The applied methods contributed to have a wide picture of the reality both from farmers and NGOs perspective. However, to deepen understanding of the opportunities and obstacles for coordination of NGOs, a more organizational analysis of the relation of NGOs and the donors could have provided complementary information that this approach focusing in the relation among NGOs is not providing.

Usually, studies involving interviews at a grassroots level and engaging lots of organizations can suggest some ethical consideration to be taken into account by the researchers. Considering the nature of this study, it was not identified relevant ethical consideration partly because the author is part of the studied context and the questions guiding the discussion with farmers did not represent any risk of affecting their relation with the government or with the NGOs.

Having discussed the way the study was undertaken and the methodological consideration guiding the research, the next chapter is going to present the context in which the study is conducted. It will include an analysis of the global and national factors that can help to understand the coordination of NGOs in Nampula province.
5. CONTEXTUALIZATION

The roll of NGOs, specifically those that can be considered Support Organizations cannot be discussed out of the specific context in which they exist and operate. There are global, national and local trends that help to explain why these organizations are involved in poverty alleviation activities and why they do in a way they are doing. This contextualization will also help to understand the constraints affecting their intervention as well as possible entry points for better coordination.

5.1. GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT TRENDS

There is a ongoing debate about the role of civil society vis-à-vis the government/state in development process. While the role of the state was considered central in the development process in the 1970s, perceived failures in planning and implementation, insufficient and unrealistic data use in the planning process, institutional weakness and lack of political will are presented in Todaro and Smith (2011, pp. 524 - 526) as possible explanations of the shift from state to markets in the early 1980s. The pro market approach highlighted in the Washington consensus\textsuperscript{13}, many would say that opened doors for more civil society intervention in the development arena.

However, there are new trends in the development field that gives more responsibilities to governments on poverty alleviation. These trends are what Todaro and Smiths call the New Consensus (2011, p. 531). According to them, an important dimension of the New Consensus is the emphasis on government’s responsibility to focus on poverty alleviation (Ibid.). This is in part a return to the focus of the 1970s; one reason for this renewed focus is that free-market policies of the 1980s and early 1990s were viewed as inadequately helping the poor.

\textsuperscript{13} The Washington consensus reinforced the IMF and World Bank policies that highlight the need of less state and more market approach. Its elements include fiscal discipline; redirection of public expenditure toward health, education and infrastructure; tax reforms; unified exchange rates; secure propriety rights, deregulation; trade liberalization, privatization, elimination of barriers for direct investment and financial liberalization.
Nevertheless, it can be said that the general dominant discourse is still the pro-market and less state view if we consider that a significant part of development aid is still channelled via non state actors\textsuperscript{14} despite the governments are still the main receivers of foreign aid. Although the extent of which non-state actor can act vary slightly from classical to the new liberalism all are based on the idea that markets and citizens have to be in the centre of the society. Classical liberalism is often associated with the belief that the state ought to be minimal, which means that practically everything except armed forces, law enforcement and other “non-excludable goods” ought to be left to the free dealings of its citizens, and the organizations they freely choose to establish and take part in (Thorsen & Lie, 2007, p. 4).

The pro-market and less state approach can be embedded in what Todaro and Smith (2011, p. 110) calls neoclassical counterrevolution that explains underdevelopment as a result of too much state intervention in the economy which leads to inefficiency. This thinking advocates that development can only be achieved if the market plays its role of auto regulation based in the demand and supply forces.

Liberal ideas dominated the Western Europe and Northern America thinking in the last century. With the breakdown of the socialist bloc, liberalism is the dominating socio political thinking at least if we take the preponderance of its conditionalities such as democratization and free markets.

The majority of poor countries are now dependent on donor funds for their functioning and for poverty alleviation activities. Mozambique for instance has been in the last ten year financing more than 50 percent of his state budget from external sources. A new concept emerged in the international cooperation dictionary: the donor community. Practices like aid harmonisation, imposition of aid conditionalities, creation of in-country donor groups like G19\textsuperscript{15} in Mozambique show that the donor community have, obviously, interests in shaping how development should look like in the recipient countries. Considering the seemingly dominant world view of less state

\textsuperscript{14} Here we use the concept of non state actor just to generalize and to include other private and multilateral corporation that manage and implement development programs in developing countries.

\textsuperscript{15} G19 is a group of 19 countries that contribute to the state budget in Mozambique. This group was created to harmonize donor contribution to the state budget but also as a platform of accountability between the Mozambican government and the donors. Academics and civil society organizations in Mozambique had claimed that the government is more accountable to this group than to the Mozambican people.
and more market (at least before the financial crisis in Europe since 2009), it can be argued that the ways donor try to influence development in poor countries is also founded in the neo-liberal paradigm.

With the world working at two speeds, developed countries at one side and poor countries at the other side, Rocha and Sharma (2008: 15) summarized the three new global donor perspective agendas: (1) the new poverty agenda, (2) the good governance agenda and (3) quality and effectiveness of aid.

1) The new poverty agenda
It assumes that poverty is multi-dimensional. According to Rocha and Sharma (2008), the new poverty agenda emerges from the fact that the international consensus around poverty reduction is based on a multi-dimensional understanding of poverty, which recognizes that lack of power, voice and accountable and responsive public institutions, is as much a part of the experience of poverty as the lack of material assets (2008, p. 15). From this perspective, poverty alleviation actions are not based only on the provision of goods and services to the poor but also on the participation of the poor in decision making process. The voice of the poor and the possibility to hold their governments accountable are considered crucial in poverty alleviation.

2) The good governance agenda
It results from the fact that since the end of the 1990s there has also been a growing recognition that an exclusive focus on the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) is insufficient to address complex development challenges (ibid.). This approach argues that attention have to be paid also for the way that public institutions in poor countries deal with the citizens. The achievement and sustainability of MDGs are dependent on the interaction and domestic accountability between state institutions and the society in poor countries. Thus, the quality of institutions within both state and society, and the relationship between them, is an important part of the debate about what makes aid and states effective – with voice and accountability as key components of improved governance as well as frequent indicators of its quality (Rocha & Sharma, 2008, p. 15).

16 The evaluation made by these authors is focused on voice and accountability in developing countries. Even thou, considering the linkages given to good governance and development and the wide range of countries included in the study, this conclusions can well represent the global development views at least from the donor perspective.
3) Quality and effectiveness of aid

It is one of the new agendas resulting from the fact that donors are interested to make their assistance more effective and responsive to the needs of the poor. The principles of the aid effectiveness are defined in the Paris Declaration.

Rocha and Sharma (2008, p. 56) recognize that there is a tension between the long term transformation of a society and the donors need for quick results. Donors are supporting programs of 3 to 5 years to transform structures, processes and power relations between citizens and the government of developing countries. These transformations cannot be achieved in short terms. The authors are highlighting the need to have into consideration the needs of the recipients if sustainable results are to be achieved.

From the above described trends of global development it is possible to identify some of the donor assumptions while supporting development projects in developing countries. The points of departures are that (i) one of the causes of poverty in developing world is poor governance. (ii) Economic liberalism and democracy are the main motors for development. (iii) Citizens and public institutions need information to be able to promote good governance and, (iv) It is possible to influence citizens and government in these countries to enhance governance within short time (3 to 5 years).

5.2. National development trends

If we take into consideration the available natural resources and geostrategic position of the country in the continent, it can be said that Mozambique is one of the richest Southern African countries. Located in the eastern cost of southern African region, it become independent from the Portuguese colonial exploitation in 1975 after a 10 years liberation war conducted by the Mozambican Liberation Front (FRELIMO).

Mozambican population is estimated as of 23.6 million people in 2011 and is increasing at an average rate of 2.7 percent a year (ECDPM, 2012). About 69 percent of its population lives in rural areas.
Agriculture is the main economic activity of the population (Ibid). 79 percent of the labour force in 2005 was employed in agriculture and accounted for 29 percent of GDP in 2008 (UNDP Mozambique, 2011). From 2001 to 2007, agriculture contribution to GDP was of 24.4 percent in average (Zavale, et al., 2011, p. 21). In rural Mozambique, where net revenue from agricultural production accounts for over 60 percent of total household income, land is the most important productive asset (Giesbert & Schindler, 2010, p. 16).

According to INE (2011c), 56.9 percent of the population lives below the national poverty line. However, UNDP (2011) estimates that 79.8 percent of the population was living under the poverty line in 2010. These differences may be resulting from different indicators used by both in measuring poverty.

The level of inequality is high in Mozambique. The richest 10 percent of the population earned an income share of 39.2 percent in 2003 while in the same period; the poorest 10 percent of the population earned an income share of only 2.12 percent (UNDP Mozambique, 2011).

The country is progressively reducing its financial dependence on external aid. In 2011, external finance of the State budget has dropped to 44.6% against 51.4% in 2010 and it is expected that foreign aid will contribute for 39.6 % of public expenditure in 2012 and 32.8% in 2013 (ECDPM, 2012, p. 9)\(^\text{17}\). A continuous economic growth and exploitation of natural resources such as coal, gas and heavy sands must be contributing for this.

UNDP considers that the Human Development Index (HDI) value for Mozambique has increased in an average of 2.28 percent a year in the last two decades. This is higher than the average of 0.90 percent of Sub-Saharan Africa in the same period. Compared to other countries, Mozambique’s performance from 2000 to 2011 is among the top 5 in the world (UNDP Mozambique, 2011). Nevertheless, despite more than 20 years of growth Mozambique currently ranks 184 of a total of 187 countries in the HDI (Ibid.).

The *Censo Agro Pecuário* (INE, 2011d) concludes that the size of land under production in Mozambique increased by 45% between 1999/2000 and 2009/2010 to a total of 5.6 million hectares. Nevertheless, it represents only some 15.7% of the estimated 36 million hectares of

\(^{17}\) www.ecdpm.org/GREAT
arable land available in the country (UNDP Mozambique, 2011a). It is important to mention that small farms still dominate with a total of 99% of farms classified as small (with 10 ha or less) (ibid.). What is more is that about 72% of all farms have 2 ha or below. The average farm size is 1.47 ha.

The use of extension services is very limited. Only 8.3% of all farms had access to extension services in 2008 (MINAG, 2010, p. 16). All the above mentioned factors contribute to a low agricultural productivity. As a consequence, about 42% of all farms are unable to ensure food security for the household throughout the year (UNDP Mozambique, 2011b).

The concept of civil society is globally complex and fluid. It is also the case while trying to conceptualize this in Mozambique. The notion of civil society in Mozambique is also very new. Until 1990 and in the context of one party regime, it was mainly represented by the social mass organizations prevailing in the one party system since the independence in 1975.

Hanlon (1991, p. 215) explains that the first forms on national NGOs were the General Union of Cooperatives and the Christian Council. Later, to respond the demand for local partnership, other NGOs like the Mozambican Red Cross and the Community Development Association (later FDC) were created following the western model (Ibid. P. 216). Hanlon explains also that some initial international NGOs, used aid to spread religious message. They distributed bibles, build churches and give food and clothes for the followers (Hanlon, 1991, p. 215).

The role of NGOs was gradually changing from emergence relief in the beginning of the 90s to development and good governance in the beginning of the 2000s. However, their coordination is weak. Indeed, attempts to coordinate the action of NGOs and CSOs were mainly to address specific and temporary questions. It was the case of the Mozambican Debt Relief Coalition (Grupo Moçambicano da Dívida) and the G20. The first was a front aggregating CSOs advocating for Mozambican debt cancelation. After the cancelation of the Mozambican debt by the Paris Club, meaning the achievement of its objective, the group lost its coordinative role. G20 is a coordination platform created to be the counterpart of the government in the dialogue about poverty observatories. G20 was a working group constituted of 20 CSOs invited to participate in the monitoring of implementation of PARPA18. It still exists but its action is

18 PARPA is the Mozambican poverty reduction strategic paper (PRSP).
confined on the PARPA monitoring within the Development Observatory framework. G20 had created branches at provincial level but the coordination among their members was always weak.

Mozambique had experienced the establishment of a forum of NGOs. Its name was LINK and its objective was to coordinate actions of NGOs and support them in the fund raising process. However, instead of being a coordination body, it turned to become an organization and competing for donor funds with its members. It started implementing projects instead of coordinating with other organizations, the most appropriate cooperative paths to contribute for sustainable development. LINK lost its “link” with the NGOs and CSOs in 2007 when some members of the board abandoned the organization allegedly because its director was misusing the resources of the organization.

Another attempt of coordination of CSO was the establishment of the informal group of good governance in 2007. It included national and international NGOs interested in good governance issues. Members of this group come both from provincial and national level and meet twice a year to discuss the challenges in the decentralization process and enhance the participation of the citizens in local decision making process. The group disappeared in 2009 and the reasons for that are not sufficiently explained.

The newest attempt to coordinate NGOs and CSOs at national level is the establishment of a new organisation called JOINT. Joint is an NGO created in 2007 to coordinate civil society organizations working to promote rights and freedom of citizens and the social and economic development of Mozambique. It was created by 20 civil society organisations - 10 national and 10 international organizations to promote cooperation and exchange of information between its members. It seems to be the replacement of the idea behind the creation of LINK.

The Civil Society Index (CSI) for Mozambique revealed that the Mozambican civil society has weak structure and values, and operates in a constrained environment. Structurally, the main weaknesses are due to limited human and financial resources available to CSOs. In terms of values the weaknesses are mainly related to a lack of transparency, gender equity and diversity (Sugahara, 2011, p. 6).
The Mozambican CSOs already work on a wide spectrum of activities, but in general still face big challenges to overcome the status of being simple “service providers” of donors. Sugahara (2011, p. 6) consider dependency on donors as their main challenge.

With the widespread poverty in Mozambique, the government is still considered the main provider of social and basic services for its population at the same time that many nongovernmental organization received resources from donors to address poverty in rural and remote areas. Although this can represent a view of government’s inefficiency to provide better quality of services and to reach the poorest, it can be seen as an attempt to develop other ways of voicing and accountability within the citizen’s sphere by the donor community. It can also be said that this fact represents the way donor look upon the role of the state in a liberal worldview widely dominant in the donor community.

5.3. NAMPULA PROVINCE

Nampula is the most populous province of Mozambique with 4.529.803 inhabitants (INE, 2011b). Located in the northern region of the country, it has 21 districts. Nampula holds one of the most important harbours for the national and regional economy: Nacala harbour. From this harbour, a railway with more than 500 km connects the landlocked Malawi to the sea. This railway, the harbour and a road constitute what is called Nacala Development Corridor.

Since the middle of the 1990, many civil society organizations are involved in actions of poverty alleviation in Nampula province. Presently, more than 20 developmental civil society organizations are active providing financial and technical support, extension services, counselling, information, legal advice and market facilitation mainly in the agricultural related sub-sectors.

To strengthen their collaboration, these CSOs established in 2007 a Provincial Civil Society Platform (PCSP). The PCSP is build up from sector thematic networks. Organizations active or interested in a specific sector like education, agriculture, governance or water, join together in a thematic network to discuss policies and to define intervention priorities on their specific area of knowledge and interest. It is the aggregation of all different thematic networks that constitutes
the provincial civil society platform. The PCSP is a coordination framework of civil society organizations but also a counterpart of the government in the provincial development process.

In the last three years, the PCSP had an active participation in the elaboration and monitoring of the provincial strategic plan PEP Nampula 2020. It plays also a relevant roll in the preparation of Provincial Development Observatories (PDO)\(^1\), discussing the governmental reports and presenting position papers during the PDO. In a political bipolarized society\(^2\), this mechanism is considered by many citizens as a way to discuss development outside the political party confrontation. In the contrary, it should be the role of the elected bodies like the provincial and national parliaments.

The role of the PCSP in Nampula is increasingly recognized by different actors. A DFID report describes the platform in the following way:

“As an initiative to counter balance the relative government dominance, CSOs in Nampula have taken the initiative to create a new platform for coordination of CSO interaction with provincial government. The presidency is based on a six-monthly rotation to avoid being manipulated by the Government. The CSO platform represents an entry point for a more coordinated and united CSO response to provincial government. It can very well provide CSO with the strength and coordinated position, which is required to hold provincial government accountable to development plans and budgets (DFID, 2008, p. 24).

Some of the constraints of civil society intervention are from the legal framework and political context. All forms of citizens associations are categorized under the same law (Lei das associações). Although the political context can be classified as favourable for civil society intervention, in some case, there are different perception of the kind of relationship between these and the government. A study from DFID concluded that the expectations of provincial

\(^{19}\) PDOs are entities created at provincial level with the objective of monitoring the implementation of Provincial Development Plans (PESP). They a composed by representatives of the provincial government, private sector, Civil society, NGOs, donors and other stakeholders considered relevant for the provincial development.

\(^{20}\) Two political parties (Frelimo and Renamo) dominate the political arena although one new party (MDM) is emerging. This would be a normal situation if adherence to other parties, different from the ruling party, was not seen by this as being against the government.
governments in some of the Development Observatories are to hold CSOs accountable for the implementation of development activities in specific sectors. Criticism was raised by both CSOs and donors that provincial governments claim credit from the positive performance of CSOs in terms of fulfilment of provincial development plans (DFID, 2008, p. 22).

It is having in mind the global, national and provincial development trends above described that we will try to analyse coordination of NGOs in the agriculture sector in Ribáuë. The following chapter describes the main findings of the field work. These are mainly based on the interviews, group discussions, review of governmental reports and plans, as well as review of reports and strategic plans of the involved organizations.
6. FINDINGS

The main findings of the present study will be presented in this chapter. The chapter will give a brief description of the district and the organizations included in this study. It will present how coordination looks like in Ribáuè. Finally, it will describe the farmers, their living conditions and their livelihoods strategies. This chapter is more descriptive of the situation that will then be analysed in the following analytical chapter. It is mainly based on the interviews with personnel working in NGOs and project documents of these organizations.

6.1. BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF RIBÁUÈ DISTRICT

Ribáuè district is located in the west of Nampula province. With a total area of 6,292 square meters (8 percent of the total area of the province), it is inhabited by 220,178 inhabitants (4.8 percent of the province). 49 percent of inhabitants are women. In an average, it has 35 persons per square kilometres. About 43.6 percent of the population has between 15 to 64 years (INE, 2011e).

Survey data on household budget 2008/9 and the Census Agro-pecuário 2009/10 show the main characteristics of rural households in the country and in particular Ribáuè. According to these sources, only 1.8 percent of the district population live in a house made by cement or burned bricks. The remaining 98.2 percent live in traditional and precarious houses. Only 1 percent of the houses are covered with concrete slab, tile, sheet or zinc. Most houses are covered with grass. 4 percent of the houses have “conventional” pavement. About 88 percent of the population have no access to potable water. Electricity is supplied for only 3 percent of the population (INE, 2010; INE, 2011a).

The whole district has 8 tractors to assist the farmers in the land preparation. Two belong to farmer associations, 5 to private companies and 1 belongs to the district government (GovRib, 2013a). The district has 37,961 units of agricultural production. Of these, only one is big
exploitation\textsuperscript{21} and the remaining are small and medium. According to the national average presented by the Agricultural Census 2009-10, about 23 percent of farms are families headed by women. 63 percent of these can neither read nor write (INE, 2010; INE, 2011e).

Agriculture is the base of the district development. Tobacco, sunflower seeds, cotton, soya and sesame are the main cash crops. Maize, cassava, beans, peanuts, sorghum, rice, Irish potatoes and horticulture are considered by the PESOD as the main food crops. Industrial activity is composed by one cotton factory, one mineral water factory, 115 millings, 26 carpentries and 5 bakeries (GovRib, 2013). The district is crossed by 2 national and 2 regional roads transitable in almost all months of the year and 46 feeder roads with some problems during the rainy season. In total, the road network has a total of 300 km (Ibid). The district registered the production of 255,675,3 tons of food crops in 2012 against 255,420,62 tons in 2011 (GovRib, 2013a).

As defined in the delimitation chapter, this study was centred on the activities undertaken by three organizations in Ribáuè district. However, there are at least 7 NGOs providing services in the agriculture sector in Ribáuè. Olipa-ODES, Kulima, Fórum Terra, Facilidade, SNV, ORAM and SCIP. Other NGOs provide services in other areas like adult education, water and sanitation, saving and rotative credits. The extent of which these organizations coordinate among them and with the government is discussed in this chapter.

6.2. BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE TARGETED ORGANIZATIONS

The organizations targeted by this study are: ORAM - The Rural Association for Mutual Assistance; OLIPA – ODES – Organization for Sustainable Development and; SCIP - Strategy for Community Integrated Program. The first two are Mozambican Nongovernmental Organizations. The last is a consortium of five American Nongovernmental organizations operating in Mozambique. These fit into the concept of support organizations presented in the delimitation chapter.

\textsuperscript{21} According to INE, small exploitations are those with less than 10 ha. Between 10 to 50 ha are considered meddle size exploitation. The big exploitations are those with more than 50 ha.
6.2.1. ORAM

The Rural Association for Mutual Assistance (ORAM) is a Mozambican NGO founded in 1992. It has a national coverage with delegations in some provinces. Its overall objective is to strengthen the role and capacity of farmer’s strategies to promote sustainable use and ownership of land and natural resources (ORAM, 2012, pp. 4-5)\textsuperscript{22}. ORAM’s mission is to defend the rights and interests of farmers, contributing to associative and community development to ensure ownership and sustainable use of land and natural resources in rural communities (Ibid.).

According to the 2012-2014 three-year plan (ORAM, 2012, pp. 13-14), the Nampula delegation is committed to the following activities: (I) registration of community lands, through delimitation and demarcation to strengthen the right to ownership of land and natural resources of the peasants; (II) Lobby and advocacy for (a) empowerment of rural communities in order to exercise their rights defined by the land law, (b) facilitate relations with government authorities, the private sector and other actors in the use and enjoyment of land and natural resources by the community members; (III) Planning for productive use of land and natural resources as a factor generator of income and wealth to the peasants.

ORAM is operating in Ribáuè district for more than ten years. Presently, it has four technicians allocated to the district.

6.2.2. SCIP

The Strategy for Community Integrated Program (SCIP) is a consortium of five American Non-Governmental Organizations with a five years project (2009 – 2014) designed to increase quality of life at the household and community levels by improving health and nutritional status and advancing household economic viability. The project integrates sexual and reproductive health, maternal and child health, HIV, malaria, water, sanitation and hygiene services, and economic viability activities to maximize resources while providing a broad and effective impact on the population’s overall health and well-being (Pathfinder, 2012), (Xavier, 2013)\textsuperscript{23}. Operating in 14

\textsuperscript{22} All references made from this source were translated from Portuguese to English by the author.

\textsuperscript{23} The consortium includes Pathfinder International, PSI, World Relief, Clusa and Care.
districts of Nampula province, is active in Ribáuè district since 2009 with 18 technicians and a net of 5,517 health volunteers (Xavier, 2013). The project is also promoting the creation of Youth Farmer Clubs and Community Leader’s Councils. Ribáuè is considered an intensive intervention district meaning the districts where the project is operating in all Administrative Posts and providing all activities envisaged by the project.

This project has four main target groups namely the population without access to primary health care, vulnerable woman and youth, orphans and vulnerable children and people living with HIV-AIDS (Xavier, 2013). During its operations in Ribáuè, SCIP has cooperated with OLIPA-ODES, Mozambican Red Cross, the Municipality of Ribáuè and the National Institute of Social Action (INAS), just to mention same examples.

6.2.3. OLIPA - ODES

OLIPA-ODES (organization for sustainable development) was formed in 1999 and registered in 2000 as part of the Group Rural Enterprise Development Program carried out by CLUSA in Nampula Province. Its vision is to improve rural communities' living conditions through the promotion of sustainable farmer organizations (Hivos, 2012).

The objectives of the organisation include promotion of rural socio-economical development through the strengthening of the associative movement, improved access to marketing information and the market itself, and improved food security. Gender equity in the socio-economical development of the communities is another primary objective, and so is the promotion of environmental education and awareness to the farmers associations (Hivos, 2012). Access to market for peasant’s production has always been at the centre of its activities (Guedes, 2013).

OLIPA – ODES is operating in Ribáuè for more than ten years. Initially, was focusing farmer association creation and agriculture extension services. Presently, OLIPA is undertaking two

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24 Seven technical personnel and eleven community agents.
programs in Ribáuè: (1) support to farmer associations within the PROMER\textsuperscript{25} project and water and sanitation under de NAMWASH project in the Ribáuè municipality area (Lino, 2013). Two permanent extension workers, one for each project, are presently working in the district. Additionally, staff based in Nampula provides support for this team. The targeted clients include farmers associations and forums, rural trading and credit associations, and the generality of the rural communities.

6.3. INTERACTION AND COLLABORATION WITH OTHER ENTITIES IN RIBÁUÈ

6.3.1. INTERACTION WITH GOVERNMENT

According to Xavier (2013), the SCIP program is cooperating with district departments of agriculture and economic activities as well as the department of health, woman and social affairs. The cooperation consists mainly of providing to these departments information about SCIPs plans and activities as well as using public extension workers in some sensitization activities. It is also involved in the rehabilitation or construction of health centres.

Xavier (2013) explains also that Government requests for services provided by SCIP to complement their initiatives. Both, SCIP and local government indicate that health department personnel give training to the volunteers and community agents in sessions organized by SCIP. District Department for Planning and Infrastructure had requested SCIP to implement the Community Participation and Education approach (PEC)\textsuperscript{26} in Nachilapa Locality (Abudo, 2013). Regarding OLIPA-ODES, it is important to mention that both programs currently implemented by this in Ribáuè are government owned programs. OLIPA was recruited by the government to provide technical services to the public sector. In this context, is working as service provider to the government, receiving resources from the government and reporting to them at different levels. This particular situation will be object of further analyse in the analysis chapter.

\textsuperscript{25} PROMER is a governmental program designed to promote rural markets in four provinces of northern Mozambique.

\textsuperscript{26} This is one of the approaches used for community sensitization regarding water and sanitation in Mozambique.
6.3.2. INTERACTION WITH PRIVATE SECTOR

Among the contacted support organizations, one is having an ongoing cooperation with private sector – OLIPA-ODES. Under the PROMER project, OLIPA and SNV are strengthening farmer associations and access to market respectively in order to give to the farmer’s better possibilities of increasing their incomes. In this case, OLIPA is supporting the structuring and functioning of peasant association in order to increase their capacity to plan and manage their production that will be sold to Corridor-Agro, a private firm. This complementarity is understood as crucial both by farmers, OLIPA-ODES, Corridor-Agro and Local Government.

6.3.3. INTERACTION WITH OTHER NON GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

The interaction with other NGOs can be characterized by exchange of services, harmonization of intervention services, division of intervention areas and exchange of experiences (Lino, 2013), (Sidónia Barrote, 2013), (Xavier, 2013), (Ribeiro, 2013). Exchange of services is reported as the most significant by different stakeholders. It occurs for instance when OLIPA created or assisted association demands the title of land tenure and OLIPA requests ORAM to provide this service to the association. Depending on the situation, this activity can be done by ORAM with or without costs. ORAM personnel in Ribáuè indicated that several times partner organization channel the demands of their constituencies regarding land issues and legalization of peasant associations to ORAM. They also report to ORAM land related conflicts in order to obtain its intervention (services).

Regarding SCIP, when Youth Farmer Clubs (YFC) needed knowledge about Rotative Saving and Credit, SCIP demands Ophavela to provide this training to YFC (Xavier, 2013). The same happens when the YFC need information about prices and markets and they request these services from OLIPA within PROMER project (Ibid.). On the same way SCIP provides to Ophavela supported groups, training in HIV-AIDS issues (Ibid.).

The service exchange is extended to other projects and organizations. SCIP helped PROMER to distribute soya seeds through Youth Farmer Clubs (Albano, 2013). The exchange of services
includes also the use of other organization’s network. ICAP\textsuperscript{27} for instance, is using SCIPs network to identify persons that for any reasons had abandoned antiretroviral treatment.

According to Lino (2013), harmonization of intervention services was done between OLIPA-ODES and SCIP in the water and sanitation field. As a result of their participation in the provincial water and sanitation thematic network, they agreed to implement integrated programs of water and sanitation\textsuperscript{28} and the implementation of SANTOLIC approach\textsuperscript{29}.

Lino (2013) explains also that to avoid duplication of interventions and to reach isolated areas, OLIPA and SCIP agreed to divide the target groups. Therefore, OLIPA targets those groups who are not covered by SCIP and the other way around.

All the targeted support organizations reported having provided exchange of experiences among their personnel and target groups. Ophavela and SCIP had organized exchange of experiences among their groups. The same happened between SCIP and Akilizetho\textsuperscript{30}.

Despite the ongoing initiatives of cooperation, there is not a formal or official mechanism by which their meet with other organizations at the district level to strategize or define joint and/or complementary activities or interventions. The ongoing reported activities happen sporadically and dependent on the initiative and creativity of the staff at district level. Even though, coordination is recognized by all as necessary and important for sustainable development since the activities and services provided by different support organizations are complementary.

\textsuperscript{27} ICAP is the International Center for AIDS care and Treatment Program. It belongs to the Columbia University, USA.

\textsuperscript{28} In the past, some projects were targeting only water issue without including sanitation issues. According to the interviewed persons, this was identified as a bad practice and organizations in this network decided to combine always water and sanitation issues during their interventions.

\textsuperscript{29} SANTOLIC is the community lead total sanitation. This is an approach that uses choking messages to show the linkage between sanitation and diseases like diarrhea and malaria. The idea is to put people leading the sanitation activities at their communities.

\textsuperscript{30} Akilizetho is a Mozambican NGO working in governance issues and promoting women participation in decision making process. It is not working in Ribáuè but had organized with SCIP an exchange visit in Ribáuè.
6.4. HOW COORDINATION OF NGOs LOOKS LIKE IN RIBÁUÈ

Having into account the above described forms of coordination and collaboration, I concluded that coordination of NGOs in Ribáuè can be described as (1) sporadic, (2) focused on the narrow interests of each organization, and (3) based on service exchange.

Organizations based in Nampula, which define Ribáuè as their intervention area, open a branch or send regularly their personnel to work in Ribáuè. These personnel, following the goals defined for the month, implement their activities and report to the headquarters in Nampula.

There is not a coordination framework at district level that guide this personnel to seek for coordination neither to see what other organizations are doing. Cases of cooperation or any exchange of information at district level are dependent on the creativity and initiatives of each technician at this level. This is also a result of eventual interpersonal relation that they might have established in the district.

Interviewed personnel in Ribáuè reported that they did not have a working meeting with other organizations working in the district in the last 12 months. They meet sporadically in the field.

NGOs are focussed on their narrowed organizational interests. When a specific CBO request a service that they cannot provide, the personnel request other organizations to provide the service. The use of other organizations services is not a negative move per se. What is important to address at this regard is that the cooperation emerging from this is satisfying a particular need of one organization but not addressing collectively a commonly recognized problem.

There are cases where organizations are providing services to the same CBO but they do not meet to discuss the progress of their interventions or to strategise on how the livelihood of the members of that CBO could be improved. The association of producers of Nacololo for instance are benefiting from services provided by SCIP and ORAM. However, these two organizations never meet to discuss how their interventions are contributing for the development of the members of this association.

As presented in the previous section, exchange of services is what represents more the current stage of coordination of NGOs in Ribáuè. The perception of the stakeholders in Ribáuè is that, on one hand, exchanging services allow the intervenient to complement what they are doing at
same time that the “service provider” has control over the implemented activity or services. On the other hand, exchanging services increase the possibilities of specialization and complementarities among NGOs.

From the discussion with the interviewees, I understood specialization as the fact that organizations strengthening internal structures of farmer associations for instance, by being requested to provide services to other farmer associations or other community based associations, will improve their knowledge and capacity to respond to particular characteristics of particular groups. Complementarity means that if an NGO is providing services to other organization’s constituencies and making possible that “her” constituencies receive other services from other organizations, will increase the possibilities of that NGO or program to achieve the results at same time that increases her outreach. The understanding of these organizations is that the most important is the fact that farmers get access to more services necessary to increase their possibilities of a sustainable livelihood.

However, to achieve the level of effective complementarity the exchange of services needs to be more structured in the sense that all stakeholders are aware of the possibilities of coordination as well as the available services from other organizations. The explanations about the reasons that determine the current stage of coordination of NGOs will be presented in the analysis chapter.

6.5. **HOUSEHOLDS IN RIBÁUÈ: HOW PEOPLE THRIVE AND SURVIVE?**

The study of coordination of NGOs included an analysis of how farmers live and sustain their livelihoods. The objective of this approach was to see how an improved coordination could influence the sustainability of livelihoods at local level. Ribáuè is rich in community based organizations. Since 1998 associations and forums of different nature were created from the agriculture to local governance issue. This chapter will describe from the interviews made in Ribáuè, the perception of how farmers live and which strategies they use to sustain their livelihoods.
6.5.1. **DESCRIPTION OF INTERVIEWED FARMERS**

This section describes the farmers in Ribáuè district. This description is entirely based on the interviews conducted in Ribáuè during the field work\(^{31}\). At least, 52 of the interviewed persons during this study had farming as their main economic activity. A significant part of other interviewed in the district, even having other economic activities, farming was an important part of their subsistence. Only two interviewed in the district (Mr. Lino and Mr. Chilengue) are big farmers with fields of more than 5 hectares. Some interviewed farmers live near the market centres of Namiconha and Iapala. Others live in remote areas like Nacololo. Regarding the crops they produce, there are those who produce basically food crops for subsistence from which, according to them, a significant part is also sold for cash income. From times to times, they also produce some soya and sesame as cash crops when a specific company requests. And, there are those who produce tobacco or cotton to some companies and that have also other fields for food production.

These are individual or farmer association members. Farmer associations are perceived by the interviewed farmers to be learning points both for the members and general population. Those who are members, highlight access to seeds, new production techniques, and access to market and learning point for general topics like gender equality, HIV-AIDS, nutrition and sanitation as main advantages of belonging to a farmer association. Those who are not members recognized those advantages but generally indicate that associations are sources of internal disputes and sometimes unequal distribution of resources and opportunities. Very often, the interviewed farmers who are not members of farmer associations indicate willingness to create their own association.

In general, contacted farmers for this study are small scale farmers which families have four to eight members. According to them, almost all family members take part in the production activities including children. They have in general more than one and less than five fields (machambas). The size of the fields is mainly of 1.5 to 2 hectares in total. During the interviews, it was possible to find out that the distance to the production fields vary in general from 30

\(^{31}\) The author’s previous knowledge or specific conclusions made from the data collected during the interviews will be specifically pointed out as the authors previous knowledge or understanding.
minutes to 2 hours (one way). The bigger areas are often located far from the houses. During some seasons, farmers stay about a week away from home to save time and energy. They perceive the possession of their lands as secure and do not feel threatened to lose, although they do not have titles of land tenure. Some household members of farmers associations have their plots in community delimited lands. This does not happen in the majority of those who are not members of farmers associations since this process is promoted by NGOs to associations and other groups with whom they work.

The interviewed farmers have houses made from raw bricks or sticks and sand. The roofs are covered by grass. The doors are made in wood or bamboo and rarely have windows. The farmers perceive their houses as safe and enough for the family. They have access to domestic water in “short distances” (less than 20 minutes walking – one way). Fire woods, grain mill, roads and mobile phone networks are also available. Some farmers have access to production water in a limited period, from February to August. Although water for production potentially exists, their lack means to use this for irrigation. In general they lack transport for their production, electricity, and animal and/or mechanized traction for agriculture activities.

The farmers produce a variety of crops. There is not a main cash crop for these farmers since it varies from one year to another depending on the need of the market. Some years there is a huge demand of sesame, other years of Buere Bens.

Maize, cassava, different kinds of beans, sorghum and peanuts are reported by farmers to be the main food crops. Sometimes, these are also used to generate cash when they perceive to have surplus or when they need cash even if there is no surplus. Horticultures like carrots, cabbage, tomatoes, paprika, onions, Irish potatoes and garlic are indicated as important cash crops. Those are sold mainly at local market to local traders who come and pick the products in the “machambas”, to passengers using the train or to some traders based in the markets of Namiconha and Iapala.

They mentioned that the fields in the surroundings of the households are reserved for children and elderly.

Delimitation is a process by which the community defines the boundaries of their land and gets a certificate of land tenure from the government following the Mozambican Land Law procedures.
Tobacco, cotton, soya and sesame are some cash crops that farmers produce to specific companies or traders that promote these crops. So far, Corridor-Agro buys Soya and sesame, OLAM buys cotton and SONIL buys tobacco.

The farmers indicate that they are capable of cultivating their lands, of using fertilizers, of protecting the harvest to avoid plagues, of applying new agriculture techniques like line planting and conservation agriculture. These capabilities are seemingly higher within those who are members of associations than on those who are not. They do not see themselves with enough capacity to elaborate good projects to have access to district development funds. They also see themselves as lacking capacity to add value to their production, to negotiate with government or private sector regarding prices, protection of land and natural resources, to have access to the taxes of natural resources exploitation or to make any kind of complaint regarding the quality of public services provided to them.

There is not a pattern of access to services that can be applied to all contacted small scale farmers. Very few have access to public extension services. Some have access to adult education programs provided by NGOs but other has not. The kind of services they have access and their perceived capabilities are mainly dependent on the private sector or civil society organizations that are directly linked with them. At this regard, it’s important to mention that the public extension services have only five extension workers for the all district. Four of them have motorbikes and one uses a bicycle. According to the interviewed extension workers, when they have a motorbike can assist up to 500 production unities. Using bicycles can assist up to 200 production unities. According to these estimations, in the best of the scenarios, they can assist up to 2300 units (this is coverage of only 6.05 percent of the production units). However, including the extension services from the private sector and NGOs, the district reported 61 extension workers in 2012 (GovRib, 2013, p. 5).

Access to credits for small scale farmers in Ribáuè is limited. In the saving and rotative credit system developed by Ophavela, they can have access to some king of credit provided by the members of the group. However, it is limited to the available amount in the save. Other farmer can have access to credit in kind mainly provided by the companies promoting cash crop production (cotton, tobacco, and soya). The district development funds are perceived to be highly politicized and therefore allocated mainly to members of the ruling party or relatives of the
members of consultative councils. Credits from commercial banks are perceived to be inaccessible for an ordinary farmer since they lack guarantees to have a loan.

Combining the information provided by the farmers and my observations during the study, I come to the conclusion that two main livelihood strategies seem to be dominant as options for farmers in Ribáuè: (1) agriculture extensification and (2) livelihood diversification. Those who have capacity, increase the size of the field where they produce the perceived most important cash crop. They do so expanding the area they have, or moving to more remote areas where the land is available, and often using extra labour force during the overturning.

Apart from agriculture, some farmers develop other activities like small business, mainly, during commercialization period. Traditional beer, salt, sugar, cigarettes, domestic utensils are the most common goods traded by small scale farmers. In some cases, they explore natural resources like grass, bamboo and sticks and sell in the neighbouring villages. Some farmers are also artisans and produce wood doors, windows, chair and tables, traditional mat making, and sieves. In some cases, they also offer their labour force to other persons, in a practice commonly known by “ganho-ganho”. The financial contribution of these additional activities is considered by farmers as just complementary since farming continues to be the main source for their subsistence.

Interviewed households, extension workers and representatives of NGOs raised the following as the main challenges faced by peasants in Ribáuè:

a) Low prices of food and cash crops at the local market
The prices of food and cash crops produced by farmers in Ribáuè are perceived by this as very low. When describing the commercialization process, they use expressions like “the traders come and steal our products” or “the traders come and take our products almost for free”.

The government is trying to bring together the traders and the farmers to define minimum platform prices that can be reasonable for all parts. However, this does not seem to be an easy task in the context of free market and liberalization of the economy.

b) Scale adulteration
The general perception of the farmers is that the scales are adulterated by the traders to cheat the farmers. Farmers cannot afford to have their own scales because are perceived to be expensive.
In the other hand, regulation bodies do not supervise the accuracy of the scales. This situation is perceived as worsening the prices traders pay for the farmer’s products.

c) Dependence on monopsonist local traders for sesame, tobacco and cotton

Cotton and tobacco production in Mozambique is organized in concessions. According to the district director of agriculture and economic activities, the point of departure is that on one hand, these crops request high level of agriculture inputs that farmers cannot afford to pay. On the other hand, farmers need guaranties that if they produce these crops, they will be purchased by someone. Since these are not eatable crops, these guaranties are fundamental for farmers to engage in. However, companies providing agriculture inputs argue that if the market is open, farmers will use inputs from one company to produce tobacco or cotton that will be sold to other companies. To solve this dilemma, the government decided to give concessions to companies to promote production of these crops. Therefore, none company can buy tobacco or cotton produced in an area where he has not a concession.

According to tobacco and cotton producers interviewed during this study, this approach is putting the farmers trapped by the concessionaries that will always pay the lower prices. Farmers will also be dependent on the company’s classification of the tobacco or cotton affecting their incomes. Again, according to the interviewed farmers, concessional companies will deliberately classify high quality tobacco or cotton as middle or bad quality in order to pay to the farmers the lowest prices. Not having option on where to sell neither having option to eat, farmers end up selling their production to the only existing company in the region. When describing their relationship with concessionary companies, farmers say that “we are not trading with them. We are working for them”. They all expressed willingness to abandon tobacco and cotton production but have no option to engage in other cash crops. The main reason presented by farmer for not engaging in other crops is the uncertainty of the market and prices.

From the interviews with public extension workers and representative of Corridor Agro, it was possible to find out that the same practice of concessions is now applied for the soya and sesame in Ribáuè. So far, it is not perceived as problematic by farmers since the concessional company (Corridor-Agro) is still having good reputation among the farmers. Corridor-Agro is operating under the PROMER project, a governmental initiative implemented in Ribáuè by a consortium of nongovernmental organizations and private sector that includes SNV, Watafe and Corridor-Agro.
From what I could understand, most of the challenges presented in this chapter are related with the market and the role that government should play to “regulate” the market or to “protect” the farmers. My understanding is that, on one hand, these demands are difficult to be handled by the government within an open and liberal market presently in place in Mozambique as a result of the introduction of market reforms in the end of the 1980s by imposition of IMF and the World Bank. However, on the other hand, the government still plays a regulatory role providing licenses to companies and facilitating the process of definition of the boundaries for prices of cotton and tobacco in consultation with the farmers and the traders. This seems to be the only sphere where government could play a significant role cancelling the concession or changing concessionary companies.
7. **ANALYSIS**

This chapter will present the conclusions resulting to the use of the analytical framework already presented in the chapter 3. It starts with the discussion of the contextual, organizational and structural factors that can help to understand the current deficient coordination of NGOs at local level.

Throughout the chapter, the research questions are discussed and linkages between the findings and the global, national and local contexts are made. The content of this chapter will inform the conclusions and recommendations presented in the chapter 8.

7.1. **CONTEXTUAL, ORGANIZATIONAL AND STRUCTURAL FACTORS EXPLAINING THE DEFICIENT NGOs COORDINATION IN RIBÁUÈ**

7.1.1. **CONTEXTUAL FACTORS**
Coordination of NGOs in Ribáuè is weak despite the existence of a positive socio political context for they intervention and a perceived positive contribution of their work for local development. The most significant contextual factor affecting their coordination is the absence of a coordination framework defined by the NGOs themselves.

Ribáuè district is traditionally attractive to NGOs. The existence of potential for agriculture development has attracted several organizations to operate in the district. Since 1994 organizations like CLUSA, OLIPA-ODES, Concern Universal, Facilidade, ORAM, IKURU, Fórum Terra, SCIP, ADAP-SF, SALAMA, Ophavela, CARE, Watafe and others have been active in the district providing services in the land, agriculture, micro-finance and governance fields.

With the political reforms introduced by the Mozambican government in the early 90s, there is room from NGO intervention in Mozambique in a variety of fields including the promotion of agriculture productivity. The intervention of NGOs in the agriculture thematic sector is done in a very open atmosphere, without significant barriers from the government. It can also be said that
NGOs are widely accepted by the government because they represent additional source of resources for poverty alleviation.

There is also a long tradition of NGO’s intervention in the development process. Farmers, private sector and the government are used to deal and cooperate with nongovernmental organizations experimenting from times to times, cases of cooperation. Some big forums of farmer associations like Forum 1º de Maio and Forum de Mavile, had received combined intervention from Facilidade, OLIPA-ODES and district government for instance, developing their infrastructure and linkages to Market. Nowadays, these forums have warehouses, tractors, animal traction and contracts with some traders or programs buying farmers production. This long tradition, potentialities in agriculture combined with some success stories are encouraging other civil society to operate in the district but at same time, encouraging the government to be open to more initiatives from other actors.

The context is also favourable for NGOs intervention and coordination because there is a perceived relevant contribution for people’s livelihoods. The actions they undertake do not undermine development. The three organizations targeted in this study, provide (all together) services concerning: a) introduction of new agriculture techniques; b) land delimitation and tenure; c) access to water, hygiene and sanitation; d) access to markets for agriculture production; e) awareness about HIV-AIDS, assistance to orphans and vulnerable children, and gender equality; and f) structuring farmers associations and improving its internal accountability systems.

With the provided information about markets in Ribáuè, prices of the main crops, farmer’s rights, planning and negotiation skills, associations and individual farmers are provided with bigger and better basket of choices for agriculture. It is not solving yet the main agriculture problems in Ribáuè but it is potentially enhancing farmer’s capabilities for subsistence. Considering that the support organizations part of this study are contributing to secure rights to land and other natural resources, secure inheritance of land for women and children by disseminating the land low, contributing to access to primary care health services, they are potentially contributing to improvement of equity among the households.
However, NGOs coordination is affected by lack of a coordination framework at the district level. As presented in the introduction chapter, CSOs have created a coordination platform (the PCSP). Nevertheless, this platform did not defined yet how coordination should look like at district level. If, at one hand, one can say that this is due to structural reasons (that we will discuss late), it can also be said that it is a result of delays in translating into the practice, the objectives defined at provincial level.

7.1.2. ORGANIZATIONAL FACTORS

Competition over constituencies, conflicts about incentive systems and, rotativity of personnel are also contributing to deficient coordination of NGOs in Ribáuè.

Competition over constituencies is the same as what Brown and Kalegaonkar (1999: 3) called restricted focus. OLIPA-ODES is creating and supporting farmers associations. ORAM is creating and supporting G9 groups also known as Natural Resources Management Committees\(^{34}\). SCIP is creating and supporting Youth Farmer Clubs (YFCs). YFCs are perceived as an investment in future generation of farmers who are motivated to use improved farming techniques, and integrate orphans and vulnerable children into an existing support network. SCIP provides training to YFC members on improved conservation farming techniques and food handling, use, and storage (Pathfinder, 2012).

At same time, is creating and supporting Local Leaders Committees at the Locality level where Consultative Councils already exist. The creation of these Community Leaders Committees (CLCs) is considered by SCIP as the fulfilment of the ongoing decentralization policy in Mozambique. CLCs engage representatives from important stakeholder groups (e.g., civic, religious, and traditional leaders, government community health workers, and traditional birth attendants) so they become more deeply involved in improving quality of life and health care in their communities (Pathfinder, 2012). SCIP has strengthened or supported the establishment of 902 CLCs (Ibid.).

\(^{34}\) ITC, The Community Land Initiative is requesting ORAM in Nampula to create new groups, different from G9, with the same tasks and responsibilities that G9 have.
These particularisms that in some cases are justified by the necessity to address specific needs, in other cases, represent duplication of efforts and competition over constituencies. Some interviewed representatives of civil society organizations admitted that in some cases it represents only a way of competition with other organizations instead of building up bases for complementarity of services to the same target group. In practice, members of all these local institutions are farmers. The focus on the organizational own constituency can blind NGOs and impede them to build a wide view of the problems and solutions.

The turnover of development professionals is also one of the factors that contribute to the explanation of NGOs deficient coordination in Ribáuè district. Interventions of developmental nongovernmental organizations had contributed to create a certain pool of development professional. It includes well trained and experimented extension workers, program officers and managers. These professionals very often move from one project to another in the same or different district breaking the relation and sometimes loyalties that had been established with farmers and farmers association. The new coming professional will have to rebuild his network and loyalty and it takes time and does not always work.

NGOs coordination in Ribáuè is also affected by different timing of intervention and short time intervention programs. OLIPA-PROMER project is designed for the period of 2010 – 2015. ORAM program is designed for 2012 to 2014. SCIP project designed for the period of 2009 to 2014. If we include the intervention timeframe of other organizations active in the agriculture and other sector, these discrepancies will be even worse.

This lead to a situation that organizations meet in a point that they are having different kinds and levels of pressure from their donors. As a consequence, they might have different priorities or might give different importance for cooperation in the certain point in time. On the other hand, some organizations or programs are new in the district while others are there for long time. As a consequence, they might have different knowledge’s and experiences of working in the district. Therefore, what seems to be important for some organizations can be perceived as useless by other organizations.
Short time contracts or projects are also identified as obstacles for cooperation. The contacted organizations are running projects or programs of 3 to 5 years\textsuperscript{35}. None of them is sure if the project is going to continue after the end of the project period. Most of the times, the continuation is not conditioned by the capacity to understand and adapt with the lessons learned in the process but by the capacity to show results within the agreed result chain. The pressure to present quick results is high. Contacted professionals perception is that results are on top of the condition for the project continuation. This perception leads to the fact that professionals of development working with support organizations put more efforts on the achievement of results rather than on sustainability of the results and processes.

Another factor that affected deficient coordination is the bad experience of past joint interventions. ORAM and OLIPA-ODES had experimented consortium interventions in the past in Ribáuè but also in other districts. The interviewed persons for this study are not happy with past experiences of consortium projects. They mention different organizational culture, articulation, accountability, accomplishment with reporting times and frames as the main obstacles they have faced. Therefore, they are not so positive with interventions that look like consortiums.

Forms of incentives are also identified as obstacles for coordination (Lino, 2013), (Razulo, 2013), (Ribeiro, 2013). NGOs work often with voluntary individuals or community organizations used to be role models, animators, focal points or activists at community level. Contacted organizations admitted that they or likeminded organizations provide different kind of incentives to these individuals or organizations. T-shirts, perdiems, latrine covers, are some of the incentives provided to some volunteers. Among the interviewed NGOs personnel, there is no consensus about the relevance or the dangerousness of these incentives. Some perceive that these incentives are a form of recognition of the contribution that the volunteers are providing. Others perceive the incentives as stimulating competition among NGOs while others see the incentives as affecting the mindset of the volunteers in a way that they perceive the incentives as payment. In this last view, the perception is that the volunteers are not doing things because they believe that should do but because they expect to receive incentives. NGO’s representatives admitted

\textsuperscript{35} PROMER (2010 – 2015), SCIP (2009 – 2014) and ORAM (2012 - 2014)
that it have been a matter of controversy or discussions that might end up discouraging organization to cooperate.

It is also important to point out some differences in approaches that may affect the vision about building synergies and promoting coordination. None of the interviewed organization working in the agriculture sector in Ribáuè expressed that is using Sustainable Rural Livelihood as their intervention approach. During the interviews, these words were not expressed at all. The program documents of these organizations do not mention this as the intervention approach. However, while discussing the five capitals and its importance for sustainable development, professional of the different organizations recognize that households can be sustainable if they enlarge their five asset base.

The programs and projects mention to value chain approach, demand approach and integrated program approach. The value chain approach is a pro market approach designed to develop interventions from the production to commercialization solving eventual barriers in between such as transport, storage and processing. The demand approach is a development approach which focus is to give response to the demands of the poor. In this approach, the most important are the expressed priorities of the poor not necessarily the vision of the development professionals about what will make the poor sustainable. The integrated program approach used by SCIP is grounded in Pathfinder’s Integrated Systems Strengthening (ISS) model (Pathfinder, 2012). The model illustrates Pathfinder’s approach to systems strengthening, which recognizes community and health systems as interdependent and focuses efforts on the “zone of interaction,” where diverse community actors meet and interact with the health system (Ibid.). Yet according to Pathfinder (2012), activities that strengthen this zone of interaction serve six key functions: community empowerment and self-reliance; organizational strengthening; governance and leadership; community networking and advocacy; service delivery; evidence-based decision making; and resources for health.

The structural factors affecting coordination of NGOs will be presented in the following section.
7.1.3. **Structural Factors**

Dependence on donors is the main structural factor that constrains coordination of NGOs at district level since this influence the kind of activities implemented at local level, frames the intervention methodology and makes it impossible for NGOs to make long term commitment in terms of funds and time-frame.

The three organizations or programs in the centre of this study (OLIPA-ODES, CLUSA and ORAM) are operating with donor funds and are not in position to continue operations if the donors terminate the financial support. This situation has been the same in the past and affects also all civil society support organizations operating in the district.

The dependence on donor funding is not a matter of resources only. Since most of the donors are governments, in their relationship with the Mozambican government, they might use the channel of the NGOs to achieve their interests in the relation with de Mozambican government. The risk of this dependence is that instead of providing the most essential services for local development they might be doing what the donors define as “important”.

On the other hand, professionals in the support organizations might be engaged to fulfil the donor requirements than to establish a long term relationship with the processes, persons and entities they are working with. Attained to the project result chain, they need to show results to the donors in order to see their project continuing. According to the interviewed managers of civil society organizations and programs, accomplishment of the goals established in the result chain is much more important for project continuation than the establishment of a sound and long term relationship with the farmers.

With the short term projects stimulated by donors, NGOs cannot commit with other stakeholders neither in terms of resources, neither in terms of time to achieve a long term development objective. What is more, there is a constant change in “donor’s fashions”. In the last ten years, most of donors had changed from local development to HIV-AIDS and Gender, from these to good governance and now to monitoring the extractive industry.
7.2. EMERGING CHALLENGES FOR NGOs

One of the emerging challenges for civil society organizations in Ribáuè district can be what Brown and Kalegaonkar (1999: 6) calls Market Relation. A very interesting case in ongoing in Ribáuè where NGOs such as SNV, OLIPA-ODES and Watafe are part of a consortium that is implementing the PROMER project. The project is governmental owned, implemented by civil society organization with a private sector company (Corridor-Agro) playing important role. PROMER is promoting agriculture markets for small scale farmers. OLIPA-ODES create and support farmer organizations to increase their productivity. Watafe implements adult education programs in order to improve the farmer’s capacities to plan, produce and sell their products. Corridor-Agro buys farmers surplus and sell to other markets. SNV links Corridor-Agro to better markets for farmer’s production.

From the livelihood perspective this is a very important approach since brings together a variety of services that are complementary and can expand the capital of the poor. What is expected is that at the end of the day, farmers will have better access to market for their production contributing for more incomes and better living conditions. So far, farmers are happy with this collaboration since they perceive this platform as providing secure and profitable market for their production.

However, according to Brown and Kalegaonkar (1999: 6), although this kind of collaboration can make resources available for civil society organizations, cooperation with market can be double-edged. Expanding and improving programs with market entities is undertaken at the risk of becoming co-opted to market interests (ibid). It is important to mention that so far, PROMER is not totally financed by private sector. IFAD contributing with 31.135 millions USD, AGRA with 3.500 millions USD, Mozambican government with 2.861 millions USD, the European Union with 1.263 millions USD and the beneficiaries with 3.050 millions USD are the main contributors (Ministério Administração Estatal, 2009).

It is important to reflect upon the relation between these organizations involved in the consortium and the government. Civil society organizations are believed to advocate and protect the interests of the poor against potential abuses of the market forces and those who exercise political power. Following the above mentioned logic, it can be said that in the Mozambican
socio political context characterized by a significant level of public sphere politicization, receiving financial resources from the government can potentially undermine the capacity of civil society organizations to make the government accountable and to advocate in the interest of the poor.

7.3. HOW COULD COORDINATION OF NGOs IN NAMPULA BE IMPROVED AND CONTRIBUTE TO BUILD UP THE ASSET BASE OF THE POOR?

This section will discuss possibilities of improving coordination among NGOs having into account all the factors described above and the context analysis. The table 1 below summarises the opportunities and obstacles for coordination identified during this study using the analytical framework presented in chapter 3. The opportunities and obstacles hereby presented are merely illustrative. The effects of the use of the framework to explain the contextual, organizational and structural factor affecting civil society intervention were already presented throughout this chapter. The illustration of the opportunities and obstacles aims to clarify the coordination path proposed in this section.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STEPS</th>
<th>OPPORTUNITIES</th>
<th>OBSTACLES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Analyse of people’s situation and key leverage points</td>
<td>Existence of a Provincial Civil Society Platform</td>
<td>NGOs come and go anytime. Sometimes are more, other times are less. Their existence in the district is unpredictable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Agreements among stakeholders on the desired outcomes</td>
<td>Ongoing service exchange experiences</td>
<td>Bad experiences of joint interventions in the past. Lack of commitment on time and resources Discontinuity of organization’s activities Frequent changes in the activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STEPS</td>
<td>OPPORTUNITIES</td>
<td>OBSTACLES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Clarification of</td>
<td>Studies and researches regularly undertaken by the PCSP</td>
<td>Not identified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>operational context</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Decision about the</td>
<td>Existence of a Provincial Strategic Plan (PSP) defining the</td>
<td>Dependence on donors that can impose their views about</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nature of interventions</td>
<td>priorities for the province.</td>
<td>the priorities for development.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Existence of the PCSP that can influence the PSP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The existence of the PCSP and positive experiences of service exchange are the most relevant opportunities from which coordination could be build upon. Dependence on donors appear to be the main factor explaining other obstacles identified in the table above.

Having into consideration the current forms of collaboration, the challenges faced in the relation with other organizations, the global, national and local context and, the contextual, organizational and structural factors affecting the interaction between NGOs, coordination of civil society in the province could follow the following stages:

1) At provincial level, within the framework of the Provincial Civil Society Platform, member organizations should agree on key priorities for sustainable development of poor households. Surveys and other studies undertaken by the PCSP could inform the stakeholders about the priorities. However, the definitions of priorities should not mean only the services that civil society should provide to the poor. It should include activities that civil society should undertake to influence socio-political structures and processes at provincial and district level, in order that they work in the favour of the poor. The use of the Sustainable Rural Livelihood approach is one option because knowing these assets and the different strategies people use to flourish, can help to identify priorities for policy and for other interventions that can expand people’s assets. However, local actor may well define in the appropriate time, the most adequate way of doing so.
2) Based on these priorities, sector thematic networks should agree on key strategic interventions to address the defined priorities. According to territorial clusters (meaning the regions or districts where the organizations are working together) member organizations could agree on entry points for service exchange. This arrangement is based on the assumption that by information sharing, member organizations of a sector thematic network will have all necessary information about where and how other member organizations are operating in the province. The operationalization of this approach should avoid creating new entities. It should be done within the ongoing structure and experience of the PCSP and its sector thematic networks.

3) At district level, the base for coordination could be exchange of services. Expanding past and current experiences, civil society organizations could exchange services that enable to households to expand their capital assets and influence socio-political structures and processes to favour the poor. The key priorities defined at stage 1 should guide this cooperation. However, having into account the household’s capabilities and challenges, this form of coordination should enable farmers to have (1) increased capabilities to agriculture extensification and livelihood diversification and (2) increase capacity to voice and exercise their political rights. Agriculture extensification and livelihood diversification were identified as the main strategies for household subsistence at district level. It seems to be important to led the farmers to develop themselves from the current strategies and not “force them” to introduce new strategies. Voicing and exercising political rights are crucial for sustainable development. Bebbington (1999, p. 2034) paraphrasing Amartya Sen says that perhaps more important is that these capabilities enhance people’s ability to be agents of change. They enhance people’s ability to question, challenge, propose and ultimately usher in new ways of doing things. In this process, it is important for civil society organizations to allow that farmers represent themselves in the voicing process and avoid to be “constantly” representing their feelings and thoughts.

In the process of searching for a coordination framework, attention should be paid to the role of donors. As presented in the global trends of development chapter, there is a set of thinking that shapes donor support to civil society in Mozambique. On the other side, recent studies identified that one of the constraints of civil society intervention is its dependence on donor funds. This
situation can potentially put NGOs in Nampula in a trap if they are not able to define their clear vision about sustainable development for the province (or even for the country). Using a realism paradigm approach, it can be said that the risk of civil society interventions being captured by government and private interests in the host country has the same effects for the poor as the risk of CSOs being captured by the donors.

The need for a clear position of NGOs in their relation with donors is also justified by the fact that civil society seems to be still the weakest part of the power relation in Mozambique. In a recent study about power relations between elites in Mozambique in a context of donor dependence, Macuane (2012, p. 36) concluded that the political elite in Mozambique is the driving force on the decision making process and have been able to accommodate the interests of donors, the bureaucracy, civil society and the emerging economic elite. He explains also that despite dependence on donors, and the opposition from FMI, the political elite have been able to change the cashew law allowing that part of the national production is processed internally instead of exporting as raw material. At same time, have been able to keep the land as state propriety instead of privatizing it; to continue distributing loams at district level (the 7 million fund) and to continue with the open presidency (presidência aberta) despite criticism from donors (Ibid).

Support from the donor to the country is not tension free. It had been recognized for instance that SIDA’s country strategy does not provide a clear explanation about why certain activities are supported instead of others (Wuyts, et al., 2007, p. 18). Even when the objectives are clear, the documents do not explain how the envisaged activities have to be implemented. Moreover, there is also a role that institutional routines might play and divert the implementation of certain objectives. These routines can lead to inflexibility in response to new conditions (Ibid. p. 19).

The tensions regarding donors and CSOs in Mozambique can also be found in the definition of priorities and in the coordination issues. Not all donors will potentially be interested in coordination. Some have a traditionally more open and cooperative approach than others and their interests will determine the kind of approach to the country. On the other hand, there are “fashions” in development cooperation. In the Mozambican case, the fashions moved from absolute poverty to HIV-AIDS, from gender to good governance and now, to monitor the
extractive industry. CSOs must be aware of these trends and establish a cooperative platform that does not distract to the main objective: development as capabilities.

Finally, it is important for CSOs in Nampula to pay attention to institutional demands for the establishment of a PCSP. Although the PCSP is an informal structure it will face all institutional challenges. Institutions function following certain patterns of procedures and bureaucratic synchronization. The way of doing things, the internal decision making process combined with the way objectives are stated and translated into a day-to-day life, contribute to the setup of institutional culture that will always contribute to policy formulation and implementation. In this regard, what matters is not only the subject of decision but the way this decision have to be made and the way all relevant actors are included.

PSCP is run by individuals with certain interests and values. The values and interests of influential individuals in a certain institution can shape or influence the institutional culture. On the other side, while established, institutions will try to preserve their relevance and the need to survival of the institution in a society can also influence their position in a decision making process. The PSCP have the challenge to develop an institutional culture that portrays the values of democracy, good governance and sustainable development that is fighting for.
8. Conclusions and Recommendations

Based on the findings and the analysis made in the previous two chapters, the conclusions of the present study are summarised in this chapter in the following terms:

i. The current stage of coordination of NGOs at district level is partly resulting from the fact that past experiences of consortiums did not provide good practices to be continued. Problems of different organizational cultures, reporting mechanisms, intervention approaches, influenced or not by their donors, did not encourage NGOs to seek for joint interventions.

ii. Coordination of NGOs was not strengthened at district level partly because the PSCP did not define how coordination should look like at this level. Even recognizing that this is an ongoing process, it is important that the PCSP reflect upon on how coordination should be and how they could increase complementarity among their different interventions.

iii. Meeting at district level in different stages of development provided so far, different perceptions about context and priorities of NGOs interventions. This does not seem to be an easy task to address since organizations come and go depending on the availability of resources. However, the PCSP could establish a database that could inform other organizations about the structural, organizational and contextual factors prevailing in each district and in the province in general.

iv. The socio-political context from the global to the local level is favourable for NGO’s intervention in Ribáuè. The predominant liberal paradigm and the perceived creativity and willingness of NGOs to reach the poor and to address their problems are positive factor for their interventions.

v. However, NGOs should struggle to find their clear agenda and avoid the perceived image of being simple service providers of donors. There are no evidences that NGOs are implementing what they decide as more important to improve the living conditions of the poor. So far, it seems that their activities are defined by the packages that donors provide.

vi. The quality and outreach of NGO’s coordination is essentially dependent on the kind of relations that they will establish with the donors. Dependence on multiple donors, with different priorities, following different fashions, made difficult for CSOs to define
coordinated interventions. There are no evidences that all donors are willing to coordinate their activities with others. The challenge for the CSOs is to be able to establish, within the PCSP, a platform of dialogue with the donors that can allow that financial support is given to priority areas identified by the NGOs in their interaction with the government, private sector and CBOs.

vii. Based on the current situation, coordination of NGOs could be build up from information sharing and service exchange. The PSCP is a good platform of information sharing. From this, could be possible for any organization to know what is going on in any district, which organizations are active and which services they provide. Current experiences suggest that exchange of services is a good entry point to strengthen coordination among NGOs and other CSOs. Experimenting this approach could build trust among NGOs and from that, develop other forms of coordination.

This study does not provide all answers about the coordination of NGOs. More so, the findings are based on the perceptions and understanding mainly from the NGOs themselves. It would be important for future studies to address this question to the donors and explore more their perceptions about the topic. That approach would provide more information for future academic debate regarding coordination of NGOs and other civil society organizations.
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## ANNEX 1. LIST OF INTERVIEWED PERSONS

### Nampula

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<th>Date</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Entity</th>
<th>Responsibility</th>
<th>Gender</th>
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<tr>
<td>04.04.13</td>
<td>Joaquim Tomás</td>
<td>Provincial Department of Agriculture</td>
<td>Agro technology Official</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lucas Muidingue</td>
<td></td>
<td>Monitoring and Evaluation Official</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ramos Angelo</td>
<td>Provincial Department of Public Infrastructure and Housing</td>
<td>AIAS Provincial Delegate</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
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ANNEX 2 A: GUIDE OF QUESTIONS TO FARMERS

1. How do you describe your day-to-day life?
2. Are you member of any association? Why?
3. What you do to sustain your live and your family?
4. Where your subsistence does comes from? From the land, water, bush, hunting? Provide quantities when possible.
5. How do you have access to cash (from your production, support from family members, credit, donations, etc)?
6. In cases of bad harvest, hazards, hunger, where and how do you get support? (Relatives, members of your association, local church, NGOs, government…)
7. How many members your family has?
8. How your house looks like
9. Which infra structures you has available (roads, transport, electricity, telephone, animal traction, tractors, grain mill, etc.)
10. Which organizations (government, NGOs, private sector) support your activities or provide services in your community? (What they do and since when).
11. What are you capable to do within you field of work? (Find answers about agriculture techniques, trade, processing, negotiation with other entities, etc.)
12. How is your relation with the government, the private sector and the NGOs?
13. What are the main problems you face individually or in your community in general?

ANNEX 2 B: GUIDE OF QUESTIONS TO NGOs

1. How do you describe your organization
2. Which are the main activities you provide to farmers?
3. Apart from what you are providing, what are the most demanded activities?
4. How coordination with other organization looks like (with the government, other NGOs and the private sector)?
5. How do you perceive your contribution to achievement of other organizations/entity’s objectives?
6. What are the main challenges you face in the relationship with other organizations?
7. How do challenges could be overcome?

MAIN QUESTION FOR THE DISCUSSION ABOUT COORDINATION FRAMEWORK

The IDL group proposes the following path that organizations should follow in order to contribute for sustainable livelihoods for poor people:

First: organizations should analyze how people thrive and survive and identify key opportunities/leverage points.

Second: they should attain agreement among key stakeholders on the desired outcome.

Third: clarify the operational context and development factors that determine what is feasible and help to identify the best entry points.

Fourth: decide on the nature of the intervention, the most appropriate cooperative intervention.

- In the Nampula development context, which opportunities and constrains can we identify in each of the above stages?
- How coordination should look like?