Master Thesis

Bridging the Gaps

A Field Study on the Impact of Societal Gaps on Livelihoods in Lichinga Municipality, Mozambique

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Abstract

This study was performed in the spring of 2016 in the Lichinga municipality in northern Mozambique, as a part of the Master Programme in Peace and Development Work at Linnaeus University in Växjo, Sweden.

The agricultural dynamics within Mozambique point to the need for this sector to be the cornerstone of development, since 80% of the population is employed in the agricultural sector yet only making up a quarter of the country’s GDP. The existing disparity of growth experienced by urban, semi-urban, and rural areas creates a need to inspect the nation’s agricultural strategy PEDSA; which prioritizes areas with the most potential for commercialization of the industry. Thus, a far overdue need for the involvement of participatory processes as well as need for a focus on the local level provokes the importance of looking at the possibilities and challenges for households in Lichinga Municipality to improve their livelihoods. The aim with this qualitative research is to present a holistic view of Mozambican society to identify possible gaps that are influencing households, with the use of the Carney (1998) Sustainable Rural Livelihoods Framework.

Throughout this study it was evident that several obstacles exist for achieving sustainable development. In particular the most rural households struggle to gain access to basic infrastructure, health, and education – all services intended to be provided by the public sector. The reason for this gap in services is in the overarching structures and policies, such as decentralization and agricultural strategies, both past and current. The overall wellbeing of households is affected by their requirement for constant prioritization of immediate needs. This hinders sustainable development within households and on a national level, due to the amount of the population living this reality.

Keywords: Mozambique, Lichinga Municipality, Sustainable Rural Livelihoods, Households, Gaps
Acknowledgement

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May 30, 2016, Växjö
# Table of Content

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations ............................................................... 1  
List of Portuguese Words ............................................................................. 2  
List of Figure ................................................................................................. 3  

1 Introduction ................................................................................................. 4  
   1.1 Research Topic ................................................................................... 4  
   1.2 Research Problem ............................................................................. 4  
   1.3 Research Relevance and Objective .................................................... 5  
   1.4 Research Questions .......................................................................... 6  
   1.5 Methodological and Analytical Research Framework ....................... 6  
   1.6 Disposition ......................................................................................... 7  

2 Methodological Discussion ........................................................................ 8  
   2.1 Overarching methodology ................................................................. 8  
   2.2 Methods .............................................................................................. 8  
   2.3 Epistemological reflection .................................................................. 10  
   2.4 Limitations and delimitations ............................................................. 11  
   2.5 Gender aspects .................................................................................. 11  
   2.6 Ethical Considerations ....................................................................... 12  

3. Analytical Framework: Sustainable Rural Livelihoods .......................... 13  
   3.1 Sustainable Rural Livelihoods Framework ........................................ 13  
   3.2 Capital Assets .................................................................................... 15  
   3.3 Vulnerability Context ........................................................................ 16  
   3.4 Transforming Structures and Processes ............................................ 17  
   3.5 Livelihood Strategies and Outcomes .................................................. 17  

4. Background ............................................................................................... 18  
   4.1 National Context ................................................................................. 18  
       4.1.1 Agricultural Policies ................................................................. 18  
       4.1.2 Decentralization ........................................................................ 20  
   4.2 Niassa Province .................................................................................. 21  
   4.3 Lichinga Municipality ......................................................................... 23
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Subsection</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5. Findings</td>
<td>5.1 Capital Assets</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.1.1 Natural Capital</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.1.2 Human Capital</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.1.3 Social Capital</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.1.4 Financial Capital</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.1.5 Physical Capital</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.1.6 Summary of Capital Assets</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.2 Livelihood Vulnerability Context</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.2.1 Trends</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.2.2 Shocks</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.2.3 Culture</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.3 Structures and Processes</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.3.1 Political Structures and Processes</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.3.2 Civil Society, Farmer Unions, and Forums</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.3.3 Private Sector</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6. Analysis</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.1 Livelihood Outcomes</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.1.1 Vulnerability</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.1.2 Income and Commercialisation</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.1.3 Food Security</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.1.4 Use of Natural Resources</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.1.5 Wellbeing</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.1.6 Gender</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.2 Structural Gaps</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.2.1 Urban/Rural Divide</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.2.2 Agricultural Aspects</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.2.3 Short-term Versus Long-term</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7. Conclusion</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>References</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Annex</td>
<td>IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Annex I: List of Interviewees</td>
<td>IV</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AFRs</td>
<td>Rural Households</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMODEFA</td>
<td>“Associação Moçambicana para Desenvolvimento da Família”, Mozambican Association for Family Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DFID</td>
<td>Department for International Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUAT</td>
<td>“Direito de Uso e Aproveitamento dos Terras”, land title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOFeN</td>
<td>“Fórum das Organizações Femininas do Niassa”, Forum of Women’s Organizations in Niassa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FONAGNI</td>
<td>“Fórum de organizações não-governamentais do Niassa”, Non-governmental Forum of Province Niassa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frelimo</td>
<td>“Frente de Libertação de Moçambique”, Liberation Front of Mozambique, dominant political party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUNAB</td>
<td>“Fundo Nacional do Ambiente”; National Environmental Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>HOPEM</td>
<td>Men for Change Network</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INAS</td>
<td>National Institute for Social Action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MADER</td>
<td>Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MINAG</td>
<td>Ministry of Agriculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MZN</td>
<td>Mozambican Metical, currency in Mozambique (1 Dollar = 57 MZN, in May 2016)</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-governmental organization</td>
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<td>NR</td>
<td>Natural Resources</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>PAAOs</td>
<td>Annual Action Plans and Budgets</td>
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<td>PEDSA</td>
<td>“Plano Estratégico Para o Desenvolvimento do Sector Agrário”, Strategic Plan For Agricultural Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>PERPU</td>
<td>“Programa Estratégico para a Redução da Pobreza Urbana”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renamo</td>
<td>“Resistência Nacional Moçambicana”, Mozambican National Resistance, political party</td>
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<tr>
<td>ROADS</td>
<td>“Rede de Organizações para Ambiente e Desenvolvimento Sustentável”, Environmental non-governmental organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>SL</td>
<td>Sustainable Livelihoods</td>
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<tr>
<td>SLA</td>
<td>Sustainable Livelihoods Approach</td>
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<td>SRL</td>
<td>Sustainable Rural Livelihoods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SWApS</td>
<td>Sector-Wide Approaches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UCA</td>
<td>“União dos Camponeses e Associações”, Union of farmer associations</td>
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<td>USAID</td>
<td>United States Agency for International Development</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

List of Portuguese Words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Portuguese Word</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ação Social</td>
<td>Social Action</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ação Social Productivo</td>
<td>Productive Social Action</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bairro</td>
<td>A community and/or region within the municipality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casas</td>
<td>Level of the formal structure within the municipality, Ten-houses, on the level below the quarterão</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Damas de Maputo
Female buyers coming from Maputo to sell back to the South

Escola primário completa
Complete primary school

Ganho-ganho
Day labour system

Machamba
Fields for agricultural use

Macua
Ethnic and linguistic group

Matrona
Female leader in the village, who is carrying out the initial rituals

Posto-administrativo
Formal structure within the municipalities

Quarterão
Level of the formal structure within the municipality, on the level below unidades

Régulo
Traditional leader

Regulado
Area of the régulo’s jurisdiction

Unidades
Level of the formal structure within the municipality, Units, on the level below the posto-administrativos

Vereador
Person selected by the President of the Municipal Council for a professional task; he/she is not politically responsible

Yao/Ajaua
Ethnic and linguistic group

List of Figure

Figure 1: Carney’s Framework of Sustainable Rural Livelihoods .................................. 13
1 Introduction

1.1 Research Topic
This research is comprised of a field study conducted in the Lichinga municipality in northern Mozambique. The focus is on the households and their strengths, analyzed as capital assets theorized by Carney (1998). The opportunities and limits of the households to expand their asset base are examined within the context of existing structures and external influences such as climate shocks, conflicts, political and economic trends. Thus their existing capabilities are observed using an abductive application of the Sustainable Rural Livelihoods (SRL) Framework by Carney (1998). This framework is used to guide an analysis of the household-level opportunities and limitations to expand their asset base. Additionally, activities and perspectives from governmental authorities, as well as from civil society actors are reviewed to study the potential to increase the wellbeing of households in the Lichinga municipality.

1.2 Research Problem
Although 80% of the labor force in Mozambique is employed in the agriculture sector, agriculture only makes up a quarter of the country’s GDP. This means that the remaining 20% of the population supplies 75% of the GDP. These dynamics, combined with around 10 million inhabitants living in absolute poverty, provides reason for the focus of the Mozambican government on agriculture as the cornerstone for development. The focus on the reduction of poverty is of high priority on both the national and international agendas in both direct foreign aid, and in the form of multilateral objectives such as the Millennium Development Goals. Attention is drawn to the dilemma that the country experiences in terms of relatively low production and productivity despite the majority of Mozambicans being reliant on agriculture for subsistence (Ministry of Agriculture, 2010: vi). In recognition of this, Mozambique embarked on a Green Revolution Strategy in 2007 with the primary objective to essentially commercialize subsistence agriculture in order to increase food supply in a “competitive and sustainable way” (Ministry of Agriculture, 2010: 8). This ‘immediate response to the food crisis’ is not a long-term strategy as such, and among other
strategies is incorporated into PEDSA (Strategic Plan For Agricultural Development, Ministry of Agriculture, 2010: 2).

The heavy concentration on the commercialization of agriculture raises several concerns. As stated in PEDSA, one strategy to increase the capacity of extension service workers is to “gradually reduce the geographical dispersion of production” (Ministry of Agriculture, 2010: 37), and prioritize the extension services to districts with the highest potential. This may be further isolating the most rural by identifying and supplying, as stated in PEDSA, the resources needed for increasing production and productivity to “the areas with greatest agricultural potential for achieving the hoped-for results” (Ministry of Agriculture, 2010: 2). These high potential areas are categorized in broad terms on a national, regional, and provincial level only, which could lead to a concentration of resources and extension workers in areas with already stable production levels and overlook areas that are in greater need of these services.

Furthermore, the disparity of growth within municipalities, as well as between the urban, semi-urban and rural areas has an impact on the overall development of the country. Thus inclusion should be a main concern if any strides are going to be made towards sustainable development (World Bank, 2009: 5). Development policies in Mozambique should thus be looked at holistically, regionally, as especially locally to determine the extent of inclusion of all sectors, specifically of the most rural. Any gaps in the incorporation and overall wellbeing of individuals and groups of individuals will severely hamper the sustainable development. Thus, a central concern to this research is the policy creation and political structures which may not be providing a basis for sustainable development, but rather may be increasing the divide between rural and urban.

1.3 Research Relevance and Objective

The focus will be on the household level and will also seek to include perspectives from the greater community within and outside of the Lichinga municipality. Obtaining a better understanding of the strengths and everyday practices of persons in households could identify certain trends that provoke the need or allow the possibility for certain livelihood strategies. Exploring these trends on the household level could provide
insight into the overall obstacles towards more sustainable development. Including the programs and initiatives of various actors in society may help to understand the processes and structures that affect the household level access to capital assets. A more holistic view of the society can help to identify gaps in the ability of households to improve their livelihoods. Identifying these gaps may point to certain structures or policies that are failing to improve the wellbeing of the majority of the population that remains in absolute poverty, and could lead to future development programs that seek to address these issues.

1.4 Research Questions

In order to achieve the research objectives the **main research question** is defined as the following:

*How do possible gaps exist between the political structures and processes, the civil society, and the household level, and how do these gaps impact the households in Lichinga municipality?*

To complement this question, further **subsidiary questions** will be addressed:

- **What existing assets do the households have and how do they organize them in their day-to-day life?**
- **In which way are possible gaps affecting the vulnerabilities and livelihood of the households?**
- **What conditions would allow households to make sustainable choices in order to influence their own livelihood outcomes?**

1.5 Methodological and Analytical Research Framework

This research is applying the SRL Framework by Carney (1998), which is the guide throughout this research paper. Adapting a logical inference of abduction, the qualitative method is additionally collecting qualitative and quantitative data. The used methods are following Mikkelsen's (2005) view on a participatory approach, such as semi-structured interviews, review of secondary sources, direct observations and data triangulation.
1.6 Disposition

This research paper consists of seven main chapters:

After the **Introduction**, the second chapter presents the **Methodological Discussion**, which includes the Overarching methodology, Methods, Epistemological reflection, Limitations and delimitations, Gender aspects, and Ethical Considerations.


The fourth chapter aims to provide information about the **Background**, narrowing it down from a National Context to Niassa Province, and finally to Lichinga Municipality, which is the main area of this research.

The fifth chapter presents the **Findings**, which were obtained during the research. This chapter used three components of the SRL framework (Carney, 1998) as a guideline: Capital Assets, Livelihood Vulnerability Context and Structures and Processes.

The sixth chapter is the **Analysis**, which provides an overview of the Livelihood Outcomes, and identified Gaps.

The last and seventh chapter outlines the **Conclusion** of this research by providing a discussion around the proposed research question.
2 Methodological Discussion

This section will explain the methods used during research for this paper. Mikkelsen (2005) is the main source. The first section provides reasoning for the overall methodology, followed by a section on the particular methods that were used throughout the research process. A subsequent section details the limitations and delimitations of this research, followed by the gender and ethical components that were taken into consideration before and during fieldwork and analysis.

2.1 Overarching methodology

A main goal in this research is to provide information about people’s lives from their perspective. Therefore, the method of research for this paper follows a participatory approach similar to that advocated within the selected analytical framework. The chosen framework reflects indicators based on the perspective of those in poverty, in attempt to build on both relevant indicators and already existing assets for development. Data collection methods, which are explained below, were thus centered around this idea. The research conducted for this paper is mainly following qualitative methods with both qualitative and quantitative data collection.

2.2 Methods

The qualitative method used in this research contained participatory elements. Amongst the Participatory Rural Appraisal techniques, methods and tools of Mikkelsen (2005: 63ff), the research for this paper consisted of the following:

- semi-structured interviews (key individuals, focus groups, chain of interviews and probing questions);
- review of secondary sources (documents, statistics, reports, books, files, maps);
- key indicators (local, national, and global indicators as well as objective and performance indicators);
- direct observations, and
- data triangulation.

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1 This framework will be presented in the following Analytical Framework chapter.
Sampling and Interviews

Interviews were conducted with both individual families and groups of families at the household level and with the local leadership, as well as with religious, youth, sport, and cultural groups in two different bairros\(^2\) in Lichinga municipality (Cerâmica and Sambula). Additional interviews were held with other stakeholders in the Lichinga municipality such as NGOs, and authorities at the district and provincial levels\(^3\). Three additional interviews were carried out in Maputo.

The selection of interviews was done through what Mikkelsen terms “purposive sampling” (Mikkelsen, 2005: 193). Following the chosen analytical framework, it was the intention to get an understanding of all sections of the framework and their interrelation. Therefore, relevant stakeholders from organizations or structures within each section of the analytical framework, from households, to the civil society, private sector, and political structures were interviewed.

Interviewees were collected using a method of *snowball sampling* in order to gain a larger number of participants. This means that in order to secure interviews, connections the tutors (Gunilla Åkesson and Anders Nilsson, as well as our local partner Jorge Malita from Lichinga municipality) have to the region were used as a starting point. Other stakeholders were then identified through talking with one person, who, through his or her position or status, would mention another person, group, or organization to contact.

Both groups of families and individual family interviews were conducted only with two students (with the exception of three during one interview in Sambula) and one tutor (Gunilla Åkesson) who performed the translations for each interview. During some interviews in both Cerâmica and Sambula, translations from the local language to Portuguese to English were needed. Other interviews conducted at the governmental levels and NGOs were mostly done with the entire group of research students (six in total, three pairs with different research topics), and often with both tutors present.

The aim of the interviews within the two *bairros* was to gain an understanding of the strategies, decisions, and activities of individuals within a household. Data was also

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\(^2\) A community and/or region within the municipality  
\(^3\) For the complete list of interviewees see Annex 1
collected to roughly quantify their financial assets. However, it should be noted that the accuracy of certain data was relatively low, and direct observations and follow-up questions were especially used to attempt more precision – as far as possible and relevant. Additionally, informal meetings were given meaning and recognition, since they facilitated the information collection to a great extent and helped to gain a more overall picture of the municipality.

Data Triangulation

The method of data triangulation was furthermore used to critically question if a reasonable correlation between different sources providing information and data is there. Therefore, information from various interviews, secondary sources (i.e. government policies, official statistics, economic reviews), informal exchanges and observations were compared and balanced.

2.3 Epistemological reflection

This field research adapts an abductive approach. Abduction, as a mean of inferring, can be seen as the middle ground between induction and deduction (Danermark, 2002: 88ff). Abduction is, following the argumentation of Danermark, useful “[t]o interpret and recontextualize individual phenomena within a conceptual framework or a set of ideas [and] [t]o be able to understand something in a new way by observing and interpreting this something in a new conceptual framework” (Danermark, 2002: 80). Additionally, Bryman et al. emphasizes abduction as “[a] form of reasoning with strong ties to induction that grounds social scientific accounts of social worlds in the perspectives and meanings of participants in those social worlds.” (Bryman et al., 2016: 688). Combining the approach with the SRL framework, which is the guide throughout the research, offers the opportunity to recontextualize the debate around the vulnerability context and influencing factors on the situation of households, for which future interventions can take into account.
2.4 Limitations and delimitations

The research was mainly carried out in Lichinga municipality, which depicts a local constraint. However, the situation of households might face similar challenges in other parts of Mozambique, and therefore the analysis of the qualitative research can lead to an increasing flow of understanding, for both Lichinga and other municipalities. Another challenge for this study appeared due to a language barrier. Portuguese is the official language in Mozambique, while several local languages are used for communication, like Yao and Macua – all languages the researchers for this paper do not speak. For conducting interviews it was necessary to make use of an interpreter. At times a translation in two steps was needed, from the local language of the interviewee to Portuguese and then to English, same way reverse. During some interviews in both Bairro Cerâmica and Sambula, a family member (usually the husband of the household) would conduct the translation for the wife (on one occasion the daughter translated for the mother) from the local language to Portuguese. The responses of women interviewees in some cases were noted to have been impacted by the translations by males.

The original focus of the research was lying mainly on the household level, but was widened to involve more stakeholders in the society such as the private sector, civil society, and various governmental levels. However, the main focus of the research remains on the households, while taking the wider surrounding into deeper reflection.

2.5 Gender aspects

Gender aspects has been taken into account in the interview guides and during the conduction of the interviews. The gender perspective has to be considered not only due to existing inequalities, but also because the livelihood needs and possibilities are varying between gender groups. The socio-economic position of women is varying between different parts of the country, but their position remains weak throughout (Tvedten, 2011: 2). By including the gender aspect in the interview guides, attention was given to the different roles and responsibilities, and needs and perspectives of the gender groups (Pasteur, 2002: 1–2).
2.6 Ethical Considerations

Conducting a qualitative research about personal livelihoods, lifestyles and vulnerabilities it is crucial to respect people’s opinions, interpretation and privacy and not to violate their probity. Therefore, ethical aspects were taken into consideration while conducting the research, particularly concerning interviews. The interviewees were made aware of the fact that the interviews were conducted in the context of a field study. The interviewer acted respectfully towards the interviewees and their opinions and statements. The valuable and limited time of the interviewees was considered. Furthermore, in order to ensure the privacy of interviewees, individuals of families as well as authorities who presented sensitive information are left anonymous. To reduce ethical oversight, close supervision with the mentioned tutors and regular group reflection was conducted.
3. Analytical Framework: Sustainable Rural Livelihoods

The purpose of this section is to give an overview of the SRL framework, since this framework will be used as a guide throughout this research paper.

3.1 Sustainable Rural Livelihoods Framework

The SRL model is a framework which helps to understand the livelihood of people, particularly people who are considered to be poor. In order to do so it consists of different interlinked components assessing the capabilities, assets, and activities required for living. The definition of SRL was originally proposed by Chambers and Conway (1992) and several times adapted later on, including the Institute of Development Studies. The SRL framework of 1998 constructed by the Department for International Development (DFID)\(^4\) and freelance consultant Diana Carney is the chosen framework for this research. See following figure:

Figure 1: Carney’s Framework of Sustainable Rural Livelihoods (Source: Carney, 1998: 5)

Carney’s framework reflects indicators based on the perspective of those in poverty, in attempt to build on both relevant indicators and already existing assets for development, latter outlined as five capital assets. The framework “looks at access to assets and how

\(^4\) Governmental department of the United Kingdom with responsibility for administering international aid
these relate to people’s ability to demand their rights as well as how governance and institutional factors affect the ‘supply’ of right” (Carney, 1998: 9). A livelihood can be considered sustainable when it cannot merely endure stresses and shocks, but additionally maintain or increase its capabilities and assets over time while not threatening the natural resource base.

Although a livelihood perspective with a cross-disciplinary approach was developed over 50 years ago, it was not widely used until more recently. Development approaches by the UN, World Bank and bilateral development agencies drifted away from field-based workers. Together with a rise in radical Marxist perspectives focusing on the macro-level, caused a turning away from the cross-disciplinary livelihoods approach. Currently, both normative positions as well as analytical tools focusing on ‘people-centered’, ‘holistic’ and ‘dynamic’ concepts have come to be emphasized across NGOs and governmental actors. According to Mazibuko “[t]he current decade is dominated by the idea of sustainable (rural) livelihoods approach” (Mazibuko, 2013: 175). The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA) developed by Chambers and Conway in 1992 was the first to combine ‘sustainable’, ‘rural’, and ‘livelihoods’ and has, with some criticism due to the amount of marketing and funding put into its creation, become a main approach to development (Scoones, 2009: 174ff).

In addition, pertinent adjustments to the framework helped to make a diverse use of the approach in the last years – both at the local, regional, national and international level. For example complementing the framework from 1998 (see Figure 1), Carney and the DFID published “Sustainable Livelihoods Approaches: Progress and Possibilities for Change” in 2002. The authors of the aforementioned paper describe that the effectiveness of SLA can still be increased, especially through flexibility and innovation. The SLA is a suitable approach for research, planning, monitoring and evaluation, and policy development. It can be used to describe institutional and organisational changes, which can identify gaps, including rights, gender issues, power topics and market matters. A strong emphasis lies on poverty reduction and the SL approach centers around the development of people and their livelihoods. While the livelihood is mainly taking place in the private sector, an influence of public policies, governmental regulation and other factors cannot be denied. It is of importance to cross sectoral and institutional boundaries to address livelihood issues. Actions should be
made by thinking about the impact it could have on the livelihood of poor people, and Carney emphasizes this type of critical thinking as vital to the analysis process (Carney, 2002).

While the framework is critiqued by some for lacking a definition of poverty, as stated by Mazibuko, “[t]he key advantage of the approach is that without defining poverty, it states the aim as achievement of lasting improvements on livelihoods using the indicators and resources that people have” (Mazibuko, 2013: 178). Mazibuko argues that “the livelihoods approach cannot be called a theory because it does not explain any phenomenon, neither can it be called a model, as it does not describe anything. As a framework (...) [it] only helps in considering the phenomenon and recognizing patterns.” (Mazibuko, 2013: 174f).

Using the SRL framework from Carney 1998, while keeping the later amendments and the debate around it in mind, the framework is suitable for the presented research. It was chosen for this study due to the presented interrelated and interdependent construction and its sustainable approach towards changes and eliminating poverty. It is helpful to concentrate on assessing the vulnerability of rural livelihoods by contextualizing the issue in terms of the trends, shocks, and cultural components that may contribute to increased vulnerability of people. The structures and policies are included to outline the options (or limitations) people have to change their livelihoods. Thus, the link between the micro and macro levels is particularly important to this study.

For a deeper understanding the following components of the SRL Approach will be explained in the next paragraphs: Capital Assets, Vulnerability Context, Transforming Structures and Processes, and Livelihood Strategies and Outcomes.

3.2 Capital Assets

As a point of departure for assessing sustainable livelihoods, the framework, as well as this research, focuses on analyzing five types of assets from which households draw from to construct their livelihood. These capital assets are arranged in a pentagon to signify their interrelation with each other, in that an increase or decrease in one asset may affect all others. For example, an increase in a household’s financial capital may
lead to an increase in their physical assets (i.e. ability to purchase agricultural tools), or any other combination the household may decide upon. This categorization is a useful way of seeing “how and in what combinations assets do translate into sustainable livelihoods” (Carney, 1998: 7). A description of each capital asset is provided below:

**Natural capital:** The natural resource stocks from which resource flows useful for livelihoods are derived, e.g. land, water, forest, wildlife, and environmental resources. This capital is the vital basic component for people who rely on agricultural activities for their livelihood.

**Human capital:** Skills, knowledge, education, ability to labour, and good health are the main components of the human capital and they are important for people to be able to pursue different livelihood strategies.

**Social capital:** The social capital are social resources, like networks, relationships of trust, membership of groups, which can also facilitate the access to wider institutions of society. This capital can take place in both a horizontal way, like mutual support among people and in a vertical alignment between a client and patron.

**Financial capital:** The financial capital is resources, which are available to people, for instance salaries, savings, supply of credit, pensions; or even animals. This capital is needed to provide people with different livelihood options, since a lack of financial resources among poor people is the crucial factor why they are heavily depend on the other capitals.

**Physical capital:** This capital refers mainly to the basic infrastructure, including transport, shelter, water, energy, and communications, and to the production equipment and means, which enables people to follow their livelihoods needs (Carney, 1998: 7–8 and DFID, 1999: 2.3).

### 3.3 Vulnerability Context

The vulnerability context frames the situation and surroundings in which people are living, and looks specifically at the trends, shocks, and local cultural practices that affect livelihoods. Trends are characterized for instance by economics, resource stocks,
population density, technology and politics, while shocks are related to the effects of climate and conflict on the wellbeing of people. Culture emphasizes differences between areas and the varying ways people manage their own assets. The vulnerability context, which will be detailed in Findings (5.2), is most difficult to be influenced by the people themselves (Carney, 1998: 5–12 and DFID, 1999: 2.2).

3.4 Transforming Structures and Processes

The structures (i.e. governmental levels, private sector, organisations) and processes (i.e. laws, policies, incentives, and institutions) are defining the livelihood options of people by determining the value of assets, and who is gaining access to which type of asset. Therefore, there is a direct influence on the capital assets, as well as on the vulnerability context (Carney, 1998: 5, 8f).

3.5 Livelihood Strategies and Outcomes

The livelihood strategies are defined by the asset status of people, which shapes the type of livelihood strategies that are most viable for people to pursue. For example, linked to the processes, the economic policies in Mozambique may have an impact on the incentive for people to engage in natural resource (NR) based or Non-NR-based activities. Or, people might migrate to other areas within the country or surrounding countries for employment. The livelihood outcomes are the ability of households to reach the ideal result of more income, increased wellbeing, reduced vulnerability, improved food security and a more sustainable use of NR-base (Carney, 1998: 5, 8ff).
4. Background

This section will be divided into three sections to introduce the National context, Provincial context, and the Lichinga Municipality. The national context is provided to describe specifically the agricultural policies and processes of decentralization affecting the country in a broader global context. The Niassa province is described to highlight the regional differences within Mozambique. Finally, Lichinga Municipality comes into focus as the concentration for the research, keeping in mind the government of Mozambique and the donor agendas that affect Lichinga Municipality.

4.1 National Context

4.1.1 Agricultural Policies

As reported by USAID (2015), around 80% of the population is involved in agricultural labor. With such a heavy reliance on agriculture, the livelihoods of people, especially of subsistence farmers, are directly affected by agricultural policies from the central level, as well as donor agendas in regards to development and trade within the country. Together, these top-down agendas affect the local structures in regards to land cultivation and production. The national context of this chapter will look mainly at the agricultural policies of the government and donor community post-independence, and how that transcends to a specific focus on Lichinga Municipality.

After Mozambique gained independence from Portugal in 1975, the country was wrought with war until a peace accord was signed in 1992. In addition to the loss of human life, trade structures were destroyed during the war as people became displaced. Immediately following 1975, the number of traders went from 6,000 to 2,000 as Portuguese and Asian traders migrated to surrounding countries. As an attempt to create a state-led trade system to combat these collapsed trade structures, Mozambique created an enterprise called AGRICOM. This program was intended to buy the cereal surplus from farmers and distribute it between rural and urban areas by need. Mozambique underwent political and economic changes led by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank in the 1990s. These changes encouraged a liberalized market
economy, thus deteriorating the role of AGRICOM and leading to confusion about the responsibilities and authority of the entire system of trade in cereals.

After AGRICOM, there was a need to establish a more coherent system for the severely fragmented aid operations within agriculture additional agricultural policy. PROAGRI (Mozambique’s National Programme of Agrarian Development) has been the forerunner in creating a government-led dialogue on policies in the agriculture sector (Global Donor Platform for Rural Development, 2007). However, the first phase of PROAGRI from 1998–2006 was criticized for not producing results on the ground, as much attention was given to institutional reform rather than service implementation, thus leading to few policy changes (ibid). As noted from the mid-term evaluation of the program, PROAGRI had limited participation of local stakeholders (i.e. farmers) during its creation (MADER, 2003), and the Ministry of Agriculture reported a top-down decision making approach (KPMG, 2003).

After a review in 2007, the Global Donor Platform for Rural Development suggested a more “demand-driven and service-oriented” governmental approach in order to achieve more sustainable and efficient responses to challenges posed by local environments and market possibilities (Global Donor Platform for Rural Development, 2007: 48). In this case, the decentralization as demonstrated by the Ministry of Agriculture is a step toward bringing the policy debate closer to its beneficiaries. However, much needs to be done in bringing in key stakeholders such as the private sector, farmers, and NGOs (Cabral, 2009). In 2006, a total of US$ 201 million was distributed by donors as Sector Budget Support to Agriculture, and an additional US$ 126 million was given from 2007–2009 (ibid). There is little evidence to show the results of this investment at field level.

In 2007, the need to create a policy that produces more results on the ground was elevated by the world economic crisis and the rapid increase in the prices of basic foodstuffs. Thus the policy of MINAG called PEDSA, lasting from 2010–2019, includes among other strategies, a Green Revolution Strategy. The objective of the Green Revolution Strategy is to increase the growth of small producers and their productivity to make food supply both more sustainable and competitive (Ministry of Agriculture, 2010: 8). In an effort to reduce rural poverty and provide basic food security for the country, the current focus of MINAG is to further increase productivity.
through incentivizing the market. As agriculture makes up the bulk of the labor force in Mozambique, as well as 80% of the income of rural families, there is a need to look at the causes of rural poverty, which is mainly due to limited access to the market and low productivity (Ministry of Agriculture, 2010).

Thus development in agriculture is a key priority, but implementation of agricultural policies in Mozambique have suffered in the past due mainly to ‘unrealization’ of results at the ground level. However, strides are being made to include and elevate the small-scale farmer economically and socially in society through more decentralized policy-making, as well as short-term focused strategies such as the Green Revolution. The process of decentralization will be further explained below with attention to the effects on agricultural policies.

4.1.2 Decentralization

Municipalities were introduced by law in Mozambique in 1997, shortly after the peace agreement in 1992. During the first mandate of 1998–2003, the country struggled to separate from the colonial and central government system, as reported by the World Bank (2009). Åkesson and Nilsson categorize the three phases of development in Mozambique as “colonial, socialist, and market economy models” (Åkesson and Nilsson, 2006: 28), all of which have a strong central orientation. As such, large development projects are given priority with the expectation to see economic results at the national level. Consequently, little attention is paid to the local context (Åkesson and Nilsson, 2006: 28). For the Mozambican government and the donors involved in the process, municipalization is viewed ‘implicitly’ as ineffective with little to no impact on the population in terms of improvement in public services (Åkesson and Nilsson, 2006). The World Bank (2009) reports a key challenge as the ambiguity of municipal responsibilities within the legal framework. Among the roles that are unclear is the ‘management of urban space and urban land’⁵. Municipal boundaries often encompass “dense urban areas, periurban areas and rural space” (World Bank, 2009: 6), which poses challenges to priority planning and service delivery.

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⁵ Other challenges include infrastructure for public health, sanitation services, and water (Global Donor Platform for Rural Development, 2007).
These side-effects from decentralization have also manifested within the agricultural sector. Within agriculture, there is a need for a more coherent and continuous vision among the government and donors in order to foster and implement long-term planning (i.e. infrastructure, research, market access). However, there is a current debate on the effectiveness of an attempt at harmonization and alignment within the sector in the form of Sector-Wide Approaches (SWAps) (Global Donor Platform for Rural Development, 2007). As demonstrated in the municipalization process, as well as restructuring within MINAS, much of the processes are still heavily centralized, and little attention is paid to the sector’s beneficiaries, most notably poor farmers. Agriculture is a dynamic and complex sector with many actors, and a call for alignment may not be feasible – especially when there is no consensus on the role and reach of the state within the sector. Additionally, the Ministry of Agriculture is focused more on results-based management, which is difficult in a sector where performance is influenced by many factors outside the ministry and the state, such as climate change affecting production levels (Cabral, 2009: 49).

4.2 Niassa Province

Mozambique is divided into eleven provinces, including Maputo capital city with a provincial status. Located in northern Mozambique, Niassa is one of the most sparsely populated provinces (Åkesson and Nilsson, 2006), consisting of sixteen districts (Interview with Lichinga District Administrator, 13.04.2016). In addition to this structure, 33 municipalities were created in Mozambique in 1997, including Lichinga Municipality, which is the capital of the Niassa province and is the focus of this report. The number increased up to currently 53 municipalities in Mozambique. The implementation of the municipalities was imposed from the governmental level under pressure from the donor community to decentralize power. The basic political structure is formatted in the following way: President (on national level) – governor (on provincial level) and administrator (on district level). The municipality is under the direction of the president, but exists as an autonomous entity from this structure.

As related by Åkesson and Nilsson (2006), Niassa is part of a central political system (as are the other provinces), that has specifically experienced a gap between what is
provided for the province, and what is actually needed due to its ‘geographical and political isolation’ (ibid, 13). Åkesson and Nilsson (2006) note a danger to the process of decentralization if there is a disregard for traditional authorities and the existing local structures. Several ‘irregularities’ in the legitimacy of the political structures were found in the study. This may be due to a ‘distrust and political manipulation’, ‘opportunism or incapacity’, ‘marginalization’, or the gap between rural and district centers (ibid). As reported by the World Bank (2005), there are certain geographical areas where NGOs are concentrated, which leaves a coverage gap for other areas (18). These gaps will be further exemplified and analyzed throughout the paper.

Agricultural policy-making in Mozambique is complicated by regional differences. The south is more limited in their agricultural production, whereas the central and northern provinces have surpluses in basic food products. Although there is the general capacity to produce sufficient food for basic needs within the country, the lack of infrastructure makes a regular north-south supply economically unsound (Bias and Donovan, 2003). Another hindrance to increased trade from the Niassa province is a lack of improved technology or inputs (ORGUT Consulting, 2013: 11), meaning most farmers rely on rainfall for crop production. Problems attributed to climate change such as droughts and flooding also make small-scale farmers increasingly more vulnerable to shocks. While maize remains the most widely grown crop in the province (97% of holdings in Niassa grow maize compared to the national average of 74%), other staple crops such as sorghum, cassava, beans and rice are also frequently cultivated (Ministry of Agriculture, 2007). Reaching a level of 69% in 2007, Niassa has the highest percentage of people with agriculture as their principal activity compared to the other provinces in Mozambique. However, in 2007, only 12% received information and advice from extension services in Niassa, compared to 20% in Maputo (ibid).

Due to favorable climate and low population density within Niassa, foreign investors interested in commercial forestry plantations have given the province considerable attention, with a focus on the Lichinga plateau region (ORGUT Consulting, 2013: 10). For the most vulnerable inhabitants in these areas, they are not able to defend their long-term needs against investors. Furthermore, communication between the private sector, government, and communities on land issue processes is lacking (Åkesson and Nilsson, 2006: 13).
4.3 Lichinga Municipality

Lichinga Municipality, territorially, covers the capital of the Niassa province and its immediate surroundings. The municipality is a governmental structure that exists autonomously from national, provincial and district levels of government. The aim of municipalities is to institutionalize democracy, and they are intended to play a key role in reducing poverty and fostering investment (World Bank, 2005). During the process of decentralization, the district of Chimbunila was divided to form the separate district of Lichinga in 2014, with operations being implemented in 2015. The Lichinga district is the newest district in the province, and is a peculiar case because it, territorially, contains both the municipality and two postos-administrativos\(^6\). The municipality was created before the Lichinga district.

Lichinga municipality itself has an area of 290 km\(^2\), and a population of 141,724 inhabitants in 2011 (Municipio de Lichinga 2011: 1), with constantly growing numbers. The municipality is divided into four postos-administrativos – Sanjala, Chiuaula, Massenger, and Culimile. Each of these postos-administrativos encompasses several bairros, which are furthermore branched into unidades\(^7\), quarterão\(^8\) and casas\(^9\). The bairros are administrative elements, however, the lowest actors within the municipalities are the posto administrativos. Each level of this formal municipality structure has leaders and responsible persons, for example each bairro has a secretary and a deputy (Interview with Jorge Malita, 04. and 05.04.2016).

The Decree on Community Authorities and the Law on Local State Organs (LOLE) sought to reduce the level of marginalization by traditional leaders (often called régulos) through the creation of Consultative Councils. These councils are present at three levels within the district (Locality, posto-administrativos and District levels). However, as noted previously, these councils tend to have little decision-making power due to the predominantly vertical approach to power in Mozambique (Åkesson and Nilsson, 2006).

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\(^6\) The posto-administrativos (administrative posts) mainly relay information to the district government, which is responsible to implement the Government’s social and economic plan for the district (Åkesson and Nilsson, 2007).

\(^7\) Units, on the level below the posto-administrativos

\(^8\) Quarters, on the level below unidades

\(^9\) Ten-houses, on the level below the quarterão
5. Findings

Within the Lichinga Municipality, we conducted research in two different bairros. One (Bairro Cerâmica), which was closer in proximity to the city center and classified as semi-urban, and another (Bairro Sambula), which was more on the outskirts of the municipality, and more rural in its development. Bairro Cerâmica has an estimated 13,000 inhabitants (Régulo of Cerâmica, 05.04.2016). The population size of Bairro Sambula was not determined during interviews. Within Bairro Cerâmica, Macua is the main ethnic and language group, while it is Yao in Bairro Sambula.

5.1 Capital Assets

5.1.1 Natural Capital

Land and Agriculture

Issues Regarding Land Availability

Within Bairro Cerâmica, a group interview with five families revealed several issues related to land. Many mentioned the migration of people during the war to the fertile lands close to the Bairro, and the eventual settlement of people on this land. The ‘semi-illegal’ habitation of these swammy areas meant the machambas\textsuperscript{10} became farther away from the Bairro, with noted distances of up to 40 kilometers. Though it should be noted that people coming into these fertile areas also had to leave their land during the war and had lost access to machambas nearby. The size of the machambas, as described in this group interview with established farmers, was relatively large for small-scale farmers – two reported having a field of nine hectares. One female farmer in the group mentioned walking from 5 a.m. until 4 p.m. to get to her machamba, and staying there from one week to up to two months (Interview with female farmer, 11.04.2016). Two male farmers in the group reported hiring ganho-ganho\textsuperscript{11}. It was noted during the interviews that those who could hire ganho-ganho were in a more stable economic situation.

\textsuperscript{10} Fields for agricultural use
\textsuperscript{11} Day labour system
Farmers are facing partly similar challenges within Bairro Sambula. During a group interview they told that they do not have enough fertile land for agriculture close to the village, and therefore they have long distances to their fields due to what they would call “tired fields”, meaning less fertile soil. Similar to Bairro Cerâmica, one reason for this lack of fertile soil was ascribed to the war which caused an influx in displaced people. People in the Bairro divided some of their land to give to these incoming refugees. After the peace accord in 1992, people did not return to their original land (which often were occupied already by others) but rather stayed in the new area. This group of farmers in Sambula also described that they used to have good access to land, but a constant growth of the population in the Bairro is leading to smaller plot sizes for families.

The group of farmers in Sambula concluded that the situation of needing new land is leading them into a trap. Since the peace agreement in 1992, people have become more settled into their community and houses, and they want to stay in their village, with their own houses, school and health post. However, in order to have fertile land for their agricultural activities they move on to another piece of land in a rotative system of approximately two to four years. The machambas they are moving between lie within the regulado\textsuperscript{12}, and are often inherited from the previous generations. Even though these machambas are sometimes farther distances from people’s homes, they produce on these farther machambas, and stay there for some days, weeks or even months, while the main place of residence remains in the village.

Furthermore, when farmers are opening new machambas, as a part of the rotative system, a process of land clearance is needed. Most of the farmers explained that they are using a slash-and-burn method, which is certainly leading to a decreased fertility of the land, as representatives from the Provincial Direction of Environment and Rural Development stated (Interview, 20.04.2016). Fertilizers are a way to increase soil fertility and allow longer use of the land but access for many small-scale farmers is limited.

\textsuperscript{12} The area of the régulo’s jurisdiction
Food Security Issues

While the two bairros are facing similar issues with access to land, farmers in Sambula have a reportedly higher food insecurity than those in Cerâmica. Some farmers during the group and individual interviews in Sambula explained that their production on the machambas is not enough for the whole year. During two individual family interviews they said that their harvest is sufficient for their own consumption only for three to four months, in contrast to Cerâmica where all the interviewees reported producing enough for the whole year. The group of farmers in Sambula argued that they would need fertilizer, tractors, and irrigation systems to improve their production, which they cannot afford. Thus, it is not the methods that are less efficient in Sambula, but rather the inability to access the necessary resources to increase the soil fertility.

An additional factor of reduced soil fertility could be the shrinking of machamba sizes within the regulado that is forcing farmers to use shorter rotation cycles between plots. The reduction of land may be due to population increase as mentioned by families, as well as the prevalence of forestry companies coming into the land that is in fallow with the understanding that it is not being used, or has been left. The reduction of arable land has a severe impact on the population and especially on their food security.

In order to try to reach food security, many farmers are working as ganho-ganho. For this work they are most often paid with food, and sometimes with money. Due to a lack of fertile land close by, and a lack of financial resources to improve their own machambas, the majority of people in Sambula is working as ganho-ganho on machambas far away. It was said by farmers in the group interview that this group is increasing (Interview, 18.04.2016).

Environmental Resources and Challenges

Several environmental challenges were presented during interviews, as well as directly observed within the bairros. The environmental issues described throughout this chapter – namely soil erosion, uncontrolled bushfires, flooding, river pollution, deforestation, and sanitation are linked to the other assets. These issues affect, for example, health and access to land, which in turn affects the ability to labor, educational opportunities, and
overall financial capacity among other side-effects. While some of the environmental issues are related to climate change, such as droughts and flooding, many are attributable to human activity. Therefore, many of the challenges to improving the natural resource stocks, e.g. land, water, wildlife, biodiversity, environmental resources (Carney, 1998: 7), lie within societal restructuring in terms of policy changes. The topic of environmental issues was not directly asked in interviews with families in the bairros, but rather came out in regards to soil fertility affecting production on their machambas, and in terms of floods destroying houses.

Within Bairro Cerâmica, one of the environmental issues that arose during interviews is the destruction of houses due to flooding. Irregular rainfall is also causing periods of drought and heavy rainfall, which affects production on the machambas. The dependency of most people in the Bairro on the production from their machamba means their livelihoods can be severely impacted by such environmental shocks, and their situation can change from one day to the next. For some families in the Bairro, the construction material used for their houses (mostly made from bricks and clay, with grass roofs) is susceptible to collapsing during heavy rains. Funds for repairs to their houses are often not immediately available, and thus they could become more vulnerable to health and sanitation issues.

The most frequently mentioned environmental issue presented during interviews in both Sambula and Cerâmica was a reduction in soil fertility of the machambas. As discussed in the previous section, the loss of fertile soil is a central concern to people in the bairros. Due to a decreasing amount of arable land, and a lack of financial resources to purchase fertilizers, farmers are forced into shorter rotation cycles within the rotative system. As observed from visits to Bairro Cerâmica, the rivers are heavily polluted by garbage and waste water, making it unsanitary for drinking. Thus the river within Bairro Cerâmica is not existing as a natural capital that can be efficiently utilized by the population due to its pollution. In Sambula, the low-flowing river is used for washing clothes and bathing, and in some areas, holes were dug near to the river for drinking sources.

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13 A method of farming where plots are used in a rotative order to allow some land to lie in fallow, while others are used for growing.
The Technician of the Environmental Education Department in the Provincial Direction of the Environment noted the effects of deforestation, saying that the consequences are ‘visible’. The non-governmental organization ROADS (*Rede de Organizações para Ambiente e Desenvolvimento Sustentável*) also described the issues with deforestation, and that they are trying to create more community forests in the Majune and Sanga areas to teach people the importance of forests. However, families in the *bairros* did not mention a deforestation problem, or any lack of availability to gather firewood. Most reported gathering firewood from the nearest forest, and none of the families said they were purchasing firewood. It became apparent during interviews, that, in regards to environmental issues, households are more concerned about the immediate factors in their surrounding environment such as those affecting their land and houses.

5.1.2 Human Capital

Demography and Health

The demographic features of the society can have a strong impact on the health and land availability, as was discovered in the *bairros*. The Provincial Direction of Environment and Rural Development (Interview, 20.04.2016) and the *vereador* of Sanitation Management of the Urban Environment (Interview, 15.04.2016) noted that ‘semi-legal’ settlements are leading to manifold problems, due to a lack of developed infrastructure. The unorganized way of the settlement makes it difficult to reach ill people by ambulance in emergency situations, or during fires as they are not organized around main roads. Various health problems are being caused by floods, and the underground wells are being infected by latrines constructed close to water sources. Therefore, many of their initiatives are geared towards resettlement of people currently living in these areas, which is reportedly up to 40% of the population within the municipality living in these ‘problem areas’ (Interview with *vereador*, 15.04.2016). However, people living in these lowland areas are resistant towards these measures, as there is a complete lack of infrastructure in the newly created spaces, and in a sense, they are better off staying in their established home. One *vereador* mentioned that due

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14 A person selected by the President of the Municipal Council for a professional task; he/she is not politically responsible.
to vandalism, they would have to move the people before constructing the infrastructure (Interview, 15.04.2016).

Population Size

Based on interviews in Bairro Sambula, females had between seven to ten children. In Cerâmica, female interviewees had anywhere between three to nine children (with one having passed away). However, household sizes often included more children than the woman gave birth to, such as grandchildren or other dependents. Several health concerns are related to the population growth rate. In the bairros this includes early pregnancy and short recovery intervals between births for women, sometimes of only one month (Interview with midwife in the health center in Sambula, 19.04.2016). It was also mentioned by the coordinator of FOFeN (Fórum das Organizações Femininas do Niassa, Interview, 20.04.2016) as well as by an expert, Nélia Taimo (Interview, 28.04.2016) that women have to bribe the midwife in order to have a better birthing process.

Health

The lack of potable water is leading to several health problems such as diarrhea and cholera. In an individual family interview in Sambula, one person told of a cholera outbreak the previous year that killed many people (Individual family interview, 18.04.2016).

On a national level, HIV/AIDS is a major epidemic. Within Bairro Cerâmica, is was reported as an especially serious problem due to the stigmatization associated with the disease. In the past (as mentioned by the group), people were feeling ashamed and would not go to the hospital, or would go too late. Now, it is reportedly better, and people are getting help sooner and more frequently. There is also a group working within the Bairro to encourage people to go to the hospital (Interview with group of families, 11.04.2016). Combined with an additional inability to diversify diets, makes the disease harder to combat. The Provincial Director of Education (Interview, 06.04.2016) and AMODEFA (Associação Moçambicana para Desenvolvimento da
Família) (Interview, 28.04.2016) noted a gap between what people are producing and the nutritional value derived from their production. They attributed this to a lack of knowledge about how to combine the agricultural products to increase the nutrition, or how to get maximal production out of their animals. The Director of Education said that this is a huge challenge for the government now as 40% of the province suffers from chronic malnutrition, which has several side-effects for the population.

On a less severe level, it also often leads to students not going to school. As stated by the Director of Education, the student is the ‘raw material’ and the education of youth affects the entire society. Therefore there is a wish to intensify food preparation knowledge at school as was done in the past with a school lunch system until funding was withdrawn – for which he did not know the detail (Interview, 06.04.2016).

Education, Skills and Knowledge

Youth Education

During interviews conducted in Cerâmica, many families and the leadership council\footnote{A group of individuals in a bairro each with specific leadership roles. This includes the regulo, secretary, deputy of the secretary among other positions.} related the importance of education for children. The régulo listed the priorities for the Bairro saying that ‘we’ cannot abandon our houses, ‘our’ children need to go to school, and ‘we’ need our fields (Interview, 05.04.2016). Thus education was mentioned as a necessary component of the Bairro.

At the A Luta Continua, escola primário completa (complete primary school) in Bairro Cerâmica, the director reported that from grade 1–5, 955 of 2,072 pupils were girls, and from grade 6–7, 592 of 1,177 pupils were girls. The escola primário de Sambula has approximately 460 registered students in the grade 1–6, however, the actual school attendance in Bairro Sambula is low. During a school visit, it was observed that in a 3rd grade class, only 10 of 45 students (all of which were boys) and in a 5th grade class, only 12 of 82 students (two of which were girls) were present (School Visit, 19.04.2016). The teacher in the primary school reported that it was hard to get children to come to school, as some were in the machambas, and some are just not coming. He said that the Bairro is following traditional manners, and argues that therefore fewer
girls are sent to school, since priority is given to the boys (Interview, 19.04.2016). Especially girls and young women face a more difficult situation, argued Nélia Taimo. Reasons for this are, beside the influence of traditional customs, that female students are likely to drop-out of school due to early pregnancies, and they are more likely to become victims of sexual harassment and corruption issues related to monetary and sexual bribery.

Furthermore, Nélia Taimo stated that the quality of education (affecting both female and male students), is decreasing mainly due to a poor environment at the schools. She concluded that changes are needed to support both women and the quality of education (Interview, 28.04.2016). In addition, students are leaving the school after the 9th grade without proper reading and writing skills. This is also affecting the level of education at the university, which she and another expert, André Calengo, said has decreased. Students are receiving a degree without gaining the necessary experience for the workplace afterwards. Therefore, those who can afford it send their children abroad for qualitative higher schooling (Interview, 27.04.2016).

**Adult Literacy and Education**

In addition to the importance of education for youth, several initiatives have been taken by various NGOs to increase adult literacy. Older people, especially women, were found to be illiterate as they never had formal schooling during colonial times. FOFeN is working to mobilize women to participate in literacy courses so that they could assume leadership positions, particularly within water committees within their bairros, as well as within civil society. A frequent reason for low attendance of women to their literacy courses was attributed to having no time, being overloaded by work, or because the husband will not let them go, thus highlighting the prevalence of gender issues (Interview, 20.04.2016). Another NGO working with adult literacy is PROGRESSO, which offers free centers for adult education (for the first three years only) and has a project to motivate girls to stay in school and to avoid early pregnancies. In these adult education courses, which mainly target women, it was found that adding a more practical component such as access to seeds and information increased the attendance levels (Interview, 21.04.2016).
**Farming Knowledge**

Increasing the knowledge a farmer has about farming methods can lead to better crop output and longer production cycles. The spreading of information regarding the use of different seeds and farming methods is done mainly through extension workers. In order to combat several health, social, and environmental issues, the Deputy of Director for Extension Services noted that the main focus of the department is productivity for farmers. This department is linked to the health sector to combat malnutrition and food insecurity by teaching ways to combine or produce certain crops (i.e porridge with sweet potatoes or nuts). However, the number of extension workers is not distributed equally to districts and they have a hard time reaching the rural areas. The deputy director stated that they would need 1,200 compared to the current number of 183 (Interview, 20.04.2016).

**Labor and Jobs**

Without the ability to work on the *machamba* due to, for example, health reasons, a small-scale farmer’s vulnerability can increase drastically. In some cases, individuals in Cerâmica and Sambula are suffering from a disability due to a hurt arm or leg, and can not work on their *machambas* (Interview, 18.04.2016). One interviewee recalled that those who cannot work in the field have nothing (Interview, 11.04.2016). Therefore, the elderly are especially vulnerable once they are no longer able to work on the *machambas*.

This aforementioned interviewee’s concern is linked to a general problem in Mozambique with the low availability of jobs. As such, youth are frequently not able to find a salaried position even after completing their education. Since the supply and demand at the labour market is unbalanced, some people are even required to pay an employer for a position. Therefore they typically earn a living through small-scale businesses, but many youth (especially males) do not work in the *machambas*.

Additionally, effects of globalization were mentioned as a point of frustration, as the influence of the media combined with a lack of jobs is turning many youth to drugs and alcohol rather than working in the *machambas* (Interview, 27.04.2016). The school
director in Sambula ranked unemployment as the main reason for poverty, as it is not only affecting the child’s life, but also their parents, as they cannot support them (Interview, 18.04.2016).

It is important to take the gender division of labor into account within this capital, as women take the bulk of agricultural labor (Charman, 2008: 2), and traditionally have tasks such as collecting firewood, water, cooking, and cleaning (Interview with women’s group, 18.04.2016). Yet female headed households usually have higher food insecurity than male headed households and have less land and access to farm inputs (Charman, 2008: 4). This was evident in households headed by females in Sambula (due to divorce or deceased husbands), where they could not produce enough on their machambas to be food secure for the whole year. All female interviewees are laboring in a machamba, though those with a male partner in the household have greater access to other capitals in terms of higher education or transportation in the form of a bicycle.

5.1.3 Social Capital

Nuclear and Extended Family

Within the bairros, there is a high importance of the nuclear family. When the parents are on the field far away for long periods of time, the older siblings are taking care of the younger ones. Some families reported that their children could not help because of responsibilities for their own families. Some households mentioned getting support from children or grandchildren with work on the machambas, though the support from grown-up children towards parents differed a lot, even within the same Bairro. In one case in Bairro Cerâmica, one widow said her kids send her money to pay for a ganho-ganho from money they have earned with small-scale businesses. This form of monetary support was not as common in Bairro Sambula, as interviewees mentioned that they did not receive support from their children, but that their children do help on the machamba (Interview, 18.04.2016).
Mutual Support

In terms of mutual support outside of the family, it appeared the level was relatively low. A group interview with families in Bairro Cerâmica revealed that people do not feel there is a system of mutual support in the Bairro. The distance to the machambas prevents much interaction between people from the same bairro. One female interviewee mentioned that they helped each other when fields used to be closer, but now people do not know the farmers on the machambas next to their own. She said that if ‘you’ are lucky, ‘you’ have support from extended family within the Bairro, but one cannot rely upon anyone (Interview, 11.04.2016). This level of anonymity was also discussed by the Provincial Director for Social Action (Ação Social), who noted a system of mutual support before the war, that has since degraded due to a lack of resources and people becoming more anonymous (Interview, 14.04.2016).

In both Bairros, support is given to people who are very ill or when someone dies. A type of donation is collected from inhabitants within the Bairros in terms of money, food, firewood and other forms of support.

Membership of Groups and Networks

Membership of groups exist as an important channel for information sharing and can increase the household’s social and financial capital. Outside of savings and credit groups of different forms, which will be further explained in Financial Capital (5.1.4), interviewees mentioned cultural, religious, dancing, theater, cleaning, nutrition groups, and sport teams.

Out of those mentioned groups certain informal and personal networks emerged, for example the “Nutritious Group” in Bairro Cerâmica. They created a network between many different households in the Bairro, acknowledging the advantage of working together, particularly when it comes to similar issues and problems (Interview, 12.04.2016).

In addition to groups within the bairros representatives from the Provincial Youth Council are working on a voluntary basis within Niassa. Among other responsibilities, they attend national conferences, both to gain information from other provinces, as well
as to communicate the needs of the people within their province. This communication is done by representatives traveling to each district and discussing with youth there.

Access to wider institutions of society

During several interviews, a vertical relationship from the bairro level to political structures is reportedly limited, especially in the more rural bairros such as Sambula. Within Bairro Cerâmica, there is more of a relationship to the wider political structure than in Sambula. The leadership council reported that there are two representatives of Bairro Cerâmica within the municipality and two in the Provincial Assembly. These representatives have meetings with the population to discuss issues the municipality can help with and try to lobby for the Bairro within the Assembly. This was seen by the régulo of Bairro Cerâmica as a way to build the societal structure, as the Municipal Assembly is not ‘handing out money’, but has legal frameworks for what they can and cannot do. By contributing a bit with ‘your’ own work, the municipality can then come and finance certain projects that cannot be done by the Bairro (Interview with leadership council, 09.04.2016).

In Bairro Sambula, the leadership council said that the government is not doing enough for them – that they are ‘forgotten about’. This expression of isolation was more emphasized in Sambula than in Cerâmica. In terms of political initiative, the leadership council in Sambula reported that they went to the municipality several times about the broken wells in the Bairro. Each time they received a promise from the municipality that it would be fixed but it was never fulfilled (Interview, 18.04.2016). The leaders said they are going twice a year to meet with the president of the municipality to discuss project proposals for development within the Bairro. The support from the government was presented in Bairro Sambula as the main solution for development.
5.1.4 Financial Capital

**Income**

There was a wide range of interviewees from different income situations. While the income is more stable for those with salaried positions (e.g. within the public sector), these positions are difficult and rare to obtain. Thus the income situation is rather unstable for the majority of people living in the bairros. Most inhabitants are working on their machambas to grow agricultural products, which are used for their own consumption. The opportunity for interviewees to diversify their income was greater in Cerâmica, as all families reported selling their surplus harvest at the market, and some were engaging in additional sources of income. The régulo related that the two ways people survive in the Bairro is through 1) Having jobs in town, and 2) Agriculture (Interview, 05.04.2016).

In Sambula, it was reported by the leadership council that the majority of people are working as ganho-ganho during part of the year. For this labor they are paid in food such as maize. In some cases people have only smaller machambas for their own consumption and follow one main profession such as tailoring, artistry, or carpentry as was mentioned by interviewees.

**Saving and Credit Groups and Associations**

The savings and credit groups Savings and Credit group in Cerâmica exists as an important way for female small-scale farmers to improve their financial capital. Through membership, they are able to buy certain items (e.g. school uniform, books, etc.) that they cannot afford individually. However, there was a vocalized wish for access to credit for commercialization, such as they had heard for women in the South and with the Damas de Maputo\(^\text{16}\). It was mentioned that it is difficult for them to invest in what they want, as the combined sum is dependent on how each person does at the market that day. The example given, was that one day the total sum could be 200 MZN,

\(^{16}\) Female buyers coming from Maputo to sell back to the South
and this would then go to one person whose turn it was that day in the numbered order. However, they said the challenge is that sometimes they can even have a negative result if they do not sell everything and have to throw products away due to a lack of storage (Interview, 12.04.2016).

Similarly, the handicrafting group called Artezaõs, only three of the ten members are currently working. The other seven are working on their fields or as ganho-ganho, which was reportedly due to a lack of materials to keep them all working as crafters at one time. The income they receive from selling their products is divided by all working members and mostly used for buying new material and food, and for sending their children to school (Interview, 19.04.2016).

The group of Carpenters in Sambula consists of ten members who are reportedly all working. The received income is divided in a way that if one person receives a contract, he (there were no female members) is getting the payment. If there are bigger orders, they all work together and share the payment equally. The group has a common saving, mostly used for repairing work instruments, but also for support if one of the members has personal, e.g. health problems (Interview, 19.04.2016).

Representatives from various associations at an interview with UCA (Union of farmer associations) spoke of the opportunities they gained from their membership with their specific organization, which were mainly savings and credit groups. A common response from female members was that now they are making their own money and are not dependent on the man (Interview, 15.04.2016).

Social Support Programs

Ação Social is a governmental institution providing social support to citizens. Their program, formerly called ‘Food for Work’ in Lichinga and now called Ação Social Productivo (Productive Social Action), started in the most vulnerable districts to break the pattern of begging. Women and youth of working capacity within the district are contracted for jobs such as sweeping roads and making bricks. Ação Social then pays these temporary workers a monthly subsidy of 500–600 MZN (Interview, 14.04.2016).
Pensions

In addition to the *Ação Social Productivo* program, there is a regular program of subsidies for the elderly, though it is not yet implemented in all regions. Once a month, money from INAS is distributed by a team to beneficiaries chosen by representatives from INAS (National Institute for Social Action). One representative is chosen by the population within the *bairro*, and is responsible for overseeing the development and the use of the money. A single person receives 350 MZN per month, and can reach up to 610 MZN per month with more family members (Interview, 14.04.2016). Many are in need far before they reach the age to receive the pension, which is 55 for women and 60 for men (Interview with Nélia Taimo, 28.04.2016). However, priority is given to those with additional vulnerabilities – for example, if they have an incapacity to work. One member of the Handicraft Association in Bairro Sambula is receiving food portions from INAS because of his inability to work on a *machamba* with his chronic asthma (Interview, 19.04.2016).

Credit Supply and PERPU

In Mozambique, it is difficult for many to receive credit due to an overall lack of priority given to the more rural areas in terms of access to financial capital. Furthermore, the loans have very high interest rates. The banks are not set up in a way that allows access for many citizens, as they are concentrated in more urban areas.

Due to a limited access to credit, PERPU (*Programa Estratégico para a Redução da Pobreza Urbana*) was created as a governmental fund in Mozambique. This fund started out as the ‘Seven Million Fund’ that distributes seven million MZN to each district each year. An expansion into municipalities is still in its ‘pilot’ stage, as so far only the municipalities with a provincial capital receive the funding. This fund is meant as a loan, for which recipients have to repay with an interest rate depending on the type of project. For example, an agricultural and food project has an interest rate of 3%, while trade is 5% and so on, up to about 7% for car mechanics. The amount of money to the municipality is based on the population size, with seven million as the minimum amount. Lichinga Municipality receives 10,938,980 MZN a year based on the population count of 174,000. Furthermore, the amount going to each *posto-*
administrativo is determined by the population at each post. Within the posts, if there is a good repayment from the population, the post will get a bonus the following year. However, the rate of repayment is low (around 10%), which can prevent the post from receiving a bonus the following year. Each post has a consultative council that evaluates the incoming project proposals, and the municipality then looks to see if the project meets the existing criteria. The municipality thus does not look into the content of the proposals, because they do not have the capacity to evaluate quality, as reported by the vereador of PERPU (Interview, 21.04.2016). The target composition for this council is 40% local leadership, 30% women, 20% young people (18–34 years), and 10% other groups, though the vereador said it is ‘not always balanced’. These ratios are intended to reduce clientelism, or favoring of certain people, though this is still sometimes happening.

An anonymous interviewee explained further that the project proposals coming from the more rural bairros, such as Sambula, are less developed and smaller-scale, reflecting the poverty levels. Additionally, normally people with better life conditions (i.e. a higher level of education) are the ones who apply. Specific reasons for this may be due to illiteracy, as the applicants must submit a proposal in Portuguese. Although they can receive help from a technician at the posto-administrativo, they often must pay for this service. Even if funding is allocated according to the population size at each post as intended, there may be several hindrances to the funding reaching the more vulnerable. This could be due to illiteracy rates, having no resources to create an application, or even clientelism where certain applicants are favored by administrators at the posts, as was mentioned on several occasions.

Besides all the irregularities and criticism in terms of access to PERPU, it is an opportunity for inhabitants at the bairro level (i.e. those without salaried government positions) to receive money. In theory, everyone, who is over 18 can hand in a project proposal and obtain a part of the PERPU fund. Additionally, the economy can be stimulated on a local level by job creation. Two beneficiaries of the fund noted hiring others within the Bairro (five to six people) to help with their brick-making business.
5.1.5 Physical Capital

Transport

Transport is a necessary mean for people living in Lichinga municipality, particular to reach the *machambas* and markets. The main means of transportation for people living in the *bairros* is walking or going by bike. Fewer people are motorcycling, and seldom does someone own a car. Few people who are in the economic position to do so, pay to carpool by truck to get to their *machambas*. Many young men use their motorcycles as a taxi service to transport people between town and the *bairros* since people do not have their own faster transport opportunities.

A great problem for the transport are the streets, roads, and paths, which are often in a bad condition and not regularly maintained. Several interviewees complained about the bad conditions of the roads, and shared their incomprehension about it not being repaired. During an interview with four young men in Bairro Cerâmica they explained that they have joint voluntary actions to repair the roads and bridges within the Bairro. As their motivation they explained that better streets are needed for nearly everyone and they are necessary to get to Lichinga city (Interview, 12.04.2016).

Communication means

Means of communication vary within the *bairros*, as well as communication with parts of society outside the *bairros*. In Bairro Cerâmica, it was noticed that several other communication strategies were used in order to reach everyone in the Bairro. Information is passed down level by level (i.e. *posto-administrativo* to *bairro* to *unidades* etc.) following the formal structure within the municipality¹⁷ until it reaches the families at the end of the chain. Additionally, within the Bairro, topic-specific groups split themselves up to go from house to house to inform all households to be there in case of questions, or for example, to distribute *Certeza* (a water cleaning solution). In addition to this, people are called in for public informational meetings and discussion circles at the health center, school or the *régulos* house. This meeting can be organized for instance by the secretary, *régulo*, groups or as a cooperation between the

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¹⁷ See chapter 4.2 Lichinga Municipality
last three mentioned. For example in Bairro Cerâmica, people were skeptical about the introduction of Certeza, so the régulo and representatives of the “Certeza group” called in for a meeting at the régulo’s house, where they told about the importance of the solution and how to use it (Interview with “Nutritious Group”, former “Certeza Group”, 14.04.2016).

An additional mode of communication within the Bairro is through a female leader, who was selected by the régulo as the main contact among the women in the Bairro. She recalled in an individual interview that she is responsible for calling for meetings and spreading information. If there is an issue that involves a woman (such as a quarrel in a marriage), the régulo can call the female leader for help in solving it (Interview, 11.04.2016). Similarly, in Bairro Sambula, during a group interview with women, one of the women was introduced as “the queen of the town”18. She is, among other tasks, holding the main communication role within the Bairro. With help of her advisors, she should make sure that messages from the régulo are reaching everyone in the Bairro, and that they are not misunderstood (group interview with women, 18.04.2016).

Although there was a female leader in both bairros, it should be noted that there was a greater turnout of women in interviews in Bairro Cerâmica, particularly in the leadership council and groups of families.

Communication outside the bairro

A challenge to wider communication with actors outside the bairro was noted both from households and institutions. Related to the prevalence of adult illiteracy in Niassa, there is difficulty for many living within the bairros to communicate with government institutions, as they do not speak the ‘language of politicians’ (e.g. laws) (Interview with Jorge Malita, 03.04.2016).

An important means of communication outside of the bairros that is reaching a broader spectrum of society is radio and television. Broadcastings include a wide range of news and educational programs for different age and language groups with diverse topics. Radio Mozambique is aiming to cover a variety of themes with their

18 This is a word-by-word translation of the interpreter
programmes, e.g. environmental issues, rights, as well as health and education (Interview, 25.04.2016). In an interview with Urban Services they also mentioned using the television and radio to inform people where to throw their trash (Interview, 15.04.2016). Beside radio and television, people are using mobile phones as a means of communication both within and outside the Bairro.

When it comes to laws within Mozambique, the secretary of Bairro Cerâmica related that one of his responsibilities is to interpret that law for the people within the Bairro, and to explain it in a way that it is relevant within the traditional structure (Interview, 09.04.2016).

Within all the mentioned communication means, the régulo, as the traditional leader, is occupying a position of trust and importance, and is influencing the communication channels within his Bairro in cooperation with the secretary up to a higher level. In Cerâmica, there was a close relationship between the Secretary and the régulo, and the régulo mentioned that they cannot make decisions without each other, as one represents the administrative role, and the other (the régulo), the traditional role.

Shelter and Houses

There were notable differences between the housing structures in Bairro Cerâmica and Bairro Sambula. The houses in Cerâmica are in a better shape with walls built often of bricks covered with paint plaster of clay. The roofs and walls or fences around the houses are tin or straw. The houses in Bairro Sambula were often unfinished and more vulnerable to external weather factors and without surrounding fences. One reason for the prevalence of unfurnished houses is that people try to invest in their house as soon as they have some extra cash in order to avoid, to a certain extent, having to supply relatives with the money. Therefore they take the chance against weather to invest in their house in small steps instead of waiting to save enough to finish constructing the house all at once.

However, differences are existing within both Bairros. It could be observed that the houses in Bairro Cerâmica next to the main streets are more sturdily constructed than those more distant from the main streets, which are less strong and often damaged by
the water of the river streams. In addition to these described houses, both farmers from Bairro Cerâmica and Sambula are having small huts next to their machambas, as they are often too far way to frequently make return journeys. They use the huts mostly for sleeping and storing instruments and food.

Public buildings

Lichinga city has many public buildings including several schools, a hospital, the provincial governmental office buildings, churches, and NGO office buildings among other infrastructure. There was a notable difference the farther one traveled outside the city center.

For example Bairro Cerâmica has a escola primário completa from grade 1–7. The entire school has a total of 3,361 students (Interview with School Director, 04.04.2016). In the more distant Bairro Sambula, there is a severe lack of infrastructure. The only primary school in the Bairro was built by a Danish organization in 2000, and many families said that the two classrooms are inadequate for all the children. The secondary school is located an estimated eight kilometers outside the Bairro, and incidents were reported to have happened along those roads that made girls fearful to walk to school (Interview, 18.04.2016). The health center is a small building with only one room for all patients including the maternity ward.

Energy

In matters of access to energy, Lichinga city has a covering network, for private houses as well as public places like restaurants and the market place. Looking at Bairro Cerâmica, it has a further developed situation once again, compared to Bairro Sambula. Most houses in Bairro Cerâmica are having a connection to the energy network, which is working with a system of pre- and follow up payments by each consuming household (Individual Interview, 11.04.2016). On the other hand, Bairro Sambula is not connected to an energy network. However, some inhabitants are using small solar panels for charging the phones, listening to the radio, and watching television, and the health service is keeping the refrigerator running with the solar energy. However, there are no
lights at night in the health clinic and if patients are coming, like a mother for giving birth, they have to bring batteries for the small lamps there or they bring their own lamps (Interview at health clinic, 19.04.2016).

Water

The construction of social infrastructure (like drilling/building and maintaining wells, schools, and roads) is formally in the responsibility of the municipality. Concerning water the vereador for Urbanisation and Infrastructure described a difficult situation within Lichinga city due to an insufficient pipe system, which was not built to sustain so many residents (Interview, 15.04.2016). The surrounding bairros mostly have wells for water supply. However, the inhabitants of Bairro Sambula do not have access to potable water, since the pumps of all three wells in the village broke down more than two years ago. Instead people are getting their water from shallow, manually-dug wells or from the river and mainly women (as it is a traditionally female task) are transporting it back by carrying buckets on their heads. In Sambula, one woman explained that most people are drinking the water directly from the river and the small self-made wells without boiling or treating it, and this is often causing diarrhea and even cholera. She, and other interviewees mentioned that they used to use Chlor-tablets for cleaning the water, which were distributed for free at the local health clinic in the past but are not anymore (Individual family interview, 19.04.2016).

The situation in Bairro Cerâmica is less dire as many have access to their own water taps, which were located in the interviewees’ backyards. In this case the family has their own tap for which they pay a monthly fee (120 MZN) plus the cost of the consumed water. However, they must pay this fee whether the water is working or not, which could be up to one week (Individual family interview, 11.04.2016). Whenever the taps are not working, when the pressure is too low, or when the family does not have their own tap, they use their own-built wells, or a neighbor’s. The wells in Cerâmica are often right next to the houses and have deep holes (estimation: five meters), built with brick stones inside.

The “Certeza Group” also named the “Mothers of Certeza” (now the “Nutritious Group”, Interview, 14.04.2016), was mentioned as a means of communication within
Bairro Cerâmica earlier in this chapter. This group was active since 2008 in introducing *Certeza*\(^{19}\) in the Bairro, by spreading information, promoting and distributing it to each household. The acceptance and understanding of *Certeza’s* importance increased, and members of the group distributed in the Bairro after picking it up for free at the hospital. However, now people would have to buy it for 20 MZN a bottle, which is enough for approximately a month for one family. The group explains that the reasons for this commercialisation are due to limited resources and the necessity of the health centers to set new priorities. It was also reasoned that the situation in the more rural area is worse and so they introduced it there for free. In Cerâmica however, some people started to buy *Certeza*, pointing to a generally better economic situation compared to those in Sambula.

**Waste management**

As observed and also described in several interviews, garbage is polluting the streets and rivers throughout Lichinga city and in the surrounding *bairros*. Urban Services noted that they use normal trucks to remove garbage because they do not have the resources for a normal garbage truck. There is only one central place for collection in another *bairro* (Interview, 15.04.2016). He also noted that it is difficult for the trucks to reach more distant areas, and those in Bairro Sambula, for example, have their own way of dealing with garbage, such as by burning it. It was observed that there were piles of garbage in the town and Bairro Cerâmica, and far less in Bairro Sambula. The Provincial Direction of Environment and Rural Development noted that garbage is kept in open-air and not in covered landfills, and that there are no proper means to collect it. The Direction is engaging in a voluntary street clean-up two times per month, together with other public institutions under direction from the municipality, e.g. *Ação Social* was mentioned as a participant.

\(^{19}\) *Certeza* is a chemical liquid one can add to the water to make it drinkable.
Production equipment

Certain equipment is essential in order to be able to work and produce on the machambas. Interviews with farmers in the bairros revealed a multifaceted problem: One problem is that farmers do not possess many instruments or do not have the kind of instrument they would need, like hoes, shovels or spades. A lack of financial resources often limits their possibilities to buy or repair equipment. Particularly the farmers in Bairro Sambula described a challenging situation due to the lack of production equipment and their difficulty to accumulate further resources, such as fertilizer or for building irrigation systems. No farmer mentioned the use of chemical fertilizers. A greater access to and use of these resources would increase production and surplus, which would lead to further development, according to groups of families in both Bairro Sambula and Bairro Cerâmica. However, they feel they are remaining in poverty and stated three main reasons for what brings people into poverty as: unemployment; problems with “tired” land; and no money for fertilizer and farming instruments (Sambula, group interview, 18.04.2016).

Therefore, a lack of tools and fertilizer related to limited financial resources are further weakening the general livelihood of farmers. If one capital is lacking, such as production equipment, drinking water, and elements of basic infrastructure, the other capitals will often suffer as well depending on a person’s use of them – essentially their coping strategies.

5.1.6 Summary of Capital Assets

Natural

1. The escape of people to safety during the war period on fertile lands pushed the machambas away for all the population.
2. In Sambula, the population growth rate created smaller plot sizes for families, forcing shorter rotation cycles between plots, leading to reduced soil fertility.
3. Higher food insecurity in Sambula due to lack of fertilizers and other production tools.
Social

1. Importance of the nuclear and extended family for support due to a lack of mutual support within the Bairros.
2. Higher membership of groups in Bairro Cerâmica linked to improvement in other capitals. Trust was an important factor included in membership.
3. Creation of networks within Bairro Cerâmica to spread information on certain topics.
4. ‘Gap’ between general population and politically active contributing to low awareness of rights, as well as limited access to vertical institutions, though access was greater in Cerâmica than in Sambula.

Human

1. ‘Semi-legal’ habitation of people in the swampy areas leading to efforts of relocation from officials due to health concerns.
2. Health and population growth concerns related to early pregnancies and short birthing cycles for women.
3. Importance of youth education, as well as adult literacy (with a specific focus from NGOs on women) to elevate them into leadership positions in society.
4. Improved farming methods are spread through extension workers, but they do not reach many rural areas.
5. The inability for youth to find stable jobs (even after education) increases the vulnerability for especially elderly women, as they often cannot support them in addition to their own families.

Financial

1. Higher income instability in Sambula due to work as ganho-ganho and few possibilities to diversify income due to lack of financial resources and distance to the central market.
2. Inadequate amount of money and distribution irregularities in elderly pensions and credit through PERPU diluting the efficiency of the resource.
3. Importance of Savings and Credit groups and specialized worker associations to increase financial capital.
Physical

1. Lack of transportation and bad roads affecting access to markets and 
   machambas, especially in and out of more rural areas such as Sambula.
2. Communication within the Bairros through hierarchical municipal system, with 
   régulo influencing the communication channels within his Bairro.
3. Main communication outside of the Bairro through radio and television 
   programs spreading information, and through the secretary in the interpretation 
   of Mozambican laws in Cerâmica.
4. Poor infrastructure in regards to the school, health clinic, and access to water 
   and electricity in Sambula, with slightly better access and construction in 
   Cerâmica, and much better within Lichinga city.

5.2 Livelihood Vulnerability Context

5.2.1 Trends

Environmental Trends

1. There is a notable difference between the broader environmental concerns of 
   NGOs and governmental institutions and the more immediate issues that affect 
   households in terms of the environment, such as flooding and reduction in soil 
   fertility.
2. Education about the environment in schools and clubs is centered on issues more 
   relatable to people such as tree planting and community forests.

Population Trend

3. Overall Increase in population and concentration of people into urban areas felt 
   in both semi-urban and more rural areas due to a decrease in available land.

Technological Trend

4. An emphasis on modernized farming techniques from various institutions that 
   cannot be implemented due to lack of financial resources allocated to small- 
   scale farmers.
Political Trends

5. Remnants of colonialist system seen in centrally-focused government policies and mentality, causing inefficient program implementation considering provincial diversity.

6. Disconnect between the politically inactive, politically active, and politicians, is leading to low level of participation from those most affected by policies.

Economic Trends

7. Price fluctuations and inflation due to dependence on buyer demands, causing greater food insecurity for those who cannot produce or store their harvest to last the whole year.

8. High unemployment and unavailability of credit leading to demotivation for youth education and low incentive for entrepreneurship. This is turn affects the entire society in terms of education levels, and food security, among other factors.

9. Desire among small-scale farmers for increased access to commercialization in the form of market access, existence of mills and small factories, and technologies to increase production.

5.2.2 Shocks

Climate

The climate is having a strong influence on the majority of people living in Lichinga municipality, since they rely on agriculture which is affected by weather and climate changes. The impacts of climate variances are particularly difficult, since people often do not have the capacity to react to this, for example irrigations systems on the fields to react to droughts. Droughts are disastrous for farmers, since they will have less production on their fields. Another climate impact is floods, having particularly fatal repercussions in the semi-legal settlement, e.g due to unfinished houses and those who are build of weaker materials. The Provincial Direction of Environment and Rural Development is corroborating the negative impacts of droughts and floods, and argues that these two are part of the increasing problems due to the global climate change (Interview, 20.04.2016).
Conflict

The civil war from 1977 until the 1992 peace accords had an immense impact on the people's livelihood that is still felt today. Besides the displacement of people onto “semi-structured” settlements, several political repercussions are still existent within Mozambican society, such as a continued centralization of the state. Additionally, the Portuguese colonization of Mozambique led to the present absence of ‘tax-paying culture’ as related by Jorge Malita, as people are still scarred by these memories (Interview, 03.04.2016).

5.2.3 Culture

Religion

The prevalent religions are Islam and Catholicism from the Christian churches. In Bairro Cerâmica both the régulo explained, and it was observable, that all religions live in harmony with each other in the Bairro. The régulo himself is a muslim, however, following the responsibilities in his role, he is supporting each religious group in an equal way (Interview with leaders, 09.04.2016). Furthermore, the members of the muslim group in Cerâmica are sharing the régulo’s opinion. They said they intend to get more members for their community and they want to spread their religion, nevertheless, they signified their respect towards other religions (Interview, 12.04.2016). Notable is, that even members a nuclear family can follow the beliefs of different traditions, without causing conflicts (Individual family interview, 11.04.2016).

Traditional Authorities

The existing strong traditional structures can be seen as part of the vulnerability context, as they are affecting the livelihood of people in different ways. The régulo in Bairro Cerâmica told that at independence the government tried to diminish the role of the régulo. This led to a weak relation between the régulo and the secretary. Later, the régulo’s importance was recognized and structures changed in a way that the position of régulo became legally recognized. The régulo spoke of hybridization between modern and traditional structures, due to a move of people from more rural to urban spaces.
creating a more ‘mixed’ society that lives in harmony within the Bairro (Interview, 05.04.2016).

An important part in this structure is the cooperation between the secretary and the régulo. In Bairro Cerâmica both stated that they are working closely together (Interview, 09.04.2016). While the secretary takes care of administrational issues and interpreting laws, the régulo, with help of advisers, focuses on traditional topics. He is forwarding information, solving conflicts and personal issues within and between families in the Bairro, keeping track of the informal education and religious topics. Additionally, he knows about the borders and division of the land in the regulado, and can counsel farmers and even redistribute land if needed (Interviews, 11.04.2016).

Therefore, leadership within the bairro has both traditional and political responsibilities, and a closer access and connection to governmental authorities can potentially lead to more attention and resources provided for people within the bairro.

Informal Education of Youth and the Role of Girls

Parallel to the formal education at school, the informal education of youth has significance in many people’s life. Nélia Taimo states that the informal education has become less strong in urban areas, and its importance in the rural areas is slightly decreasing. Mostly girls of 11–12 years are participating, while it is less prevalent for boys. She also stated that ‘no one’ outside the communities actually know what is taught at the lectures and happening during the ceremonies (Interview, 28.04.2016). However, during an informal conversation in Bairro Sambula it was mentioned that young girls are taught to never reject the will or wish of a boy/man, particularly in sexual matters.

In relation to this, the Provincial Director of Education stated that early pregnancies and marriage, low attendance and increasing dropout rates of girls at school are partially attributable to informal education (Interview, 06.04.2016). A representative of AMODEFA also emphasizes that girls act like they are adults, after they concluded their initial rituals. They get married and they are supposed to get a child after one or two years of marriage, otherwise they might be “handed back” to their biological
parents. AMODEFA is seeing girls in a ‘double’ vulnerability situation: on one side they are already biologically the ones carrying out children, and secondly they are still following the informal education and cultural values (Interview, 28.04.2016).

Many NGOs and the civil society are working with gender and human rights issues, and the empowerment of the self-determination of young women. The representative of AMODEFA explained that an involvement of and cooperation with the local leadership and the matronas is vital when approaching these topics, just as much as working with the parents. Changes can be noticed already in a way that the conduction of the informal education is getting less strong and more open (Interview, 28.04.2016). Several communities are making additional modifications in informal education by conducting it during the regular school holidays.

5.3 Structures and Processes

5.3.1 Political Structures and Processes

Land Law

The 1997 Land Law determines that land is essentially a “lease”, as it is inheritable and to a certain extent transferable for a period of 50 years. However, “it gives the state authority to allocate land concessions for commercial businesses” (Van den Brink, 2008: 1). This corresponds to what an expert, André Calengo argued, in that land is the property of the state in Mozambique, while the right of land use is with all Mozambican people (Interview, 27.04.2016). As portrayed by André Calengo, people believe that with a DUAT (Direito de Uso e Aproveitamento dos Terras), they own the land, but in reality they only have the right to occupy the land. He argued that the danger in this is that the state has control, and could take the land at any time despite the need for a formal negotiation process. This is leading to the issue of land grabbing by people with power in urban areas, where the pressure on land is much higher. In areas outside of the municipality, international forestry companies are the main source of land grabbing. Communities have little power against these companies in defending their land rights (Interview, 27.04.2016).
Process of Decentralization

Decentralization

During the rapid process of decentralization, Mozambique has experienced difficulties in regards to an overlap or gap in tasks performed by the municipality and district in Lichinga, and a lack of both human and financial resources to hire qualified staff in the governmental levels. There is also a remaining emphasis on a central structure which is causing several repercussions down the chain of governmental levels and within the society in general.

Complications with decentralization were noted by the District Administrator of Lichinga. He told that there is sometimes a confusion of tasks between district and municipality. While the district is responsible for education, health, and support to farmers, living within the territory of the municipality, roads and water are under the jurisdiction of the municipality. He argued that although this is clear in legislation, it is not in everyday work. He found that one imbalance between the two is that the municipality is older than the district and has more available resources. Consequently, there are few activities outside of the municipality. The District Administrator also related that there would be more rapid development of the district (which is mainly rural now), if there were more collaboration on projects with the municipality (Interview, 13.04.2016).

Furthermore, the District Administrator noted that politicians do not understand the ‘problems’, and that legislation coming from the central level is based on problems within Maputo rather than on the context in other parts of the country. In an interview with Jorge Malita, he noted the strategy of “open governance”, where mayors visit bairros to hear complaints, and come back with a ‘basket of problems’. However, upon looking into the budget they see a gap, as it is based on assumed resources available, which is not always accurate (Interview, 04.04.2016). Therefore a challenge for politicians is the trade-off between addressing local needs, and using the central budget money efficiently to cover all the other provinces (Interview, 13.04.2016). There is an issue to address diverse provinces, as well as diversity within a province like Niassa, where stark socio-economic differences exist between the studied areas of Lichinga city, Sambula, and Cerâmica.
As reported by Åkesson and Nilsson (2006), the process of decentralization produced few improvements in regards to public services. While poverty reduction should be of central priority for municipalities, it is “hampered by a lack of resources, management experience, and gap between scale of poverty and “scale and scope of the instruments they can rely on” (Mozambique Municipal Development in Mozambique, 21). This is evident especially in Bairro Sambula, where the leadership council frequently related that the support from the government is not enough. They often mentioned that the ‘government’ should be doing certain things. The demand by inhabitants in Bairro Sambula points to a particular issue within the system of governance. The rapid decentralization made it difficult to fill the governmental levels with enough financial resources and qualified staff to meet the demands within society. Additionally, the Provincial Direction of Environment and Rural Development noted a challenge in human resources is that there is not enough ‘competent staff’, and that they want to train staff more to ‘solve problems’. However, they said they cannot improve this because of financial restrictions (Interview, 20.04.2016).

Central-thinking

Heavy centralization was often mentioned as a problem for various reasons. For one, policies are coming from the macro level and not adapted to the ‘micro’ level. As noted by the Deputy Director of the Direction for Extension Services, Pita (Integrated program for transmitting agricultural techniques) is a program that, ‘unfortunately’ comes from the central level, and is not adapted to local conditions but rather tries to cover whole country with the same program (Interview, 20.04.2016). This was also noted as a problem by the Provincial Director of Ação Social, who said that legislation is being based on the problems in Maputo, and all programs are treated in the same way even though the problems in Niassa are much different. Their budget proposals are going to Maputo (to MGAS) and they are not receiving what they want, or what they asked for, yet there is no space for negotiation with the government (Interview, 14.04.2016).

This relates to one study that found that municipalities would like have more “systematic involvement” in aid-funded projects within their territory, but as many
municipalities are still centralized as they were after independence, the control of aid
distribution to reduce poverty lies mostly within the governmental control
(Mozambique Municipal Development in Mozambique, 18). This is leading to a
growing demand for participatory budgeting by some authorities within the
municipality to prioritize projects within budget proposals. Jorge Malita also noted that
governors are using participatory budgeting to address ‘reality issues’, and so people see
what is happening with the money (Interview, 03.04.2016).

There is also an expressed issue with the multi-party system, in that is it still heavily a
one-party system. An expert in Maputo, André Calengo, reported that Frelimo is not
prepared to work with other parties, and they are not used to having ‘watch-dogs’ who
monitor and question them. He told that criticism is more tolerated at the central level
compared to provincial, district, or municipal level, and anything that is challenging is
taken as opposition to be ‘punished’ or ‘ignored’ (Interview, 27.04.2016).

**PERPU**

The expansion of the ‘7 Million Fund’ into municipalities within provincial capitals was
done, according to one interviewee, based on the argument that there are also poor
people within the municipalities (Interview, 21.04.2016). In general, the overall
problem related to access of credit in Mozambique creates a greater need for this type of
funding. Several of the irregularities that are mentioned below should be put into the
context related in this interview. It surfaced that in order for the money to ‘trickle down’
to lower levels outside of the state budget, while avoiding criticism from the World
Bank and the International Monetary Fund, PERPU is set-up as a rotative fund. This is
combined with a weak ability for the district and municipality to collect the money back
from recipients. As a consequence, there is a very low rate of repayment and the money
essentially becomes ‘lost’ at the local level. Another risk of providing funding in this
way, is that it is seen as a ‘gift’ from the government that will continue to be given out
whether people repay it or not, which was observed from an interview with two
beneficiaries. The interviewee said that the rate of repayment is lower in *bairro* where
the opposition is stronger, meaning many recipients not only see this money as a

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20 Interviewees will all be anonymous for this section
government hand-out, but also do not want to support a Frelimo-dominated government by paying them. However, an interviewee said that one day this money has to be cut, which makes the government politically vulnerable.

Several problems, loopholes and criticism about PERPU came up during interviews. One main problem with PERPU is that it seems to be rather based on the person applying for it (i.e. régulo’s and secretary’s family members), than on the proposed project. This was stated both by an NGO as well by a Saving and Credit Group within a bairro, which sent in two project proposals and got denied both times. The project proposal was for 100,000 MZN to start commercialization of maize and beans. Another mention of corruption came from the executive director of an NGO, who said that in addition to the fund being based on the person, it also is based on the political affiliation. A recipient needs to be a Frelimo supporter, and also often needs to pay a bribe to the person accepting their application or a portion of the received funding.

A further problem is that applicants are often not receiving the full amount of money they applied for. However, they take the smaller sum, which is then often not sufficient to realize their proposed project, and is therefore more likely to fail. As mentioned in an individual family interview, sometimes the receiver is changing to a different project or is using the money mostly for personal needs and wishes (Interview, 11.04.2016). This relates to the issue presented by one interviewee, who said that people are not used to having access to so much money at one time, and also have limited professional capacity to invest the money. Two beneficiaries of the fund, who both used the money to start a brickmaking business, noted that one of them received the total they asked for (100,000 MZN) and the other only 24,000 of the requested 50,000 MZN. They said that this was so everyone could ‘get something’, as the money seemed to run out. While there are several irregularities mainly related to corruption issues, PERPU exists as an important way for people at the local level to get access to credit.

Incentives

With a lack of incentive to pursue, for example, a higher level of education, become an entrepreneur or expand a business, or be politically active, the entire society suffers from a lack of sustainable development. Thus incentives are within the processes that
affect the capital asset of individuals, and should be present in some form to allow individuals the flexibility and option to expand their asset base.

Education

During several interviews, education was mentioned as a major component to development in Mozambique. Many linked incentives for going to school to finding work afterwards, saying without the ability to find jobs after, it is ‘better’ for them to work on the machambas to support their family. One group of male football players in Bairro Sambula said that they would be motivated to go to school, as well as others, if there were a factory that offered jobs (Interview, 19.04.2016). The Provincial Director of Education noted that many government programs are dedicated to youth as they also make up the majority of the population in the province. In attempting to especially incentivize girls to continue their education, he noted that they are sometimes waving the fee for girls to attend secondary education (Interview, 06.04.2016). The NGO PROGRESSO identified a need within their adult literacy program to further incentivize women to attend. An identified need from their participants is to add a more practical component to satisfy immediate needs. Thus, giving out seeds and information, as well as teaching about ‘abilities in life’ (e.g. in regards to combating sexual and domestic violence, and early marriage etc.), increased the level of participation.

The incentive to attain an education is closely related to the other capital assets of an individual. Many women are not in a position to pursue an education due to the need to produce more short-term results within the household (e.g. working on the machamba, taking care of children, cleaning and cooking for the household). Similarly, if there is a need for the children in a household to labor in the fields to increase the production for the family, sometimes the child is taken out of school because of a necessary reorganization of the capitals within a household.

Economics

Several governmental policies, most notably the Green Revolution Strategy within PEDSA, are focusing on increasing the incentives for small-scale farmers to produce
more through commercialization efforts. Additionally, problems related to market fluctuations are attributable to the ability of some farmers to store their harvest to sell during scarcity times. Those who cannot store their harvest due to either a lack of storage facilities or a need for the household to consume the harvest due to lower overall output levels, are forced to buy at ‘scarcity prices’, or months after the harvesting period finishes. These prices, as noted by farmers in Sambula, can increase from 150–200 MZN for 20 liters of maize, to up to 550 MZN for the same amount (Interview, 18.04.2016). Thus farmers who are able to, are incentivized to sell their harvest during these scarcity times for higher profit. Due to an overall lack of commercialisation between the north and south in Mozambique, as well as an inability for Mozambique to enter the international market of high subsidization for foodstuffs, farmers are forced into selling among themselves in this volatile market. Some farmers within UCA expressed a longing for the reemergence of an organization like AGRICOM, as within this system there was not so much uncertainty about being able to sell their surplus (Interview, 15.04.2016).

**Politics**

Political participation in terms of voting, and being active members in civil society is linked to several factors and may differ from person to person. During interviews, the majority of society, or the ‘masses’ as defined by Jorge Malita, are not politically active, and are left somewhat disconnected from both the politically active civil society, and the governmental levels. He said one danger in this is that they are often ‘manipulated’. One reason for this was people not speaking the language of politicians (e.g. formal rules), as expressed by Jorge Malita (Interview, 27.04.2016). An additional cause, according to an expert, André Calengo, is that people are “getting tired”. As a result, political participation is constantly going down, from 80 to 60 to 30 to less than 30% of the people with a right to vote in municipal elections (Interview, 27.04.2016). This was also expressed by Jorge Malita in regards to tax-paying. He said that there is no culture of tax-paying as people are still feeling like there is a severe lack of infrastructure and so they do not see the benefits of paying taxes. There are also traumatic memories from the colonial system, when ‘they’ would collect money and the people got nothing in return (Interview, 03.04.2016).
Additionally, people’s political affiliation is influenced by incentives received from alignment with the Frelimo party, as was expressed on several occasions. In one anonymous interview, it was revealed that the repayment of PERPU is linked to supporting the government, in a way, and as such the rate of repayment is lower in bairros where the opposition party (Renamo) is stronger. It was also noted by André Calengo, that there are political agendas within civil society, and that both parties have their own organizations (Interview, 27.04.2016). Thus, certain patterns in participation should be carefully examined with regards to political affiliation.

5.3.2 Civil Society, Farmer Unions, and Forums

One of the influencing processes in society that exists either in coordination with or outside of the governmental plans, is the role of civil society organizations and NGOs. In Mozambique, a civil society did not emerge until the multiparty elections in 1994, according to an expert André Calengo. This civil society, though organizations have increased in number and in areas they cover, is ‘still weak’, says André Calengo (Interview, 27.04.2016). In addition to NGOs, forums and farmer unions have emerged as an important way for especially the more vulnerable in society (e.g. rural small-scale farmers and women) to create a collective voice in regards to human and land rights. Associations, particularly various Savings and Credit and agriculture production associations are expanding members’ capital assets, particularly financial but also social capital for many.

According to the program coordinator of WeEffect, the NGO was created by a Swedish organization from a recognition of the low level of participation from civil society within Niassa. They began by strengthening existing organizations through registration and providing tools for participation (e.g. manuals) and have also created other civil society organizations such as ROADS. They related that participation from civil society should be based on the same plan as the government (Interview, 08.04.2016). Another Mozambican-created NGO working in coordination with the government is PROGRESSO. The coordinator of PROGRESSO said they support what is done by the government, and are following the national curriculum as well as providing complementary education in schools (e.g. teacher trainings and book distribution).
One organization working outside of the government is ESTAMOS, which points to the possible emergence of a more ‘critical’ civil society that monitors the government. However, it should be taken into account that they are reliant on international financing. The distinction between a more ‘shallow’ versus ‘deep’ civil society, which, according to André Calengo, the majority of civil society in Mozambique falls into this ‘shallow’ category. This is due to their reliance on international donors who have their own political agendas, or on the agendas of the political parties, Frelimo and Renamo (Interview, 27.04.2016). Thus an emergence of NGOs focused on ‘good governance’ should be examined with caution, as they may not necessarily be forming from the grassroots level.

Several of the mentioned NGOs have a network among each other due to their work in common problem areas. One area of concentration among them is on gender, in terms of early marriage, maternal nutrition, and female and male rights among other topics. Another common theme is related to agriculture, as many people are suffering due to conflicts with land grabbing in urban and rural areas. NGOs dealing with agriculture, as noted in the MINAG draft report on PEDSA, “play a key role in providing services to the most vulnerable sections of the rural population” (Ministry of Agriculture, 2010: 11).

Despite the attempt on outreach by many NGOs, one common cause for concern among the implementation of programs by the NGOs is many are working in areas where many organizations are already working, as admitted by ROADS (Interview, 08.04.2016). An additional concern was noted by the Provincial Director of Ação Social. He explained that sometimes NGOs are coming to the region to ‘fill the gaps’, but sometimes they make the situation for the persons concerned worse. He mentioned an NGO that started distributing medicine against AIDS/HIV to people in the region. Since the medication is strong, it needed to be taken together with food, which was lacking for many receivers and led to an increase in deaths. The NGO was shut down after investigations by experts from Maputo. The Director expressed that NGOs should understand the situation of the people first and not start taking decisions about many people without knowing enough (Interview, 14.04.2016).

The creation of UCA was based on the idea of people solving their own problems and ‘problems of the society’. Thus farmers unions as such, as well as on the national level
(UNAC), are an important way for farmers to come together and ‘defend themselves’, as the government is respecting an organization more than individuals (Interview, 15.04.2016). Individuals of member associations noted that the structure makes it possible to channel farmer information ‘up and down’ so that more are reached by the knowledge. Female participants also noted their strengthened role, that they can speak up in UCA. UCA is also involved in helping women acquire land titles, as they are often left more vulnerable without the title, especially in female-headed households. Thus UCA and related farmer unions are important to increasing the livelihoods of small-scale farmers particularly in defending their land rights against ‘bigger actors’ among other social and financial benefits.

**Forums**

Forums are a way for group support and increasing other capitals, specifically in regards to farmer and female rights and information. This organization has a focus on female empowerment in different areas, and is a partner of WeEffect. FOFeN’s “Women in Politics” program between 2010 and 2013 had success in increasing female representation in the Municipal Assembly, with the number of females in the Assembly surpassing that of men in the previous mandate period. However, the more recent election did not see this level of female participation, and currently there are 15 females in the Assembly and one female vereador (Interview with the vereador for governance, 03.04.2016). This was explained as a tendency from the past for male domination, which is a constant struggle to overcome, said the coordinator of FOFeN. Another outcome of FOFeN’s work, as noted by the coordinator, is that a higher number of women are in water committees (Interview, 20.04.2016).

Another forum in Niassa is FONAGNI (*Fórum de organizações não-governamentais do Niassa*)\(^{21}\). Representatives of this forum noted that they are working together with the district and municipality, and all issues are discussed together at the *observatorio*\(^ {22}\) once per year. They related that problems are often attributed to the municipality when it should be to the district. One of the representatives of FONAGNI also mentioned that

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\(^{21}\) Forum of non-governmental organizations in Niassa

\(^{22}\) Sessions organized once per year in district with district administration, provincial directors, governor, NGOs, and contact person from FONAGNI
there is no discussion between the districts and ‘us’ at the observatorio, as ‘we know’ and ‘they know we know’ what is happening (Interview, 25.04.2016). FONAGNI is only two full-time employees and three part-time, with their basic institutional support coming from WeEffect. Some administrative disorganization and low number of employees point to the strain on financial and human resources felt by many institutions in Niassa.

5.3.3 Private Sector

The lower population rate and availability of arable land make provinces such as Niassa a viable location for private forestry companies, such as Green Resource. With some necessary caution in regards to land grabbing by forestry companies, there are several positive outcomes related to the private sector. For one, similar to NGOs, they can sometimes fill a gap left by a lack of public services for the population, as well as provide external stimulation to the economy in terms of employment.

Green Resource employs people within communities that are close to their operations. It was reported in an interview that mostly young people (age 18–40) are being employed, and those who are lacking education, who are ‘not normally employed’ (Interview, 21.04.2016).

It was related in the interview that precautions are taken in regards to establishing relationships with communities by making the process ‘completely participatory’. A community fund was also established by Green Resource to be used by the communities near to their operations. Distribution of the fund requires community compliance to use the fund for projects such as the construction of school and health centers within the bairro. Ideally, communities benefit in way that mutually benefits the company. The reputation and continued operations of the company require cooperation with the communities that have original ownership of the land.

A change of the mindset and policies within Green Resource was noted by André Calengo (Interview, 27.04.2016). However, several concerns with land grabbing are still present in regards to international forestry companies. As expressed in the interview with Green Resource, lands that are being ‘unused’ are considered for company use.
However, due to the rotative cycle, these lands are often being used by farmers, and are simply in fallow. A reduction in arable land severely increases a household’s vulnerability. Therefore, several precautions need to be taken in regards to accessing the influence of the private sector.

Beside Green Resources, the vereador for sanitation and management of urban environment talked about one of the visions Lichinga municipality has: The garbage collection service should be carried out by a private company. He stated that the municipality currently does not have enough financial resources to do so and does the service themselves. However, the service is rather weak due to a weak transport system and the frequent plan is often interrupted, which is leading to any complaints. The hope is to improve this situation by the involvement and cooperation with the private sector (Interview, 15.04.2016).

These two example – both the existing presence of and the hope for more involvement from the private sector provide an overall picture of the lack of the frustration and desire for other forms of intervention and support due to a lack or inefficient use of public resources.
6. Analysis

The purpose of conducting research in two different bairros was not to compare the conditions of the two. However, certain differences did arise that point to a gap in the political and economic attention given between the more distant Bairro Sambula, and the more centrally located Bairro Cerâmica. Therefore, a part of our analysis will focus on possible reasons for such differences, as well as similarities in the conditions of the two areas, and then widen to analyze the gaps in the political structure and processes that affect Niassa province and Lichinga municipality.

6.1 Livelihood Outcomes

6.1.1 Vulnerability

Within a given context (e.g. the aforementioned trends, shocks, and culture that are generally outside of an individual’s control) the mobilization of capital resources in response to difficulties is a way for households to cope.

When one capital asset is lacking, such as food shortages due to a compromise of the natural capital (land), individuals respond in various ways. For some, there is a reliance on extended family who may have a higher financial capital. Others who do not have extended family that they can rely on for help often work as a ganho-ganho. If there is a serious illness within the Bairro, this compromises the human capital, especially their ability to work. As a consequence, people may rearrange the labor within the household (e.g. husband, granddaughter or daughter-in-law is going to labor on the machamba). Or they may seek community support such as borrowing money, food or firewood, or be given this support as a donation from community members. Group membership can also help to decrease an individual’s vulnerability, such as in a Savings and Credit group. Often support exists outside of the regular contributions of the members, as they also help each other, for instance when someone of the group gets sick.
6.1.2 Income and Commercialisation

The ability to increase income was overall limited in both bairros, although individuals in Sambula noted a particular difficulty in both producing a surplus, and in reaching the central market if they do have a surplus to sell. Income diversification was more prevalent in Bairro Cerâmica. Generally, people mentioned a need and desire for commercialization, and that access to production equipment (e.g. various hoes and fertilizer) would increase production and their overall wellbeing. Those who were able to sell their surplus harvest, or open a small business made decisions based on economic trends and opportunities. One concern among UCA was the risk of investing in increasing their production without a market. This is also mentioned by Carney that the choice of livelihood strategies depend how the market is doing and what people have access to (Carney, 1998: 23). Mills, a transport business, brickmaking, and tailoring were all discussed as viable markets by interviewees.

6.1.3 Food Security

The inability to increase income especially in Sambula is leading to food insecurity. Those in Cerâmica who are able to diversify their income and/or produce enough to sell their harvest have enough food to last their family the entire year and have the financial capital to hire ganho-ganho. Overall, the ability in both bairros to increase their productivity on the machambas is limited, as they cannot afford fertilizer or production equipment. The population increase and shifting dynamics during the civil war, as well as land grabbing by international forestry companies has and is reducing the availability of arable land. This is leading to shorter rotation cycles between plots, which, combined with a lack of access to fertilizers, is decreasing soil fertility and heightening food insecurity. The effects of this are more severe in the more distant rural bairros, such as Sambula, which have fewer capitals to rearrange as coping strategies.

6.1.4 Use of Natural Resources

The aim is to use the natural resources in a sustainable way, which includes the possibilities to and the knowledge on how to preserve them. However, the use of fertile
land as one of the basic natural resources decreased and the current use of the natural resources, particular in relation to the machambas, appears less sustainable. The traditional rotative system and method of slash and burn are not sustainable for the current situation of reduced access to land. Farmers are aware of their action, that they make their land more “tired”. Therefore, the overused soil, with insufficient time for fallow periods, is leading NGOs and extension workers to promote use of fertilizers and new seeds that last longer. Beside that, improvements of equipment would be needed to increase productivity and in turn to have a positive effect on the livelihood situation of the farmers, including social issues. The latter is not taken much into account from governmental agricultural policies, which focused on increasing production, manifested in extension service workers.

6.1.5 Wellbeing

The overall ‘wellbeing’ of people was mentioned as having increased since colonial times, although people in both bairros related a form of suffering. Additionally, these improvements were never noted in connection with the government. Improvements were either mentioned as having come from foreign investors or from their own initiatives such as voluntary ‘working days’ in Cerâmica to clean the streets and improve the roads, as well as a close relationship between the régulo and secretary to strengthen the traditional structure.

In both Bairros, a general lack of financial capital is affecting all the other capitals in differing ways depending on the household. However in Cerâmica, in general, there is more of an existing financial capital to build upon, but a hindrance to further improve their financial capital. In Sambula, there is a dependency on and sometimes compromise of the other capitals due to a more severe lack of financial capital. This is combined with a lack of infrastructure and a greater distance to the market and municipal buildings, which is leading to increased vulnerability and feeling of ‘remoteness’.
6.1.6 Gender

The livelihood of people in the *bairros* in Lichinga municipality is still strongly influenced by gender roles, therefore ‘gender’ was added as a component of the Livelihood Outcomes within the SRL framework.

Women are more likely to be vulnerable in rural areas, as they are facing geographical restrictions in addition to tasks often being divided traditionally. Women have a remaining subordinate position to men, a smaller scope for their own decisions, causing restricted access to resources and services. Furthermore, the high value of informal education is continuing to cause early marriages and pregnancies, and high dropout rates at the school. This is further reinforced by sexual harassment and corruption of girls within the school education. Also mentioned within PEDSA is that women “[…] take little part in decision-taking bodies on productive and economic matters, due to the role they have socially and traditionally been given” (Ministry of Agriculture, 2010: 30). In their social equality vision they recognize the need of addressing women. In addition, gender issues are increasingly becoming a focus, particularly by NGOs working with females and males to create change.

6.2 Structural Gaps

6.2.1 Urban/Rural Divide

**Disparity between Lichinga City, Bairro Cerâmica, and Bairro Sambula**

The explanations of the situations of Bairro Sambula and Bairro Cerâmica highlighted various differences between these two *bairros*, although both are in Lichinga municipality, and geographically not far from each other. Comparatively, Lichinga City can be classified as urban, Cerâmica as semi-urban, and Sambula as rural. In addition to differences within each *bairro*, questions can be raised how this disparity developed between the two *bairros*, and why it remains.

For one, the need for extension workers in Niassa is far greater than the current number of employed workers. This leaves coverage gaps, especially in the more rural areas. This prioritization of certain areas by extension services may be surfacing for multiple
reasons. For one, a lack of infrastructure makes the more rural areas harder to reach. Another reason is that the focus of the national agricultural policy, PEDSA, as well as the Extension Services Department, is on increased productivity. As noted in the Background chapter, this strive for commercialization by prioritizing areas with the greatest agricultural potential may, as a consequence, be leaving out the more rural areas.

Certain trends are leading to differences in development in Bairro Cerâmica and Sambula. For one, Sambula is geographically rather isolated mainly due to poor infrastructure. However, interviewees also mentioned a feeling of being ‘forgotten’ due to a lack of public resources coming in. This physical and emotional isolation has consequences in the resources provided, as well as can influence people’s view towards, and essentially their involvement with governmental institutions. Furthermore, the distance to the market and services in Lichinga city limit the ability to increase their capitals by their own means. Bairro Cerâmica is located closer to the center in Lichinga and it is easier for people in the Bairro to reach the center, and particularly the markets. Limited access to markets makes it more difficult to expand their source of income, which can lead to an improvement in many capitals within a household. If development continues in a way that public services are more accessible to the urban and semi-urban areas, a divide will continually increase in a way to prevent sustainable development of the country.

6.2.2 Agricultural Aspects

Perception of Farmers

During interviews with governmental authorities, a sometimes rather negative approach towards farmers could be noticed. Farmers were frequently presented as persons who often did not receive any education, and who are reducing the fertility of the soil through overuse. Often a lack of knowledge was described, rather than the lack of resources, possibilities and barriers, which farmers are facing in their everyday lives.
Differentiations between ‘small-scale farmers’

It appears rather difficult to speak of “the (small-scale) farmer”, since the situation of farmers is diverse and influenced by several internal and external factors. For instance, differences are emerging not only due to the personal ability of the farmer to work (like gender, age, health), but also due to the size and accessibility of the machambas (e.g. possible limitations due to presence of forestry companies). In addition to this, it should be considered how the soil quality of the machambas is, what kind of seeds and methods are used, which equipment exists, as well as what kind of agricultural crops are grown (e.g. cash or subsistence crops). That is directly linked to the various financial situations of farmers, e.g. if she/he is hiring or being ganho-ganho; selling surplus; storing the surplus to sell it more expensive later on, and if she/he is having a second income source. Last but not least, it can change the farmer’s situation if she/he is joining an association or forum (e.g. UCA), or if she/he is living in one of the regions where farmers can receive help from extension workers. The aforementioned, and even further factors are influencing the farmers vulnerabilities and possibilities within their livelihoods, which makes it questionable to speak in general term of “farmers”. More specification of the term ‘small-scale farmer’ could create clearness and avoid prejudices, and decrease the possibility of leaving out specific groups of farmers. All in all, a reflected differentiation of the term can contribute to understand, support and reach farmers in diverse situations and circumstances.

PEDSA

There is furthermore a generalization of farmers in PEDSA, which leaves out the variation within a province. The strategies around increasing the productivity of small scale farmers in PEDSA presents several challenges in the general categorization of farms. It is noted in the document that there are three types of farm, namely small, medium and large. The classification of ‘Rural Households’ (AFRs) is determined by the size of cultivated area and livestock, of which small and medium farms are put together under (Ministry of Agriculture, 2010: 14). On a deeper level of categorization, AFRs are further sorted by characteristics such as food crops, cash crops, animal breeding, forestry, sources of income, and use of inputs. Comparisons are only done on
a national, regional and provincial level to determine the areas with the most potential in the agricultural sector, which would then receive priority in resource allocation. The combination of two strategies within PEDSA, namely the prioritization of extension services to districts with the most potential, and the gradual geographical concentration of production, could lead to some areas experiencing increased marginalization (Ministry of Agriculture, 2010: 37).

6.2.3 Short-term Versus Long-term

A dilemma exists among the short-term action from the public sector, private, and/or civil society needed by households, and the long-term strategies which are also necessary for sustainable development within the country. Additionally, there is often a disconnect between the expectation of the aforementioned sectors for households to think and act long-term, and the ability of households to do. As expressed by Åkesson and Nilsson, “people in absolute poverty do not have the strength to defend their long-term needs or interests. They are first and foremost bound to finding solutions to their immediate needs” (Åkesson and Nilsson, 2006: 12).

Short-term

Many households are trapped in an inevitable cycle of short-term actions because they have to first satisfy the immediate needs of themselves and their families. One short-term action that frequently needs to be taken by households in Sambula is consuming production from their machamba without being able to sell anything at the market. For those who can produce a surplus, need to sell it all instead of storing it to sell for a higher ‘scarcity price’. Other farmers who do not produce enough on the machamba, there is the need to labor as ganho-ganho instead of investing in methods to increase production on their own machambas. For most in Bairro Cerâmica, although they had a greater access to diversifying their income, they still had to travel long distances to their machambas because of the dependency on the production for their own consumption and income. Thus, there is a limit to improving the capital assets in both bairros. Additionally, many in Sambula are taking their children to the machamba instead of
leaving them at school because there is more of an immediate need for help with the labor. Although the farmers in both bairros are aware that their production is suffering due to overuse of the soil, they are unable to change their farming methods or gain access to fertilizer.

Furthermore, there seems to be a gap between the environmental issues determined by several governmental levels as well as NGOs, and the awareness of or attention given to these concerns by households. Individuals in the bairros are seemingly more concerned about the environmental issues that have more of an immediate impact on their livelihood, such as on their land and houses. And other environmental issues in Niassa presented by various institutions, including uncontrolled bush fires, deforestation, and overfishing were not mentioned by households or groups within the bairros. This gap is to some extent bridged by environmental education and activities, which often carry ‘practically-focused’ education.

Long-term

In the long-term perspective, people in Lichinga municipality are facing several concerns, as well as opportunities. It emerged that people are longing for a long-term “security”, and that they are worried what, for example, will happen when they are sick, or when they get older. However, due to the need for short-term actions, they are often limited in their opportunities to provide a more secure future. This need for short-term actions is caused by the influence of several external factors. A main reason is that without the central role of the government to provide basic infrastructure, health services, and education, people will continue to be stuck in a cycle of short-term thinking.

Those who are in a more stable economic situation generally have a greater opportunity to think more long-term. Activities that involve more of an investment in the future include attendance of adult education courses, changing seed variety to diversify the diet and increase productivity, and using the financial capital of a household to send children to school. In addition, most NGOs have education as the cornerstone of development, and employ some short-term incentives, such as seed distribution, in order to reach those who would normally be in less of a position to be able to attend such
courses. Thus, short-term action was incorporated into a long-term vision of increased female adult literacy.

Combination of Long- and Short-term

There is a need of immediate actions that have a focus on long-term interventions from governmental levels. Often, a satisfaction of the most basic immediate needs such as access to water, food security, and improvements in infrastructure can pave the way for long-term changes, such as improvements in health and education. Of further importance is for public services to satisfy more immediate needs on the ground-level so people can see the benefits of tax-paying, and for the general support of governmental institutions.

Many households and NGOs operating in Niassa focus on attaining this combination, and NGOs are effective at filling the gap left by a lack of publicly provided resources. Additionally, many households are resourceful in strategies to maximize their capital assets. Thus many strategies are employed by the civil society, private sector (to an extent), and households to compensate for a lack of widely available public resources. The focus of extension services under MINAG is on increased productivity from farmers, which is aligned with the Green Revolution strategy in PEDSA. This short-term strategy is an immediate response to the food crisis (Ministry of Agriculture, 2010: 2), but is incorporated in the medium and long-term vision within the rest of PEDSA to “contribute towards the food security and income of agricultural producers in a competitive and sustainable way, guaranteeing social and gender equity” (Ministry of Agriculture, 2010: vi).

A strategy of short-term action with long-term thinking is employed by the international forestry company Green Resource. The company realized a need for inhabitants around their areas of operation to be able to see quick results in the use of the transferred land. The community fund exists as a way to both provide for the more immediate needs of inhabitants as well as create a long-term investment in the industry in Mozambique.

As a possibility to overcome societal gaps, which is not possible to manage alone, people are taking action in a way that they join certain associations, forums, or groups.
This is mainly a way to protect individual rights and address financial and social concerns. The Provincial Youth Council, for instance, is taking several short-term actions on a voluntary basis because of perceived social injustices. This is done with both the intent to change the current situation for themselves and others, but also with the hope that they can produce change for the next generation.
7. Conclusion

The conclusion will be centered around answering the main research question in this paper.

*How do possible gaps exist between the political structures and processes, the civil society, and the household level, and how do these gaps impact the households in Lichinga municipality?*

The rapid process of decentralization in Mozambique has opened the political environment to the extent that governmental institutions are pressured into allowing citizens more participation in the political discourse and decision-making. This, in combination with a history of agricultural policies that were criticized for not producing results on the ground level despite heavy foreign investments, fosters a discussion around participatory issues. The critical point is to look at who is raising these issues. The actors putting the most pressure on increasing local participation among a greater portion of the population is civil society – both from regional and internationally-financed NGOs. While civil society exists as an important actor in voicing the concerns of groups that would not be as forceful individually, or outside of an association, the level of outreach in terms of addressing the most vulnerable households should be more critically considered.

Concerning this rural/urban divide is the centralization of agricultural policies which institutions struggle to adapt to their province and the diversities within. Further caution should be given to the focus in PEDSA on certain geographical areas for agricultural commercialization. Though important for the whole country to increase the productivity and overall production levels of small-scale farmers, the generalization of farmers at the provincial level raises concern for resource allocation. This could further increase structural isolation of the most rural areas.

A look into the flaws with decentralization reveal challenges for the public sector institutions, and especially the newly created municipalities that suffer from a lack of human and financial resources. The restructuring of the governmental levels has made people hopeful of change, yet an unrealization of publicly provided resources on the ground level is creating frustration and confusion in the responsible institutions.
Civil society is an important stakeholder for improving the situation of households by providing resources not distributed through the public sector. One challenge for civil society in reaching rural areas, is the long-term visions such as increased adult literacy and female leadership, but a lack of many basic needs provides more vulnerable households with limited possibility to engage in such programs from civil society. This may be leading to a concentration of NGOs in areas with already existing organizations. From this gap between the general population living in bairros, and especially the more rural bairro in this study, comes a need for households to maximize their livelihood strategies by their own means. In some cases, group membership was highlighted as a further mode to increase their assets.

In terms of education, there seems to be a trend of increased attendance, also for girls. However, the quality of education is suffering at all levels due to a lack of qualified teachers and poor classroom environments. One main disincentive to getting formal education is the low availability of jobs for youth afterwards. Thus, priority is often given to laboring on the machamba to support a family, opening up small-businesses, and in some cases resorting to drugs and alcohol. Several public institutions are tainted with corruption, preventing much of the population from gaining access to services that, in theory, should be freely accessible. Additionally, questions can be raised whether girls and women are being brought into a dilemma concerning their identity and role from the influence of both modern and traditional structures, and how this gap could be bridged.

The gaps identified in this study raise concerns of both the immediate and the long-term impact of such a disconnect on households in Lichinga municipality. It appears that the ‘poorest of the poor’ are often still left out in a way that the existing gaps are widened and that the households cannot secure their livelihoods. Other households, which are not only living on a day-to-day basis, are in a challenging situation as well. However, they have more assets they can reshuffle in order to compensate lacks and gaps, and to be more resilient. Of importance for sustainable development within the country is how the most vulnerable can be reached, supported, and included with respect given to the role of traditional structures, as well as to the capabilities and knowledge already existing within households.
References


Annex

Annex I: List of Interviewees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Niassa Province</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arlindo Chilundo</td>
<td>Governor Niassa Province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amado Assique</td>
<td>Provincial Director of Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauro Pius</td>
<td>Head of Planning, Provincial Direction of Agriculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olga Vaila</td>
<td>Rural Extension Services, P Direction of Agriculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabdul Ibraimo</td>
<td>Technician Food Security, P Direction of Agriculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeremias Adisse</td>
<td>Director at the Agriculture Institute, Lichinga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>João Manuel dos Anjos Saide</td>
<td>Pedagogical Head at the Agriculture Institute</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Meeting with 9 students - 4 female and 5 male students at Agriculture Institute

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Afonso Chisoma</th>
<th>Head of Planning, Provincial Direction of Environment and Rural Development</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adamo Amadeu</td>
<td>Technician, Direction of Environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alice Mapondo</td>
<td>Head of Department for Environmental Management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>João Ertane</td>
<td>Provincial Director for Social Action (Ação Social)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emilia Orlando</td>
<td>Technician, Direction of Environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jorge Eduardo</td>
<td>Head of Human Resources, Direction of Environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>João Jone</td>
<td>Head of Territorial Planning, Direction of Environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celestina Teófilo</td>
<td>Head of Environmental education and gender issues</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Júlio Afonso  
Technician, Environmental education and gender

Inocêncio Sotomane  
Director, Forestry Company Green Resources Niassa

Hampus Hamilton  
Adviser and Technician in forestry, Green Resources

Achford Chando  
Adviser and Technician in environmental issues, Green Resources

Edgar Ussene  
Coordinator, We Effect, Niassa

Julia Barreto  
Program officer, Agriculture and NR, We Effect, Niassa

Emílio Muanpezário  
Coordinator, ROADS-Environmental NGO, Niassa

Felicidade João  
Program officer, ROADS, Niassa

Jornal Carlos Mateus  
English teacher and interpreter

Clara Armando  
Coordinator at the NGO ORERA, gender issues

Marcélia da Graça Cesar  
Secretary ORERA

Manuela Texeira  
Coordinator FOFEN, Forum for female associations

Armandio Bomba  
Financial Administrator, FOFEN

Salimo Amido  
President of UCA, Union of Peasants Associations

Elisa Acide  
Vice President, UCA

Oliveira Paulino  
Program officer, UCA

Tasia Binda  
Assistant in Gender issues, UCA

Vontade da Laxmi  
General Secretary, UCA

Meeting with 10 members, 8 young women and 2 young men, from 5 different peasant Associations at UCA: Casewua, Ndawuile, Farera, Alívio a Pobreza and Desenvolvimento de Mulheres em Sangala
Felicitas Kaomba  Coordenadora da ONG Progresso
Mina Mossagy  Administrative assistant, Progresso
Saide Aquimo  Assistant, Programs for basic education, Progresso
Manuel Dailesse  Administrator, Progresso
Paulo Phatana  President of Provincial Youth Council CPJ
Stella Arminda Misanga  Administrator, CPJ
Sanito Michael  Secretary, CPJ
Inácio Jorge Maulana  Head of Dep for Culture, CPJ
Fernando Laisse  Head of Dep for Associations, CPJ
Delcófio Daniel  Head of Children and Youth programs at Radio Mozambique RM in Lichinga
Tino Daniel  Collaborator Youth Programs, RM Niassa
António Jaime  Collaborator Youth Programs, RM Niassa
FUNAGNI  Observatório Provincial, Niassa

**Lichinga District**

Alberto Mussa  Administrator Lichinga District
Sergio Augustinho Iboa  District Director of Education Authorities
Afonso Rafael  Director of Primary School A Luta Continua
Salvador Sale  Pedagogical Head at School A Luta Continua
Environmental Youth Club  Students at School A Luta Continua
Lucinda Salustiano Severino  Teacher responsible for the Environment Youth Club
Orlando Govene  Pedagogical Head at Secondary School Paulo Samuel Kankhomba
Pacífica Rosário  Teacher in History, Secondary School
Felizmino Alexandro Douglasse  Teacher in English, Secondary School
Alice Saíde  Teacher in English, Secondary School
Felicia Cássimo  Teacher in Portuguese, Secondary School

Meeting with 14 female students and 1 male student at the P S Kankhomba School
Meeting with 13 female students and 10 male students at the P S Kankhomba School
Assisting a student theatre group and a student choir acting, P S Kankhomba School

**Lichinga Municipality**

Saíde Amido  
Jorge Malita  
Namassane Adine  
Lucas Juane  
Pius Obcello  
Princípio José  
Benedito Henriques  
Luis Alfredo Bacala  
Mocindo José

- President, Municipality
- Coordinator external relations, Municipality
- Vereador, economy, markets and local development, Municipality
- Vereador, local governance, Municipality
- Vereador, urbanization and infra-structure
- Vereador, sanitation and environmental management
- Vereador, education, culture, sport and recreation
- At department of education, culture, sport and recreation
- Coordinator of the cultural group Mataka, Lichinga

Interviews with beneficiaries of PERPU, local development fund, 1 woman and 2 men, residents in Massengere

Alussi Issufa

Chefe Administrative Post, Massengere

Participation in cultural activities

Mozambican Women Day

Assisting performance of cultural group Mataka

**Cerámica, Lichinga Municipality**

Valentine Parato  
Estevão Walusa  
Emílio Jamissone  
Maqui Muenda  

- Secretary of Cerámica
- Régulo Mukutiwa, Cerámica
- Assistant to the Secretary
- Assistant to the Régulo
Maria Janquia  Secretary, OMM Women org. at the Administrative Post
Lúcia Rachabo  Traditional leader
Cecilia Manuel  Assistant to the Régulo
Teresa Rajabo  Adviser
Churvazio Ossório  Head of housing area A
Ernesto Aguacheiro  Head of housing area B
Zacarias Singuewue  Head of housing area D
Arlindo António  Head of housing area E
Celestino Paulo Adamo  Head of residential block
Samuel Lourenço  Head of residential block
Santos Saissene  Head of residential block
Alfredo Salange  Head of residential block
Zacarias Nzingene  Religious leader

Visit to the housing area Cerámica
Meeting with a group of local residents in Cerámica, 10 women and 3 men
Family interviews, 4 interviews with 4 different families in Cerámica

Members of School Council  Cerámica
Members of Consultative Council  Cerámica
Members of Makwaela group  Youth cultural group in Cerámica

Representatives and members of the Muslim community in Cerámica

Assamo Delimane  Xehe and responsible for the mosque
Assane Abdala  Xehe and 2\textsuperscript{nd} responsible for the mosque
Taimo Saíde  Xehe
Magui Muenda  Xehe
Iassino Abilo  Master in Educational administration at University
Abudúlio Adílo  Responsible for youth activities
Elisa Jane                   Responsible for female issues
Idana Iasin                  Assistant in female issues
Margarida Ali                Assistant in female issues
Lúcia Denise                 Adviser social issues

15 women, members of the Muslim Community in Cerámica
6 women, members of a local saving and credit group in Cerámica
Group of 4 young men in Cerámica
Members of Nutrition Committee in Cerámica

**Sambula, Lichinga Municipality**

Aissa Aide                   Secretary of Sambula
Ausse Saíde                  Régulo Passange, Sambula
Orlando Bonomar              Assistant to Secretary
Fabião Catoma                Secretary of Committee
Fatima Bulaimo               Bibí, traditional female leader
Jone Saíde                   Xehé
Aide Asside                  Xehé
Ndala Luale                  Xehé
Janato Janado                Xehé
Tuaíbo Candulo               Xehé
Seragi Salisa                Xehé
Aliceni Rachide              Nduna, traditional leader
Salica Cadona                Nduna
Iassine Mussa                Nduna
Salimo Momade                Nduna
Juwembe Omade                Nduna
Merizonho Assane             Head of housing area
Iassido Amano                 Head of housing area
Rosalina Rajabo              Representative OMM, Women organisation
Teresa Momade                OMM
Staua Ali                    OMM
Tuaibo Iassine
Afana Saide

Meeting with 15 local leaders in Sambula
Meeting with 7 male small-scale farmers in Sambula
Meeting with a group of 18 female farmers in Sambula
Meeting with members of Consultative Council in Sambula

Visit to students in 2 classes
Benjamin Simone
Thomas Caomba

Visit to the Health Unit in Sambula
Midwife
Medical technician

Meeting with a group of 4 young girls in Sambula
Meeting with a group of 10 young men representing 3 different football teams in Sambula
Meeting with a group of 5 men working with basket-making and 6 men working as carpenters
Meeting with a group of 8 local religious leaders from the Muslim Community in Sambula
Interviews with 2 female headed families in Sambula

Maputo
André Calengo
Manuela Wing
NGO Livaningo

Lawyer, specialist in land issues and civil society, Maputo
NGO, Centro Terra Viva, Maputo
Maputo
Nélia Taimo  
Sociologist, consultant Sustainable Livelihood Programs

Marcelo Rufino Kantu  
Psychologist and therapist, NGO AMODEFA, Maputo