

Reality Checks in Mozambique

- Building better understanding of the dynamics of poverty and well-being -

Annual Report

Year Two, 2012 – Governance



ORGUT

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The Reality Checks in Mozambique are implemented by ORGUT Consulting (Sweden) in association with COWI Lda (Mozambique) and the Chr. Michelsen Institute (Norway) on behalf of the Embassy of Sweden in Maputo. The Reality Checks are implemented between 2011- 2016, with fieldwork being carried out each year in the Districts of Cuamba, Majune and Lago in the Niassa Province. Sub-Team Leaders are Carmeliza Rosário, Minna Tuominen and Inge Tvedten.

This is the Annual Report for the 2nd Reality Check, synthesising the main findings from the three sub- reports. The report is written by the Team Leader for the Reality Checks in Mozambique Dr. Inge Tvedten - with support from Carmeliza Rosário, Minna Tuominen and Aslak Orre (Thematic Advisor).

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Cover Photos:

1. New Bridge over Rio Luchimoa, Majune. Photo: Minna Tuominen
2. Woman with beans, Lago. Photo: Beatriz Putile
3. Celebrating new water-post, Lago. Photo: Inge Tvedten

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Map 1. Reality Checks Mozambique / Niassa



1. INTRODUCTION

Poverty monitoring and evaluation in Mozambique primarily take place within the framework of the implementation of Mozambique's Poverty Reduction Strategy PARP/A (GdM 2005; 2011), and is informed by quantitative data derived from different types of national surveys and similar studies done by bilateral and multilateral aid organisations (see e.g. INE 2010; MPD 2010; World Bank 2007; UNICEF 2011).

However, by their quantitative nature such surveys do not capture all the dimensions of poverty that are relevant to the design of policies and programmes. While quantitative data yield valuable information about the mapping and profile of poverty over space and time, qualitative data are necessary in order to better understand the dynamics of poverty and the coping strategies of the poor (ORGUT 2011a; Addison et al. 2009).

1.1 The Reality Checks

Against this background, the Swedish Embassy in Maputo and the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) have decided that there is a need to assess the impact of development and poverty reduction policies 'from below', and to regularly consult local populations in order to understand local processes and relationships.

A series of five "Reality Checks in Mozambique" will take place in the period 2011-2016, focussing on the dynamics of poverty and well-being with a particular focus on good governance, agriculture/climate and energy that are key sectors in Swedish development cooperation with the country. Each Reality Check will be published in the form of one Annual Report and three Sub-Reports from each of the three selected study-sites (see ORGUTa 2011 for more details).

More concretely, the "Reality Checks in Mozambique" are expected to:

- i) Inform the public discussion among key development actors on poverty reduction, especially in the province of Niassa;
- ii) Contribute to a better understanding of qualitative poverty monitoring methods in Mozambique;
- iii) Provide Sweden with relevant qualitative data on developments and results from its engagement in Mozambique and support further implementation of its programme in Niassa.

The Reality Checks are expected to achieve these objectives by enhancing knowledge on:

- i) Poverty (non-tangible dimensions of poverty, such as vulnerability and powerlessness; poor people's own perceptions of poverty; causal processes underpinning poverty dynamics: coping/survival strategies adopted by women and men living in poverty);
- ii) Local power relations and relationships with state institutions (formal [i.e. political, administrative] institutions that enable or constrain people to carry out their strategies; informal [i.e. cultural, social, family or kin-based etc.] institutions that enable or constrain people to carry out their strategies), and;
- iii) Policies and services (access to, use of and demand for public services according to people living in poverty; quality of public services according to people living in poverty).

There is also an expectation that the Reality Checks shall, to the extent that it is relevant for the local population under study, pay special attention to "priority issues identified in the annual reviews of projects and programmes within Swedish priority sectors (see Terms of Reference).

The series of studies was initiated by an Inception Report published in August 2011 (ORGUT 2011a). Through that exercise, it was decided that the Reality Checks shall be based on fieldwork in three different Districts/Municipalities in the Province of Niassa that display variations in terms of geographical locations, access to public services and levels of poverty and well-being. The three areas selected were i) the District of Lago; ii) the Municipality of Cuamba; and iii) the District of Majune (see Map 2).

Map 2. Reality Checks Mozambique / Niassa Project Sites



Fieldwork for the 1st Reality Check was carried out in September 2011. Sub-Reports from the Districts of Lago (Orgut 2011b), the District of Majune (Orgut 2011c) and the Municipality of Cuamba (Orgut 2011d) as well as the 1st Annual Report synthesising the main findings from the Sub-Reports (Orgut 2011e) have all been published and are available at www.orgut.se. The 1st Reality Check will serve as a 'baseline' for subsequent reports, and includes some more general background information and data about Niassa and the three project sites that is useful when reading the reports for the period 2012-2015.

The 1st Reality Check has been presented and discussed in a number of different settings, including i) the Swedish Embassy in Maputo for national stakeholders ; ii) in a seminar in Lichinga for representatives for government, civil society and the private sector in Niassa; iii) in an interview on the national TV news broadcast “Notícias”; iv) for Local Government in Cuamba and Lago; iv) for the community radio in Lago and in Cuamba; and v) through expositions of photos, participatory exercises etc. in all three project sites (see Illustration).

Dissemination activities 1st Reality Check



This is the 2nd Annual Report of the Reality Checks in Mozambique, synthesising the main findings from the sub-reports from Cuamba (ORGUT 2012a), Lago (ORGUT 2012b) and Majune (2012c). In addition to the general objectives listed above and in line with the Terms of Reference, the reports for the 2nd Reality Check will have a thematic focus on governance.

1.2 Methodologies

Methodologically, the studies are based on a combination of quantitative information derived from the National Institute of Statistics (INE) and District Authorities; a Baseline Survey carried out in the three project sites for this project; key informant interviews in the provincial capital Lichinga and the selected Districts/Municipality; participant observation in the local communities selected for fieldwork; and a set of qualitative/participatory methodologies including immersion with households in different socio-economic situations. The methodologies are described in detail in a separate report entitled “Reality Checks in Mozambique. Analytical Approach and Methodologies” (ORGUT 2011f), but a brief summary is in place:

Quantitative data. For the mapping of poverty and well-being in Niassa, the team will relate actively to existing quantitative data. These include the 2007 National Census (INE 2009b); the 2008/09 National Household Expenditure Survey (INE 2010, see also van den Boom 2010); and other more sector-specific studies (see List of Literature). In addition to national data-sets, we use quantitative data from locally based surveys with particular attention to data produced by provincial-, district and municipal governments that form the basis for their

development plans – including the Provincial Social and Economic Development Plan (GdN 2007, 2011) and the District Social and Economic Development Plan (PESODS).¹

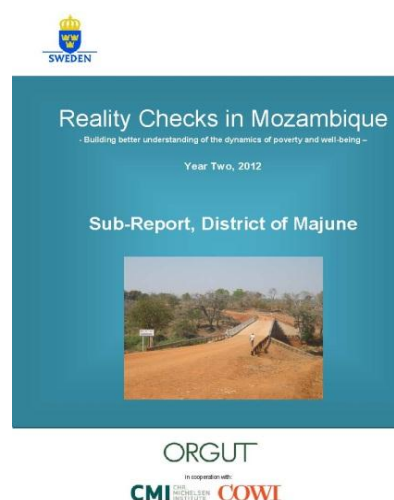
We will secure adequate quantitative data to map peoples' relations to public services and poverty and well-being in the three study sites by carrying out a Baseline Survey with a total of 360 households (120 in each site). The survey will be done twice with the same families, i.e. in the beginning (2011) and end (2015) of the project period, and represents rare panel-data. The Baseline and the follow-up survey seek to combine i) classical socio-economic data on the composition of households, income and expenditure, levels of education, health and access to public services; ii) questions relating to people's *perceptions* of conditions in the household and their community and iii) the *social relationships* (with public institutions, aid projects, family, friends etc.) in which they are engaged.

Qualitative data. For the political/institutional dimensions of the Reality Checks, we will mostly rely on i) semi-structured interviews with key development actors including provincial government, district/municipal government, Institutions for Community Participation and Consultation (IPCCs), traditional authorities and private sector representatives, and ii) case-studies of concrete programs and interventions particularly in the areas of governance, agriculture and energy. We also complement the classical anthropological methodology of 'participant observation' with a set of concrete participatory methodologies that will be applied in focus groups, and expanded case studies at household level. The groups are composed of men or women, young or old or a mixture of such groups, depending on the topic at hand.

The participatory methodologies used for the 2nd Reality Check include the *Most Important Change* (with the objective of identifying the main political, economic and social changes in the community the past year) and the *Community Leadership Matrix* (where the purpose is to identify the most important institutions/people in the community and the relationships between them). In addition, we revisit focus group exercises done in 2011 to assess possible developments and/or changes. These include the *Community Problem Matrix* (identifying and ranking the most important problems that affect the community or larger groups of people in the community); the *Force-Field Analysis* (with the objective to capture perceptions of what conditions may inhibit or accelerate the type of change and development favoured by the community); the *Venn-diagram* (identifying the most important resources [people and services] that the community has access to); and the *Wealth Ranking* (with the objective to capture the community's own perception about different levels and categories of poverty and well-being).

Focus Households. The wealth ranking exercise forms the basis for our identification of *Focus Households* with whom we will relate closely through various forms of immersion during the course of the Reality Checks. As will be discussed in more detail below, the communities tend to distinguish between 2-4 levels of poverty or 'poor people' and 1-3 levels of well-being or 'better-off' people – each with their own dynamics and position in the communities. Altogether 20 Focus Households have been selected from these categories and will be interviewed in depth every year, with a focus on changes in their social relationships with the extended family, neighbours and friends, community organisations and state institutions as well as changes in their socio-economic position.

Cover of Majune Sub-Report 2012



¹ New data are likely to be available from INE/Niassa from 2013 in the form of data from INCAF (Inquérito Contínuo aos Agregados Familiares 2012-2013).

1.3 Socio-economic Indicators

We will end these introductory notes with a brief outline of poverty and well-being in Niassa to put the study in context (for more background information, see ORGUT 2011f). The province stands out as having shown the clearest and most consistent improvements in consumption-based poverty the past few years – even though from a very low point of departure. Poverty in the province has been reduced from 70.6 percent in 1996/97, to 54.1 percent in 2002/03 and to 31.9 percent in 2008/09 – albeit disguising an unusually high discrepancy in poverty between male-headed households (28 percent) and female-headed households (45 percent) (INE 2010). As seen from Table 1 below, Niassa shows a varied picture in relation to other quantitative indicators of poverty and well-being in Mozambique. An important aspect of the Reality Checks in Mozambique is to assess the realism, relevance and dynamics behind these figures, by applying qualitative and participatory methodologies involving the population itself.

Table 1: Key Socio-Economic Indicators – Mozambique and Niassa (Percent)

Indicator	Mozambique	Niassa
Poverty Headcount	54.7	31.9
Gini Coefficient (0-1)*	0.414	0.427
Proportion Female Headed Households	29.6	16.3
Illiteracy of household head	44.3	51.6
Primary School Attendance Rate	81	78
Chronic malnutrition under five years	43.7	45.0
HIV-AIDS Prevalence	11.5	3.7
Quality housing (solid roof)	24.8	8.1
Electric lighting in dwelling	13.2	5.8
Bicycle ownership	38.1	65.4

Sources: MISAU 2005; INE 2010 and 2009a. * The Gini Coefficient measure economic inequality, with 0 being complete inequality and 1 being complete equality.

In official quantitative terms (INE 2010), the three Districts possess a set of social and economic characteristics that reveal their similarities and differences. As seen from Table 2, Cuamba is most populous followed by Lago and Majune. Cuamba generally comes out as the best-off and Majune as the poorest and most deprived district of the three – with the exception of bicycle ownership where Lago scores low primarily for ‘topographic’ reasons. Otherwise they share characteristics of a high proportion of households defined as female-headed. The indicators of poverty and well-being are important and frequently used in national and donor statistical accounts, and will be updated at the end of the Reality Checks project period when new comparative data will be available. However, we shall see that they only partially reflect people’s own perceptions of what it means to be ‘poor’ or ‘well-off’.

Table 2: Social Indicators – Districts of Lago, Majune and Cuamba

Social Indicators	Cuamba	Lago	Majune
Population	184.773*	83.099	29.702
Female Headed Households	24.0	35.1	35.2
Primary School Attendance	67.3	65.01	54.3
Solid Roof Housing	0.79	1.18	0.13
Electricity at Home	6.3	4.38	0.39
Radio ownership	55.0	67.5	45.0
Cell-phone	3.3	0.97	0.61
Bicycle Ownership	68.0	29.8	63.1

Source: INE 2009 * Of this population, 79.779 lives in the Municipality of Cuamba.

The economic context in which people in the three districts develop their coping strategies and efforts for upward social mobility is reflected in Table 3. The data are taken from the District Economic and Social Plans and their reassessment (*Balanço*) that is the key policy-making instrument of the District Administrations. Also these data reveal differences between the three districts, both in their ability to collect these types of data, and in type and level of economic activities. Some differences are the natural outcome of differences in population (such as total agricultural production), and others by geographical distinctions (such as fish production and number of tourists), but some also indicate how each District Administration fulfils its responsibilities for developing their District (number of extension workers, investments in forestry, energy-clients, number of social security beneficiaries, the use of the '7 million MTn District development Fund etc.). Updated figures will be given in each Reality Check, in order to ascertain the Districts' own representation of developments in their area of responsibility.²

Table 3: Economic Indicators – District of Lago, Majune and Cuamba 2011

Economic Indicator	Cuamba	Lago	Majune
Area under cultivation (Ha)	109.943	8.363	18.538
Agricultural production (1000 kgs)	165.258	76.240	38.676
Agricultural extensionists	3	0	4
Farming associations	15	16*	46*
Domestic animals heads/kgs/owners	470	10.500	7.209.000
Forestation (number of new trees/ha)	490.000	6.050*	20.000 (ha)
Number of tourist agents	0	8	5
Fish production (1000 kgs)	n.a.	4780.8*	n.a.
Commercial establishments	32	193*	177*
Public water sources	272	136	50
Energy (number of clients)	691	1.517	350
Energy (clients cut off)	n.a.	497	n.a.
INAS (Number of beneficiaries)	3.187	1.388	801
District Dev. Fund (No. of Projects)	159	66	130
District Dev. Fund (Total, Mt)	8.000.000	7.848.000	7.556.400
Distr. Dev. Fund (Reimbursed, Mt)	0	316.000	490.111

Sources: GdN/DdLago, Majune and Cuamba 2012 * 2010 Figures. Comparative figures for 2011 not available

1.4 Niassa 2011-2012

The period 2011/2012 has seen a number of important developments in the province of Niassa. Based on discussions with members of the provincial government, representatives for civil society, representatives from the private sector as well as people from the media, some of the most important developments have been:

Politically, an important event has been the by-election in the municipality of Cuamba. After a long and heated election campaign, voter turnout turned out to be small (14 percent) and Frelimo won by a large margin. The new municipal government is seen to have worked better than the former, and initiated several important development interventions. Other political developments include an increasing controversy over the selection of government representatives at the district, administrative post, and locality levels, with accusations of ethnic biases (in favour of Yaos) and continued appointments on the basis of political affiliations rather than merit.

² There are some data that does not make much sense, such as the relation between area under cultivation and production in Lago and Majune and the number of commercial establishments in Cuamba, but we have chosen to keep the figures presented in the official documents.

Frelimo is also seen to get an increasingly strong grip on local level politics and in local communities, even though there have also been cases of local conflicts where party people in the highest positions have been publicly discredited by the population, such as in the district of Majune. Combined with a stronger Frelimo hold on things, the working conditions for the opposition (currently primarily implying MDM, with Renamo apparently becoming weaker) are becoming more difficult. There have been a number of cases of open displays of opposition party symbols being rebuked, and reports of harassment of opposition party members.

In terms of the economy, there are great expectations as regards possible investments by VALE particularly in coal mining and accompanying infrastructure development. Provincial authorities see to the province of Tete for potentials, but are also aware of the potentially negative implications such as price increases on goods and services and environmental problems. The implications of VALE activities are already felt in Cuamba. Concrete plans for investments in the District of Lago have apparently been put on hold, as the quantity and quality of coal is not considered sufficient for exploration.

The forestry industry keeps expanding, but it is still full of controversies related to land allocation and conditions for workers. The Swedish company Chikwete has been under particular scrutiny, and the new management has admitted that the company should have been more careful and known the province better in the initial phase of its work. Civil society organizations – including NGOs and farmers unions – have continued to follow a strategy of confrontation in their attempt to improve conditions with some stakeholders arguing that they should rather seek a more careful approach of cooperation.

The Conselho Consultivos at the provincial, district, locality, and community levels are still seen as important organs for popular representation and accountability by the political authorities, but others concede that their broad mandate has in actual fact been reduced to handle the '7 million MT' scheme and that they have lost much of their authority and credibility. There are also reported cases of co-option by government and/or Frelimo party representatives, who have 'taken control' over an organ that should represent different voices. Provincial government acknowledges the need to build capacity and competence in the Consultative Councils.

The 7 million MT scheme continues to be an important source of investment funds at the District level (and from 2010 also in the municipalities) and involves large sums of money, but government has not managed to correct the problems of favouritism and corruption, poor project performances and minimal repayment of borrowed funds. While there are examples of good projects that have fulfilled the goals of both income generation and employment creation, there are also stories of funds having ended up in areas (such as the provincial capital Lichinga) and to people where it should not be.

Market in Lichinga



Photo: Inge Tvedten

There have been improvements in infrastructure, with expansions both of the secondary and tertiary road network and rural electrification – both with support from Sweden³. Of particular importance have been the improvements of the roads towards Cabo Delgado, and expansion of the grid to new areas, such as Marrupa. In addition, Movitel has become the third cell-phone company to make its presence in Niassa. Still, however, Niassa continues to have some of the most isolated areas in the country and the districts of Nipepe and Mavago are said to fall even further behind in terms of development.

³ Sweden has recently entered a new 6-year agreement with the government of Mozambique in these two sectors for a total value of approx. 14 million USD.

Sweden has been central in the news-picture in 2011/2012, with visits by the Swedish minister of development co-operation and a controversial cut in provincial budget support following accusations of corruption at several levels of government. The process has ended in several cases of imprisonment and forced repayment of misused funds (by central rather than by provincial government). While the political establishment and other key stakeholders in Niassa are aware of the controversy and largely seem to support the line taken by Sweden, people more distant to the incidents do not seem to understand their background and implications.

The institution Malonda (meaning 'trade' or 'commerce' in Nyanja) has been central in the development of the private sector in Niassa since 2006, and has changed approach the past year from having been directly involved in investments and the establishment of enterprises, to become more of a facilitator for private companies. The institution has also become 'Mozambicanised' by having a stronger Niassa component in its management. While Malonda is not well known among people in general, the changes seem to be well received by people closer to private sector developments in Niassa. In particular Malonda's interventions in the policy and behaviour of some of the larger forestry companies, in order to facilitate stronger social responsibilities, are looked favourably upon.

2. GOVERNANCE IN CUAMBA, LAGO AND MAJUNE

2.1 Introduction

The Reality Checks in Niassa take place in three settings that in many ways are very different (see the Cuamba, Lago and Majune Sub-Reports for details). In the District of Majune the focus is on the district capital Malanga and the nearby village of Malila. Upon entering the district one year after the first Reality Check very few observable changes were recorded, despite the finalisation of a bridge connecting Majune to Cuamba through Mandimba to which the local population had great expectations. The few visible changes, such as the new generator at the District Administration and freshly painted white walls on all government buildings, are changes directly related to visits by Mozambique's president Guebuza and his wife the First Lady. In the Malanga market, the same vendors and products are there as last year indicating unchanged circumstances. Majune clearly presents itself as the poorest and most depressed of the three areas in which the Reality Check is carried out.

In the district of Lago the focus is on the Administrative Post of Meluluka, which is located about an hour's drive from the District capital Metangula. Changes are immediately visible upon entering the District, with large new areas of forestation, an expanded market in Metangula and a large new passenger boat on its harbour. Entering Meluluka, changes are even more apparent. We see new water posts, new school buildings, a new bridge and hectic building activities with new brick houses with the zinc roofs. Also the number of marketing stalls and the variety of products available has increased. While we shall see that this immediate impression 'hides' increasing differences between the inhabitants, it also clearly reflects rapid economic developments.

In Cuamba the focus is on the urban neighbourhoods of Airport and Maganga and the peri-urban village of Mucuapa. The main impression upon entering the city of Cuamba is that things are even busier and more hectic than in 2011. There are more people in the streets, more motorbikes (many being driven by women), and apparently more traffic both by cars and trains. Upon getting into the three local communities under study changes are not equally visible as most investments tend to take place in the central parts of the city, but there is little doubt that Cuamba's location in the intersection between three provinces and being close to the Malawi border makes it a dynamic place. At the same time the apparent 'chaos' reflects the continued blurred boundaries between the District of Cuamba and the Municipality of Cuamba.

Woman on a Motorbike, Cuamba



Photo: Carmeliza Rosário

In the following sections, we will take a closer look at the formal organisation of the districts of Majune and Lago and district/municipality of Cuamba, and what we on the basis of discussions with the relevant authorities perceive to be central challenges in governance. Also here there are a number of important differences between the three study sites, not primarily in terms of formal organisation but in how local government relates to other stakeholders including political parties, traditional authorities, the private sector and non-governmental organisations (see the three Sub-reports for more details). As we see it, these differences reflect the still incomplete penetration of the State in the lives of ordinary citizens in the three areas under study.

2.2 District and Municipal Administration

Starting with the **District of Lago**, the Permanent Secretary explains that the district government is the highest executive body at the District level, consisting of the District Administrator, the Permanent Secretary, Directors of all District Directorates as well as to heads of the District's four Administrative Posts. These meet for monthly ordinary sessions as well as extraordinary ones when special issues arise, and are sometimes joined by affiliated institutions ('convidados') such as the Police, the Security Services, the Naval Base and the Office against Natural Disasters – albeit without the book right to vote. The District Administrator is responsible for “everything political and for communication with the population”; the Permanent Secretary is responsible for administration and implementation of decisions; and there is a total staff of 770 in the District (up from 684 in 2010) with the task of implementing the government decisions both in administrative and practical terms.

The Directorates are formally linked to various line ministries at Provincial and Central levels of government, even though they merge in the districts. There, the main directorates are Planning and Infrastructure; Economic Activities; Health, Women and Social Action; and Education, Youth and Technology. There is an on-going public sector reform process (SISTAFE) of decentralisation, but the *de facto* dependence between the central-, provincial-, and district tiers of government vary considerably between the different directorates and their departments. In Lago, some district government units like Health and Education have a large degree of planning and financial autonomy while others, such as Social Action and Water and other infrastructure, or near totally dependent on decisions at the provincial level.

Still in Lago, there are four Administrative Posts and 12 Localities under the level of the District Administration. The recently established 'village' as the fifth tier of government – a *povoação* or a conjunction of *povoados* – has not yet been implemented as envisaged in the Local Government Law. In fact, the District is sceptical to formalising the *povoação* level primarily due to limited resources and conditions in the form of qualified staff, housing, office equipment etc. which they claim must be there to give such a position the necessary authority. Rather, the Administration emphasises the need to strengthen the Administrative Posts as a crucial intermediary level between the District Administration and the local population.

In terms of popular participation and accountability, the District Administrator and the heads of Administrative Posts and Localities are still appointed by central government under the current political system. They are in practice always Frelimo members, with little or no room for people belonging to the opposition. As a measure to enhance popular representation and transparency, Consultative Councils were introduced in 2006/7. They were to consist of a combination of local government representatives, traditional authorities, members of civil society organisations and people in the community of particularly high esteem. 40 percent were to be women. However, despite political statements about their mandate being related to governance in a broad sense their actual role has become limited to that of relating to the 7 million MT scheme (see below). Moreover, the District Administration acknowledges that while the District Consultative Council in principle should be equal to a 'Parliament', the final decision still remains with the leadership in the Administration.

Despite an explicit policy of decentralisation, the real decision-making power of the District is not only limited by its own capacity in human resources, but also by the budget. According to the Permanent Secretary in Lago, the total budget at his disposal for 2012 is 23 million MT, of which 8 million MT is for investments, 8 million MT for the Local Development Fund, and 5 million MT for goods and services. Income and expenditures for 2011 appear in Table 4 below. The bulk of the actual expenditures in the District - primarily for salaries in education and health - does still not go through the district coffers and are hence outside their control. What the District Administration would like to see is that they control the overall budget, and may seek technical support from the Province or Central Government when necessary.

Table 4: Budget and Expenditures – District of Lago

Economic Indicator	2011
Self-generated income (MTn)	47.370
Self-generated/assigned income (MTn)	550.316
Expenditures for goods and services (MTn)	5.781.380
Infrastructure investments (MTn)	6.112.000
No of public employees on payroll	770
No of trad.authorities on payroll	231
District Dev. Fund (No. of Projects)	66
District Dev. Fund (Total, Mt)	7.848.000
Distr. Dev. Fund (Reimbursed, Mt)	316.000
Distr. Dev. Fund (No. of beneficiaries)	330

Sources: GdN/DdL 2010, 2011a and b

In the **District of Majune** the formal setup is largely the same as in Lago, but the District Administration seems to have a much more complex relationship with external entities such as traditional authorities and political parties. While we saw in the first Majune Reality Check of 2011 that traditional authorities have a long and proud history, their real impact seem to be dwindling both in relation to the District Administration and what we called the ‘influences’, who are mainly men who have close ties with the Frelimo party and local entrepreneurs. However, the District Administration is still interested in the power that traditional leaders

Rainha, Majune



Photo: Minna Tuominen

have over the communities, which allows them to have better control of the territory and the district population. The traditional authorities received monthly allowances, uniforms, bicycle and other ‘incentives’, and therefore find themselves in a difficult position between being traditional leaders and faithful state representatives. The relation has also become ‘politicised’ in that traditional leaders who are not members of the ruling Frelimo party, such as *régulo* Njaco, are excluded from relevant meetings and have effectively lost the possibility to defend the interests of the community he represents.

The close link between the District Administration and Frelimo is exemplified by the fact that the rehabilitation of the Majune Frelimo headquarter is listed as a government initiative in the “Report on the Social and Economic Plan 2011” (GdN/DdM 2012). In fact, the Frelimo Party Secretary in Majune appears to be a member of the local government not only by being the representative of the leading party but also by appearing in local government meetings. There are also examples of senior officials in the District Administration who have been asked to neglect their official duties in order to attend party meetings. The strong position of Frelimo has negative implications for the implementation of government policies in the District, and the local population expressed their dissatisfaction with the situation – as well as with what they saw as undue favouritism of Macuas – during the presidential visit in 2011. At the same time, the opposition party MDM (Movimento Democrático de Moçambique) is actively discriminated against not only by marginalising community leaders who are sympathisers but also by making life difficult for their families for example by refusing their children to move up classes.

The role and importance of the private sector and non-governmental organisations also vary between the different districts. In the **District of Majune** private has slightly increased its weight, with a Mozambican and a Chinese company having been given licences for lumbering since the first Reality Check in 2011. Already present were the Mozambique Leave Tobacco (MLT), the cotton companies João Ferreira dos Santos, Luambala Jatropa

and Majune Safari. Local employment creation is limited, and their presence is followed by disputes over land as well as over the level of payment for tobacco and cotton. According to the local population, the District Administration tends to side with the companies in such disputes. The District Administration on its side argues that access to employment is so scarce that they have to do everything to keep the companies in Majune.

Bridge over Rio Luchimoa



Photo: Minna Tuominen

There are also a few NGOs operating in Majune, including the Christian Council of Mozambique (CCM), the Spanish NGO Mundukine working with agriculture and the Danish NGO Ibis – with a wide range of activities including capacity building related to governance and participation. The District Government considers the NGOs an important partner in development, also for ‘public’ responsibilities such as supply of water, promotion of awareness around nutrition and building capacities among Consultative Council members. The relation is sought strengthened through quarterly meetings with the District Administration, but the NGOs complain that they are not sufficiently involved in the sectors in which they work.

The **District of Lago** has a more limited range of private sector investments, even though the ones that are there are potentially very important. They include the tourism industry (represented by the famous Nkwichi Lodge), the Chikweti forestry company and the mining company ‘Gold One’ active in the Northern part of the District. New since the first Reality Check in 2011 is the presence of João Ferreira dos Santos, with initiatives for having more farmers produce cotton also in Meluluka. There are some NGOs in the areas of road construction, rotating saving funds and the promotion of associations in agriculture and fisheries, but none are currently active in Meluluka.

While acknowledging the importance of the private sector and NGOs, the District Administration complains that the private companies must follow up their social responsibilities better than what they do and that the NGOs must be better integrated into on-going District Government initiatives. The Administration is also sceptical to what they see as a confrontational attitude among some NGOs in relation to the forestry companies – arguing that they should rather facilitate a spirit of cooperation. Finally, the Administration claims that it has encouraged both private sector companies and NGOs to support capacity development related to the 7 Million MT local investment scheme, but that none of them has shown any interest in this.

A particularly important issue for the District Administration in their relations with the private companies is the legal regulation stipulating that 20% of the fees the latter are to pay to the State should be returned to the district and the local communities being affected by investments in forestry, wildlife and tourism. The **District of Majune** complains that they have no information about the magnitude of these funds, and argue that it all stays in the provincial capital Lichinga. To the extent that funds are channelled back to local communities, this may increase inequalities within the district and make an integrated development difficult. For this reason, the funds should rather be channelled directly to the District Administration for them to invest in district priorities.

Among the three Reality Check sites, **Cuamba** represents a special case in that it is both a district and a municipality. As acknowledged by representatives of both the District and the Municipality, responsibilities within the territory remain unclear. Formally the Cuamba district is made up of the same organs as Lago and Majune, and has three Administrative Posts and four localities. The Cuamba municipality is composed of two sovereign organs: the Municipal Council and the Municipal Assembly.

The Municipal Council departments largely mirror the institutional division of the District and includes departments of Administration and Finance; Economic Activities; Urbanisation, Construction and Infrastructures; Women and Social Action; Water and Sanitation; Education, Culture, Youth and Sports; and Municipal Police. The Municipality is also divided into Localities and *povoados*. The Municipal Assembly on its part is constituted by 31 members, with 25 from Frelimo, five from Renamo and one from Monamo. Its role is to assess proposed development interventions from the Municipal Council and monitor their implementation. The District and the Municipality also share the institution of Consultative Councils.

There seem to be near unanimous agreement that the Municipality is weaker than the District both in terms of power and influence and its implications on the everyday life of people in Cuamba. One reason is a widespread uncertainty about the real role of the former. According to the civil society umbrella organisation FORASC *“The electoral process does not allow the citizens to know who is going to represent them in the Municipal Assembly. The ideal would be that the Municipal Assembly members would represent the neighbourhood where they come from. We feel that representation is weak. The Municipal Assembly does not reach the base”*. Another indication of the Municipality’s weak role is that only 14.6 percent of the 45,898 eligible voters actually voted in the last municipal election in 2011 - despite a real contest between Frelimo’s Vincent da Costa Lourenço (63.8 percent of the votes) and Maria José Morena Cuna from MDM who ended up with 36.2 percent of the votes.

The only responsibility of the Municipality about which there is full agreement is that of garbage collection. Key sectors such as health and education are still managed by District representatives of the respective line ministries at the provincial level. At the same time key services such as water (FIPAG), electricity (EDM) and roads (ANE) are managed by public companies/state authorities with relative economy, and seen as linked to central government. According to members of the political opposition, all this reflects Frelimo’s wish to direct and control municipal investments from Maputo. According to the Mayor, however, it is natural that the Municipality and the District largely overlap as *“Cuamba used to be an administrative post. That is why much of the infrastructure is shared”*.

Further complicating the political landscape in Cuamba is the relationship between the District and the Municipality on the one hand, and traditional authorities and civil society on the other. While the importance of traditional authorities is toned down compared to the situation in the districts – with the authorities emphasising that their role is to advise the communities and help implement government interventions, and arguing that traditional authorities only exist in urban areas like Cuamba as long as the government legitimises it – civil society organisations represented by FORASC has a direct role in establishing and supporting Consultative Councils and several organisations (such as Concern) are active in building the capacity of citizens to take active part in local government. The District Administration on its part argues that *“It is good to support civil society, [b]ut it would be better if that civil society made five or 10 water pumps”*, a view that is shared by a Renamo representative who claims that *“I would like if those organisations would fund construction, not just ideas”*.

A common denominator for all the three administrations is the dominance of men. In Majune women do hold higher leadership positions such as head of the District Administration, head of police and director of health, but these are all appointed by the provincial government. In Lago, no leaders at the District, Administrative Post or Locality levels are women, with the only woman Director being in education. Cuamba also has a limited number of women in leading public positions (with the Director of Health and the District Attorney being two exceptions), but the Municipality does have a program for the promotion of women in government. They have for example, established a governance related association composed of all the women members of the Municipal Assembly and 14 female municipal workers. There were also named three women as heads of Localities, two as heads of Services and for as heads of Sections. As has been shown in other studies (see e.g. Tvedten

et al. 2011) women in public positions do not necessarily lead to changed policies, but larger heterogeneity among civil servants is good in itself and there are indications that it is easier for female citizens to contact female civil servants.

In sum, we see that the two districts of Lago and Majune and the district/municipality of Cuamba share much of the formal setup but actually function in quite different ways (see the sub-reports for more details). Below, we will assess what we see as the main challenges of local governance in the three study sites.

2.3 Local Governance

At the more of overarching level, there is a major challenge related to the close relations between the structures of the State and the Frelimo party. This is not only related to the fact that party membership or party affiliation is a prerequisite for holding higher position in District and Municipal administrations, but also as we saw in the case of Majune that Party representatives actively engage in local government issues. The blurred boundaries affect transparency and efficiency, and make it difficult for people to understand the real decision-making processes. As we shall see, the strong role of Frelimo also at the community level is contributing to a reduction in the belief in democratic institutions and the utility of voting for the opposition.

There is also a challenge of autocracy or 'authoritarianism' and low motivation in parts of the government structures which is acknowledged by people in the district administrations. In practice this implies that it is very difficult for lower-level administrators and technocrats to voice alternative opinions and critical views to people in leading positions. The apparent strong subservience towards authorities may be the result of a combination of deep cultural roots and a bureaucratic system that is not sufficiently open up for critical exchanges. For an external observer, the overt signs of this vary from forms of address (using very exalted words when addressing superiors) to the physical setup of formal meetings (with the 'chefe' sitting a distance from - and high above - his subjects).

As regards motivation, there are numerous stories of not only slow responses to requests and applications but also entire public institutions (including schools, health facilities and public offices) that are simply closed on days where there is no leave of absence or other reasons to be away. Lack of motivation may be related to limited real decision-making power and inadequate or poor working conditions. During our stay in Meluluka, the Administrative Post was effectively closed more than half the days we were there. Having said this there are of course also many public offices where people work hard and do their very best against a lot of odds.

Another factor inhibiting good governance is an inadequate transparency and efficiency in communication between the different levels of government, as well as between government and the population it is to serve. This is partly a question of poor bureaucratic routines and unnecessary secrecy, but also a basic notion that civil servants are rude and uninterested in the people it is to serve – partly as a conscious strategy to make people pay extra for a more decent treatment. All this not only makes planning difficult, but also creates expectations in the system and among the population at large that are difficult to fulfil and which creates unnecessary antagonisms.

There are a number of examples of this. The Department of Works (*Obras Públicas*) in the Directorate of Planning and Infrastructure in Lago annually carries out a process of identifying the communities most in need of water posts and wells in cooperation with PRONAZAPO, and thereby creates expectations both at the District, Administrative Post and

Administrative Post, Lago



Photo: Inge Tvedten

Locality levels of government and the population at large. However, they do this without information about the funding they will eventually get from the Provincial Directorate and usually end up having to reduce to number of wells considerably.

In Majune, parts of the official budget to repair 34 water-posts were diverted to expenses related to the Presidential visit with only 17 water-posts actually being repaired. Moreover, the issue of a broken water-post was taken to the District Administration, to the Frelimo party representatives and to the Traditional Authority and eventually to the community members themselves – but after one year the problem had still not been resolved even though money had been raised and no attempt had apparently been done to embezzle the funds.

In more tangible terms, a major obstacle for the Districts of Majune and Lago as well as the Municipality of Cuamba is lack of financial resources for the implementation of the priorities defined by government. Local government is economically weak and has a weak local tax base, and hence depends on financial transfers from provincial and central government. This leads to a strong dependence on external agents. In Majune for example, the District Administration has to count on support from NGOs in order to solve the vital problem of access to potable water. In Lago, lack of funding has made it impossible to connect parts of the District to the road network leaving many families in isolation. Cuamba has seen a slight increase in its municipal revenues with the new Mayor, but still with grossly inadequate funds to carry out its responsibilities (see Table 5).

Table 5: Cuamba Municipality Revenue

Source	Value	Percentage
Government Investment Funds	9,320,920.00	18
The 13 Municipality Program (P13)	7,428,915.00	15
The Roads Fund	6,194,946.00	12
The Finance Ministry Fund	-	0
Autarchic Compensation Fund	17,224,870.00	34
Municipal taxes and fees	11,000,000.00	21
Total	51,169,651.00	100

Source: *Municipality of Cuamba, 2012*

The District Development Strategy Plan, the annual Social and Economic Plan (PESOD) and the annual Report on the Social and Economic Plan (Balanço do PESOD) are all central documents for the development of districts in Niassa. However, they are rather descriptive and contain little analysis and clear priorities in order to reach the goals of economic development and poverty reduction as these are expressed in the same documents. Neither is there usually any real discussion about crosscutting issues such as gender, the environment, and human rights as envisaged in PARPA II (Gdm 2011). It is also often unclear how some of the figures presented are arrived at. While figures on the number of water posts, kilometres of rehabilitated roads, number of INAS beneficiaries etc. should reflect reality, it is more difficult to understand how figures on overall land utilisation, agricultural production, total fish captures etc. are produced.

Many of these problems and challenges come together in the implementation of the District Development Fund or the '7 million MT scheme'. In Lago, for example, the transfers to the scheme has been equal to the District's own total investment budgets since its initiation in 2006/7 - involving a total sum of 52 million MT. The key purpose has been to create employment and income, and the money should be paid back to government and lent out to new beneficiaries. As acknowledged by the District Administrations, however, the government made a big mistake by not explaining the rights and obligations of the beneficiaries sufficiently in the very beginning. The scheme has largely developed into a fight for private consumption and become enmeshed in problems of limited transparency and corruption - even though we shall see there are examples of projects that have been successful both for employment creation and income.

For transparency, accountability and good governance democratic elections are key, but do not yet play a significant role in the three areas under study. In districts, the District Administrator and the heads of Administrative Posts and Localities are still directly appointed by government under the current political system through a system of 'inverse accountability'. In municipalities, there are direct elections for Mayors and the Municipal Assembly, but as we have seen even though the municipal by-election stirred considerable national attention, only 14 percent of the eligible voters actually voted. One reason may be the strong emphasis by civil society organisations and other people with influence on alternative avenues for political impact such as the Consultative Councils, rather than emphasising and strengthening the Municipal Assembly as a democratic institution.

This leaves national elections as the main avenue for popular political participation. National elections are still big events in the three areas under study, with a number of political visits and distribution of party gadgets albeit with complete dominance of Frelimo. In Lago/Meluluka the large majority of eligible voters turn out for registration, partly in order to get necessary identity cards and partly to get hold of food, shirts, hats, pens, and other items supplied by Frelimo. The high rate of abstention despite a large number of order to register seems to be related to combination of disbelief in the importance and relevance of the State for peoples' lives and a silent protest against the complete dominance of the Frelimo Party.

In Lago/Meluluka, some men also argued that women should not vote as they should not 'get involved in politics' but there are also women who insist that they have voted. In Majune, however, an older lady claims that she has always voted and when asked for whom she voted in the last election she promptly responded "*Guebuza, of course. Are there any other candidates?*" While there seems to be a general perception that women are less likely to vote than men, we do not have access to concrete data to support this.

Celebrating new water-post, Lago/Meluluka



Photo: Inge Tvedten

In the 2009 Presidential election Frelimo won with a large majority in all three districts, but the actual turnout was very low (Table 6). The opposition had problems promoting their cause in Cuamba, Lago as well as Majune, not only for lack of party organisation and financial means but also as a result of obstructions by Frelimo and their followers. While the marginalisation of MDM and a Renamo seems to have been most 'successful' in Majune and the political space for the opposition most developed in urban Cuamba, Lago/Meluluka is a good example of the controversy still surrounding opposition parties. Three MDM-flags were raised three months prior to our fieldwork and neither the heads of the District Administration or the Administrative Post nor the traditional authorities knew how to deal with this – even though they were all clearly opposed to such public statements of opposition. The people having raised the flags expressed clearly that they did so because of frustration with Frelimo, and of never receiving anything from the state ("*The reason for putting up the flags are to pressure the government to deliver*").

Table 6. Results from Presidential Election 2009 by District

Political Party	Lago	Majune	Cuamba	Voter Turnout *
Frelimo				
Renamo	Still	waiting	for	data...
MDM				
Others				

Source: STAE * As percent of registered voters

3. THE COMMUNITIES

In assessing changes in the three communities under study between 2011-2012, we will i) trace what groups of women and men respectively see as the most important changes in the communities the past year; ii) assess changes in the institutional landscape and their implications as seen by civil servants and people in the communities; and iii) revisit the community problems identified as most important in 2011 and trace how public institutions and the local populations have sought to solve them. Again we refer to the Cuamba, Lago and Majune Sub-Reports for more details.

3.1 Most Important Changes

Discussing the most important changes having taken place in the community the past year with groups of men and women, they tended to primarily related to changes in economic opportunities and issues of poverty and well-being - albeit with some significant differences.

In **Cuamba**, participants in focus group discussions and other interviewees agreed that the fact that national television had finally reached Cuamba was a major change since last year – even though hardly any of the interviewees actually have access to TV. The presence of the TV seems to give a status of modernity and indicate improved links to the rest of the country.

Furthermore, some municipal roads have been improved and the road connecting Nampula to Cuamba is already being rehabilitated and upgraded. This road is of great importance to traders, as a faster alternative to the train, which only runs once a day in each direction and takes twice the time. An unstable bridge has been rehabilitated and made more secure, connecting an isolated part of the municipality to the rest. New markets with improved access to goods were also highlighted as an important change. Most localities now have their own market, even though people in communities farthest away from the city centre are less affected by it.

The municipality has also built a new mortuary, with improved freezer storage shelves. This change is considered of extreme importance by the communities, who place high priority in honouring the dead and providing them with a dignified burial service. Another change also mentioned during the focus group discussions and by the Mayor was the building of new class rooms in several schools and a new health centre. This despite the fact that the Municipal Council is not yet responsible for these two sectors.

Finally, electricity has reached some of the more distant villages within the municipal borders such as Mucuapa, but public institutions including schools and the large majority of households are still not connected. The community members claim they cannot afford to be connected, but they are satisfied that at least there are street lights. These are important to reduce night time criminal activities, which was a major concern in 2011.

The different groups expressed frustration at the fact that access to potable water, which is the first priority of all Cuamba residents, has not seen any improvement. In some communities it has even gotten worst (see below). However, participants of the mapping exercise recognise that there is some effort being done by FIPAG, and new connections are underway. However, they still contend that the pressure is low and that connections are only available at the cement part of the town and its immediate vicinity.

Women Focus Group, Lago/Meluluka



Photo: Inge Tvedten

In **Lago/Meluluka** the group of women agreed that the most important change has been improvements of the road between Meluluka and Metangula and a concomitant increase in commercial traffic, which has made it easier for them to sell goods and to visit family and friends outside the community. The second most important change has been an increase in a number of mills (*moageiras*). They are all owned by men as “we women do not have money”, but the mills have reduced women’s workload. The third most important change exemplified the key challenge of communication between public and private institutions and the population, in that a small box to measure precipitation and assess the potential for cotton production in the area was mistakenly seen by the women as an item to control the wind so that their husbands would not die on the Lake. The fourth change was seen as the construction of an additional mobile phone antenna by ‘Movitel’, which is eased communication with the outside world. However, in the group of 16 women only one actually had a mobile phone.

The group of men selected the increasing number of improved dwellings with burnt building blocks and zinc roofs, as the most important signing change. The second change is related to employment and income, in particular the arrival of the João Ferreira dos Santos cotton company to Meluluka. Large numbers of households were convinced to start production of cotton, at the partial expense of food production. However, production largely failed, and many farmers ended up without any production in all or receiving very low pay at 10 MT per kilo due to poor quality. Following this also the male group emphasise the importance of the road, the new mills and the new mobile antenna as signs of change in Meluluka.

Both men and women finally highlighted health as an important issue, not because the situation has change since 2011 but because it remains in their view precarious. Health is considered important both because illness effects practically all households in Meluluka (see 1st Reality Check), and because having ill household members effects productivity in a situation where all able hands are important in order to make ends meet. According to people in Meluluka, the Health Post lacks the most basic conditions, has poor quality staff and does not give the population basic medicines to which they are entitled.

In **Majune**, people agree that the most striking change is the home of rainha Bibi Achivanjila which has been completely rehabilitated both inside and outside - all done in honour of the First Lady who slept one night in her house in July 2012. In addition to this, a focus group of men in the Malila community singled out the visit by the president of the Republic in the district in June 2012 (“his helicopters stayed in Malila”); the rehabilitation of the road between Majune and Mandimba; the arrival of the Spanish NGO Mundukide with projects for raising goats and planting cabbage, lettuce and onions; a contribution of 1700 MTs for the purchase of equipment for the cemetery; and the purchase by government of bicycles to traditional leaders and bairro secretaries in the District. There are also small but promising changes in commerce, with one person selling small bread rolls for 1 MT per roll (“I can sell up to 100

rolls per day”) who was not there in 2011. There also seems to be a small increase in the number of cars and trucks passing by, which may be initial signs of the effect of the new bridge over the river Luchmua which connects Majune to Mandimba and Cuamba.

Woman with beans, Majune



Photo: Minna Tuominen

In assessing changes in the three communities, people tend to highlight interventions that are visible and seen to endorse the community as ‘developed’ and ‘modern’ – even though the people in the focus groups were not directly affected by the changes they emphasised as we saw in the case of the house of the *rainha* in Majune, the establishment of a new mobile telephone network in

Lago/Meluluka and the arrival of national TV in Cuamba. For the male focus group in Meluluka changes in poverty and well-being were presented in the form of external signs

such as improved housing and more boats, while the female focus group rather emphasised changes close to their daily lives such as easier access to goods, the importance of the new one – and the level machine meant to save their husbands from drowning. Few of the most important changes having taken place the past year were seen as directly instigated by government.

3.2 Changes in Institutional Landscape

State institutions at the levels of the District, the Administrative Post and the Locality, traditional institutions with Régulos, Rainhas and their respective assistants, as well as the private sector and non-governmental organisations are potentially important for people's options for upward social mobility and a better life – even though immediate social relations in general and family networks in particular remain more important for most people in their daily struggle to cope.

As concluded in the 1st Reality Check, traditional institutions seem to have the strongest impact in Lago – which may be attributed to their historical importance, the relative isolation of the area and the recent 'inclusion' into state structures. Majune on its part seems to be in a transitional phase, with traditional leaders apparently losing influence in the communities to strong and active state and party structures and a group of 'influentes'. Cuamba, finding itself in the interface between the rural and urban, presents a more bewildering institutional landscape. There is an overlap between District and Municipal institutions, the private sector is strong, and state authorities argue that the traditional authorities only maintain their position at the former's mercy.

According to the Baseline Survey done in 2011 (see ORGUT 2011f), the public and traditional leaders most frequently contacted are those appearing in Table 7. The table reveals a much more active use of institutions in Lago/Meluluka than in Majune and Cuamba, and confirms the relative importance of traditional authorities in Lago/Meluluka and the relative importance of state and party structures in Cuamba and Majune.

Table 7. *Proportion of Households Using Key Public and Traditional Institutions Six Month Prior to Interview (Percent)*

Institution	Cuamba	Lago	Majune
District Administrator	2.5	5.0	3.3
Head of Administrative Post	0.0	12.5	1.7
Chief (<i>Régulo</i>)	5.0	36.7	10.8
Village Head (<i>N'Duna</i>)	1.6	19.2	1.6
Bairro Secretary	6.7	23.3	5.8
Head of Party Cell	1.7	0.8	4.2
Police (incl. Community Police)	5.0	1.7	5.8
Head of Mosque (<i>Chehe</i>)	0.0	10.8	13.3
Traditional doctors (<i>Curandeiros</i>)	0.8	5.8	4.2
Others	1.6	4.1	2.5

Source: RC Mozambique Baseline Survey 2011

In **Cuamba**, the apparent uncertainty related to the division of roles and responsibilities between the District and the Municipality continues. The most significant change in institutional landscape has been the election of a new Mayor. Cuamba was one of three municipalities where by-elections were held in 2011/12. The Mayor has focused his attention on increasing the municipal revenues, and has moved municipal officers from working in local communities to become revenue collectors. He claims he has increased revenues from around 150 USD to around 500 USD per day – which incidentally also says something about the low-level of municipal income. Changes have also occurred in the District administration and District services. Both the Permanent Secretary and the District Health Director have been removed, although apparently without any immediate implications for service delivery.

The one public institution that seems to have changed the most is the National Institute for Social Support or INAS, which has increased the number of beneficiaries from 2.722 to 3.187 between 2010 and 2011 with a further increase in 2012. INAS has representatives in each community who live there, which enhances the options for identifying the right people. INAS also receives support from local businessmen, which the organisation helps distribute. In an urban context where old age very often is synonymous with poverty and informal networks often fail, such support may be vital. However, also here people blame the public institution in question for political opportunism: *“Sometimes they stop paying for months, then they pay all at once when it is close to elections.”*

Traditional leaders continue to have influence in the local community – partly in contradiction to statements by local government officials that traditional authorities only function on their mercy as discussed above. In one case a community wanted to have removed a sub-chief or *cabo*, who for some time had been accused of bad governance. However, the *régulo* ruled after a lengthy public trial that the *cabo* stayed on, under the condition that he promised to change his behaviour. The Bairro Secretary, who effectively is the State/Party representatives, could have used the opportunity to strengthen his influence in the community but refrained from doing so.

Also, civil society groups have an increasing influence on both District and Municipal decision-making bodies. The Cuamba Civil Society Forum (FORASC) argues that their relationship with both Municipal and District authorities are improving, and that they are regularly invited to meetings with them. Through funding by the NGO Concern, moreover, a body called SamCom has been introduced with the objective of functioning as a ‘social auditor’ particularly on behalf of the poor and more marginalised parts of the Municipality. One concrete implication has been the revitalisation of Consultative Councils (which in many ways is the ‘baby’ of NGOs in the first place) in the more peripheral areas and to the lowest levels of administration.

Information and Reclamation, Cuamba



Photo: Sheila Joaquim

In **Lago/Meluluka**, the head of the Administrative Post has entered his last year in public service and is in the process of becoming a pensioner - with the new appointee being a younger man with roots in the Lago district. People have frequently complained that the *Chefe do Posto* is not ‘one of them’, and hence not really interested in their problems. In line with the argument of the Permanent Secretary presented above of the Administrative Post being a pivotal level of government that has to be strengthened, little effort has been done to strengthen the level of the Locality and no effort has been done to introduce the new level of *Povoação*.

In terms of key public institutions, very little has happened to the local Health Post which is in a detrimental state of affairs (see below). In education, however, three major developments have taken place. One is that they have been able to attract more children to school. The second is that they have allowed young girls of 13 to 14 years who are married and have children to continue their education and go to school on a daily basis. And a third is that the school has introduced the Bilingual Programme, where children from 1st to 3rd grade are taught in both the local language (*Nyanja*) and Portuguese. The director expects this to have significant implications, and admits that hitherto a number of students have dropped out while others have continued without really understanding what is going on in the classroom.

Other public institutions such as the police, agriculture and fisheries largely continue as last year, with the two former hardly being present and the latter showing a high level of activity in supporting the development of artisanal fisheries in the area. As regards the National Institute for Social Support (INAS), the institution has more than doubled the number of beneficiaries in the District of Lago (see Table 3), but there are still no beneficiaries in the

Meluluka Administrative Post. With the proportion of the District population living in Meluluka, the number of beneficiaries should have been at least 35. This shows the continued lack of transparency and inequality and access to key public services in Lago.

As regards traditional authorities, the 46 recognised traditional leaders in Meluluka (*régulos*, *raínhas* and *n'dunas*) continue to have a strong impact. The importance attached to these positions also by the State is indicated by the central role of the *rainha* during the visit of President Guebuza's wife in Meluluka in the end of 2011, where she received economic support for rehabilitating and improving the dwelling in order to post the First Lady. In addition, the position of *régulo* is coveted and contested, as indicated by a case in which a *n'duna* moved to the most populous part of the *régulado* and claimed that this gave him the right to become a *régulo*. The case was dismissed in the Community Court after long and heated negotiations.

Majune and the community of Malila are characterised by blurred distributions of responsibilities between the formal institutions of the government, traditional authorities, the Frelimo party and other interest groups, albeit with a concentration of power in relatively few hands. Despite being recognised as important by the State and in the community, the traditional authorities primarily have symbolic power and largely depend on the Party and influential people ('*influentes*'). The latter meet in the Community Court, where the head is the leader of the Frelimo Party Cell and members primarily consist of '*influentes*'. Also the Consultative Council is led and dominated by Frelimo party representatives.

The 'informal power structure' makes it difficult to allocate responsibilities and hold people to account, and sometimes makes it difficult to resolve problems in the community. One example is the allocation of funds for the 7 million MT scheme, where decisions are actually made by people who are central in the Community Court and who also dominate the Consultative Council. Another example is the responses to a fire that destroyed the home of a widow, where the Consultative Council requested support from the District Administration, the Party and Community Court tried to mobilise the population to support and religious leadership requested contributions from their congregations - without any of them talking to each other and with the problem still being unresolved at the time of our departure from Malila. In fact, the District Administration is effectively permitting the Community Court in Malila to act in the name of the State in matters that are not under the latter's areas of responsibility.

There are no significant changes in the type of access people have to public institutions present in Malila, such as education (still dominated by very low rates of attendance reaching a peak at the time of initiation rites), health (with relatively good facilities and service apparently making people accept under-the-table payments) and civil registration. Unequal treatment and importance of access to local powerholders is most evident in the decisions made related to the distribution of funds through INAS. Moreover, the focus groups argue that men are better connected than women particularly to the dominant Party structures and that customary norms limit the options for women to take direct contact with relevant authorities.

The main channel for community participation in Malila is through public meetings held by the District Government or local community leaders. However, also here there is a strong notion that the local powerholders are selective in the way they choose and present development issues to relevant authorities at higher levels. Moreover, the limited feedback from District Government and local powerholders on the development and status of various initiatives for community development makes it difficult to hold anybody to account.

In all three study sites, religious authorities have a limited impact on more general community developments – without thereby saying that religion is not important. In Cuamba the Catholic Church dominates, but does apparently not have an impact beyond its own constituency. In Lago/Meluluka Islam is the dominant religion, but neither there do the *chehes* have much of an influence on public and traditional institutions *per se*. In Majune where the majority are

Muslims, the Catholic Church seems to have a certain influence on community developments primarily through its strong local representatives.

While the institutional landscape has gone through changes, then, these are relatively few and characterised by different developments in the different sites. This is true in key institutions such as primary schools (where Lago/Meluluka has made important progress) and health institutions (where Majune seems to be the only place with reasonable health services), as well as an institution like INAS which not only is vital for the people with particular needs but also says a lot about the state's interest and ability in taking care of its most vulnerable citizens. The institutions undergoing the least change seem to be the key entities of State administration including the District Administration, the Administrative Post and the Localities – with the exception of Cuamba where the situation is dominated by the still unresolved relation between the Municipality and District.

3.3 Relating to Community Problems

Taking a closer look at the issue of the importance and relevance of public, traditional, community-based, and private sector institutions for development and poverty reduction, we will now go through the main community problems identified in 2011 and ascertain the extent to which these have been solved or not the past year. The problems identified appear in Table 8.

Table 8. Main Community Problems (votes)

Problems Lago	Votes	Problems Majune	Votes	Problems Cuamba	Votes
Poor Water Quality	22	Lack of Water	20	Lack of Water	10
Poor Health Facilities	22	Conflicts Man-Animal	20	Poor Health Facilities	10
Lack of Energy	22	Lack of Employment	20	Poor Roads	9
Only Primary School	17	Lack of Local Markets	10	Crime	9
Poor Roads	17	Lack of Electricity	10	Unemployment	8

Source: RC Mozambique Most Important Problems Exercise 2011

In **Cuamba**, water continues to be a severe problem. According to FIPAG 18 percent of the population has running water, but this may be an overestimation as only 500 on of 1345 clients actually receive water and are billed. Also the number of public water posts is small, with 31 of which only 21 are currently functioning. Of the three sites being the focus of the study, only people in the bairro Aeroporto has access to a water post. Most household have to resort to collect water from the shallow wells or the River and become vulnerable to diseases like cholera and diarrhoea. The African Development Bank has granted a loan to finance the reconstruction of a water-pipe from a mountain 26 km from Cuamba, which has the potential to guarantee enough water for the whole city population. However, the Municipality claims that the project is still under assessment and no one was able to answer why such an urgent project is so delayed.

Health is the sector about which people are most concerned, probably because poor health has such immediate implications both for family well-being and options for work and income. In fact, people argue that the quality of health services in Cuamba is so poor that everybody who can afford it uses the services in Malawi. In addition to poor quality, there is a general perception that health practitioners are corrupt. With maternal and child health being the most frequent reasons for contacting health institutions, poor women and children suffer the most from the situation. Only positive side, the same people who last year expressed grave concern about HIV/AIDS this year argue that they are better informed and have better access to protection – and now request similar types of attention to the problem of cholera.

Also the problem of unemployment has apparently become worse. The male focus group in the village of Mucuapa said that last year there were employment opportunities in brick production and carpentry, which also employed a number of young people. However, this year the construction of housing has been reduced and the sawmill has closed. People feel exploited. Employment primarily depends on external investors who employ people as they please and leave without any explanation to the community, and prices for agricultural products are set by the buyers not the producers. At the same time they notice significant increases in the prices of basic consumer goods. *“If we cannot afford the product, we just turn around and leave the store without questioning the reasons for the price increase”*.

In **Lago/Meluluka**, only one new water post has been constructed the past year despite concerted efforts by the communities to get more and what they say were ‘promises’ for a total of five water posts following visits of *Obras Públicas* (see above). There is a clear notion that providing healthy water is the responsibility of government. To push the issue a separate ‘water committee’ consisting of men and women has been established, and they claim they have presented their concerns together with the traditional authority to the head of the Administrative Post. With nothing happening they decided to bypass the locally based government representative and take the matter directly to the District Administrator, the district Frelimo representative as well as the Governor when he was visiting Meluluka – but still to no avail. The water post has been built in a part of Meluluka which people argue has already received public investments, indicating that the reason is that they have better political contacts.

The Health Post has, as already shown, not seen any improvements the past year. Also this is seen as a responsibility of government. Again a local committee was established, this time consisting of only men. They took the matter the same route as with water – first directly to the Health Post, then via the traditional authorities to the head of the Administrative Post, and then bypassing him by going directly to the District Administration. Their last option was to present a problem to the Primeira Dama when she was visiting Meluluka. While the local

Repairing radio, Majune



Photo: Minna Tuominen

population has still not seen any improvements, we learnt from the Directory of Health that she has managed to get promises for rehabilitation both from provincial government and from the World Bank who apparently is willing to fund it.

As regards electricity, nothing happened and the population is not sure why. They claim that “a car from the Electricity Company of Mozambique (EDM) has passed through the village, but did not stop and give any information”. While the population looks to the government for electricity, the notion of ‘electricity from Cahora Bassa’ has nearly a mythical sound to it and is considered more as a ‘right’ (echoing President Guebuza’s words that ‘Cahora Bassa is ours’) and a sign of modernity. No separate committee has been established for electricity, and traditional as well as community leaders do not seem to think that electricity in Meluluka is imminent – apparently not knowing that electrification of Meluluka is in the District’s “Economic and Social Development Plan» for 2013.

The vital road between Meluluka and Metangula is, as we have seen, under rehabilitation. While this is done by *Obras Públicas* and ANE, people still primarily see the coming of the road in 2008 as the work of the NGO ‘Accord’ with which they had a close collaboration. Finally the idea of establishing a primary school beyond 7th Grade has not met with any success. While both the Director of primary education in Meluluka and the population expect that this is just a matter of time, the Lago District educational authorities tell us that the number of potential students is simply too low to make such investment. This is yet another

example of lack of transparency and poor communication, which creates antagonism between the government and local populations.

In **Majune/Malila** the problem of water has actually become worse during the past year. Of eight boreholes only three are operating, and of the three operating only one has sufficient pressure. With limited rainfall last season nearby rivers and creeks are almost dry, which further complicates the situation. There does not seem to have been taken any local initiatives, as people are expecting the Government and the Christian Council of Mozambique to solve the problem. The last water committee was established in 2007, and the community realises the need to train local artisans and mechanics to serve the water-posts when they appear.

Little has also happened in terms of employment opportunities. The State is the largest formal employer, and the only additional employment opportunities existing are seasonal work for road maintenance and short term work for locally based NGOs. As regards road work, people complain that the relevant companies bring workers from outside the District and believe that the companies don't recruit locally because they think that locals are less productive and 'lazy'. People also acknowledge that many preferred to work in their own *machambas* rather than on the roads, which they see as poorly paid and demanding. They are aware that the National Roads Administration (ANE) has a responsibility to recruit locally, but state that this is not done because the Local Government administration is "hostage to private companies".

The strained relationship between the communities and Local Government is also evident in the local population's complaints about the inability of Government to solve the problem of man-animal conflict. While acknowledging that the problem is not as serious this year as in 2011 because of low agricultural production, they argue that Government can do much more (see Box). For the community the solution is to kill the animals that invade their fields, while the government is advising them to change agricultural practices and rather produce in 'blocks' that are easier to protect.

*For the government elephants are more important than us.
If I kill an elephant, I am stuck.
But the elephant can ruin our farm and nothing happens to it.*

Male focus group, Malila

Summing up, the local populations in Cuamba, Lago and Majune relate in different ways to the challenges of obtaining the public services they need and believe they are entitled to. In **Cuamba** there is a considerable confusion about the responsibilities of the District and the Municipality respectively, which reduces the incentives for local action. If anything, there is a perception that those closest to the centres of power are most likely to get services – as indicated by the fact that the services get poorer and poorer the further away from the city centre one gets. The apparent power vacuum has also created space for non-government organisations.

In **Lago/Meluluka**, there is a long tradition for community action and people work towards common goals by actively using traditional authorities and forming relevant committees. However, based on their own experience their strategy is not to follow the formal route via the Administrative Post and upward in the system, but rather to bypass local government and its representatives and contact people who they believe are in better positions to make decisions directly.

Finally in **Majune**, most initiatives for improvements in the community are taken by a relatively narrow group of 'influences', Frelimo representatives, and (although to a decreasing extent) traditional authorities. While they have the ear of Local Government representatives and some important investments have been made in infrastructure and health, the system is closed with the large majority of people being ignorant of the initiatives taking place. In all three places, it is evident that men are in the best position to articulate community problems and have a better overview over alternative sources of solution than women do.

The Table below taken from the Baseline Survey 2011 reveals people's perceptions of the quality of the services from different public sector institutions. The averages conceal the fact that relatively few give the institutions the lowest scores (1 and 2), and relatively few give the

institutions the highest score (5). At the same time we see that female heads of households (FHH) generally give higher scores than male heads of households (MHH) – despite the fact that the former have less contact with the relevant institutions. The question will be revisited in the follow-up of the Baseline Survey in 2015.

Table 9: *Level of satisfaction with public services by sex of household head, average score (1= very poor, 5= very good).*

Public Service	Lago		Majune		Cuamba	
	MHH	FHH	MHH	FHH	MHH	FHH
Local Government	3.5	4.0	4.6	4.7	4.2	4.9
Health Post	3.6	4.0	4.6	4.6	3.7	3.9
Maternity Ward	3.6	4.0	4.4	4.4	4.1	4.3
Primary School	3.7	3.3	4.4	4.4	3.9	4.1
Water	3.3	3.0	4.1	4.1	3.6	4.2
Public Transportation	3.3	3.3	4.3	4.3	3.9	4.5
Police	n.a.	n.a.	4.2	4.8	4.1	4.2
Courts (incl. community court)	3.8	4.1	4.0	4.1	4.4	4.6
Mosque (madrassa)	4.1	3.9	4.6	4.3	4.9	n.a.
Notary	n.a.	n.a.	4.7	4.5	4.3	4.6

4. SOCIAL RELATIONS OF POVERTY AND WELL-BEING

4.1 Changes in Economic Adaptations

To contextualise changes in social relations of poverty and well-being, we will start this chapter with a description of economic change in the three study sites (see the three Sub-Reports for more details).

In **Cuamba**, there is an apparent contradiction between what is generally seen as a considerable economic potential of a dynamic urban social formation and the fact that the large majority of the population still depends on small-scale agricultural production. Subsistence food crop production is done with rudimentary technologies and depending on the family workforce, leaving households susceptible to sudden shocks such as ill household members and weather hazards. Households producing cash crops such as tobacco and cotton are in the outset in a better position to earn money. However, the dependence on the *de facto* monopoly buyers such as João Ferreira dos Santos (JFS) for cotton and Mozambique Leaf Tobacco (MLT) both for production inputs such as seeds and fertilisers and for prices for their products make the producers vulnerable.

There is currently an increase in the production of sesame seeds and soya beans in the area, with the former sold for exports and the latter sold to chicken farms in neighbouring districts such as Malema and Gurúe. While the sale of these crops is not secured as in the case of cotton and tobacco, access to a larger network of alternative buyers leave some room for negotiating prices. The importance of alternative sources of agricultural income is underlined by the crises in the tobacco market and significantly reduced international prices on cotton the past year.

The future of agriculture as the main source of survival in Cuamba is also negatively influenced by the fact that young people seem to be moving away from the sector. Young men tend to engage in *pwati* or carrying goods to and from trains and trucks, informal trade in cheap consumption items or mining – which often take them away from Cuamba. While these forms of employment are not accessible for women, people argue that girls and young women prefer to stay at home and do nothing rather than engage in agriculture (Box).

I stay at home and do nothing. I don't study and I don't help my mother in the fields because I don't like it [...]. My mother is the head of the household, and she supports the family, sells flour in the market and tends to the field alone.

Young woman in Cuamba

In contrast the major economic agents in Cuamba recognise the economic potential of the area, and both MLT and JFS invest large sums of money in the area. The main concern is that public services in general and banking service in particular are unable to keep pace with the size of their operations. They are also concerned about the precarious conditions of the roads and the limited number of trains that limits their operational capacity. Particularly JFC is concerned about the likely coming presence of the mining company VALE in Niassa, and fear that they will lay hands on the limited transport capacity there is. Local businessmen on the other hand are anxiously awaiting VALE, and claim this will boost the local economy and create more opportunities.

Lago/Meluluka is still undergoing dynamic economic change, sparked by the road built in 2008 connecting the Meluluka communities to the District capital and beyond. The main basis for the continued economic development between 2011 and 2012 has been fisheries, which has inherent possibilities for both employment creation and capital accumulation. People earning money from fisheries have invested in expanding their fishing businesses by buying new boats, canoes and/or fishing nets, and they have also opened up *bancas* and *barracas* that are often managed by close relatives. The result is an increase in commercial contacts between Meluluka and Metangula, Lichinga and Malawi, as evidenced by a larger

number of cars and trucks and new types of goods in the commercial outlets. There are also a number of young men who have developed successful fishery related businesses, and people in Metangula claim that the majority of the most successful traders operating there are from Meluluka.

Besides fisheries, fish trade and other related activities, not much economic change appears to be taking place. Agriculture continues to be primarily for consumption, and to be done with rudimentary methods and without the use of fertilisers. Also small scale handicraft production (reed mats, agricultural tools, tables and chairs, doors, kitchen utensils etc.) continues to be made largely the same way. In other words, there does not seem to be much technological innovation stemming from the on-going economic developments. Women are still hardly seen doing business in public space, except for very small scale sales of agricultural products. Thus family budgets remain small for most households with 37 percent of the households spending less than 250 MT per week (Baseline Study 2011), which is a very small sum of money with the current price level.

In **Majune**, the economy continues to be dominated by a few successful businessmen primarily in transportation and with the majority of the population still depending on subsistence agriculture and/or cash crop production with low returns. This way, international prices of tobacco and cotton and the strength and de facto monopoly of the cash crop commercial enterprises have significant implications on the well-being of the local population. The improved roads and the new bridge connecting Majune to a larger commercial centre do still not seem to have resulted in substantial developments, probably due to the fact that there is such a limited basis for production of surpluses in agriculture and such a limited circulation of money in the local communities. Moreover, employment opportunities in external companies related to road construction, tourism etc. are often given to people from other districts with the argument that the local population is not working hard enough. Having said this, we have already shown that there are small signs of possible change with slightly increased traffic and the appearance of some commodities that were not found in Majune in 2011.

In all three communities, limited economic development is related to lack of alternative sources of employment and income and poor public and private support mechanisms but also to lack of or skewed access to credit and funding. In this context the District Development Fund (FDD) is seen as important both by authorities and people in the communities, but is also highly controversial and seen as riddled with corruption and favouritism. The Fund was initiated in districts in 2006/7 and extended to also include municipalities in 2010 - as a direct result of the urban uprisings in Maputo. A rehabilitation and restructuring of the scheme will be very important for developments in the three communities, and this will be treated in more detail in the Reality Checks 2013 where agriculture and employment will be the focus of attention.

4.2 Family and Household Dynamics

Moving on to changes in poverty and well-being at the level of households and individuals, we showed in the 1st Reality Check that people in the three study sites have clear perceptions about there being different levels of poverty (*wakulaga*, *olemela*, *ohawa*) and well-being (*wakupata*, *umphawi*, *okhalano*), and what that entails for people's options for social mobility. To systematically pursue issues of poverty, wealth and social mobility, we have selected a total of 20 households from the different categories that will be visited every year to ascertain possible change. This year, particular attention has been given to the

Granary, Majune



Photo: Minna Tuominen

perceptions and experiences of the households with public institutions. The situation of the selected households in terms of composition, economic adaptations and perceived challenges was presented in the 1st Reality Checks. Below we will focus on changes in their situation between 2011 and 2012.

Table 10a: Levels and Characteristics of Poverty and Well-Being in Cuamba (Macua)

The Poor	
<i>Ohawa vanchipali</i>	The very poor. Those who don't know how or where they are going to get their next meal.
<i>Ohawa ovelavela</i>	The relatively poor. Those who have no initiative to take themselves out of poverty.
<i>Ohawa vakanene</i>	The transitional poor. Those who have least two meals a day.
The Better-Off	
<i>Opunha</i>	The 'wanna be' rich. Those who enjoy life without being necessarily rich.
<i>Okhalano</i>	The truly rich. Those who have it all.

Ohawa vanchipali I. This woman was an old lady. She was once married, but her husband left her many years ago. She has three daughters, and currently lives with the youngest daughter, grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Since 2011, the old lady as well as a grandson and a great grandson have all died. They died within one month, and the remaining household members do not know the reason. The youngest daughter is now the household head, and lives with a surviving son and daughter and the latter's husband who works as a clerk in a pharmacy. The daughter and son-in-law live in a separate house in the courtyard. Their only means of survival is from the *machamba* and a small salary from the pharmacy. They do not get any support from the extended family, neighbours, community leaders, INAS or other public services except for the hospital.

Ohawa vanchipali II. This man is in his 70s. He is blind, and was married for a number of years until his wife's family came to take her away. He then remarried, but sent the new wife away after a few years. He has one daughter with the second wife, with the former being ill. Last year his support from INAS had been discontinued, but he has now started to receive support again. He also gets a little support from his second wife in the form of food and money she gets from the sale of firewood. He also has a friend who regularly visits him, and cuts his hair. The only public service he uses regularly is the hospital to seek treatment for his sick daughter. He would like to have an operation for his blindness, but does not know how that could be done. The main change he highlights from last year is that whereas he used to sleep on top of rice bags he now sleeps on blankets that have been offered him by second wife.

Ohawa vakanene. This is a couple in their 60s, with a total of four children. The oldest daughter has three children and used to live in the back of her parent's yard. The household head still suffers from leprosy, and the wife has a limp which prevents her from walking long distances and help out in the field. As the husband has felt better the last year, they have been able to increase agricultural production a little. They still primarily survive with the help of neighbours, and a small subsidy from INAS. The main problem for the household has been that the oldest daughter, who lived with them, passed away. The oldest grandchild spends a lot of time with the grandparents, even though she is married and lives outside the dwelling. Her husband has no job. Smaller positive developments have been that the couple's grandson received support for school material from the Catholic Church, which also supported them with funds for a latrine and to buy linoleum to protect the house from the rain.

Okhalano. The man is in his 40s and has two wives and a total of 14 children. He lives in the same place as in 2011, and still runs his business even though his older son is increasingly

taking over. The core of the business is buying commodities in Nampula and reselling it in Cuamba. He also has land, where he produces both for consumption and sale. Okhalano argues that it's been a difficult year because of poor rains and poor production, and he has unsuccessfully applied for Municipal Development Funds - according to him because he has refused to give in to corruption. His main problem the past year has been that his second wife and a child have been ill, compelling him to take them to Malawi for treatment. Another of his children has a hearing problem, and has not been able to get a job in the health sector for which Okhalano feels this child is qualified. He has taken the matter to the court, but still awaits the outcome.

Table 10b: Levels and Characteristics of Poverty and Well-Being in Lago/Meluluka (Nyanja)

The Poor	
<i>Usuwedwa</i>	People who do not have money, and no clothes. They are not in a position to marry because they do not have the necessary material means and no one wants to marry them. They depend on others.
<i>Chilecua</i>	Men and women who are lazy (<i>preguiçosos</i>), and who do not contribute anything to the community.
<i>Maciquine</i>	Men and women with physical or mental deficiencies.
<i>Ukalama</i>	Older men and women who do not have support from their family because no one is close to help.
The Better-Off	
<i>Odjifunila</i>	People who manage well (<i>desenrascar</i>) in their daily life, and who do not depend on others.
<i>Opata</i>	People who are in a position to give informal employment (<i>biscatos</i>) to other people in agriculture, fisheries and construction.
<i>Olemela</i>	People who have a car, who have companies in (Metangula), who pay fixed [monthly] salaries to their employees, who have a bank-account and who sell products coming from Malawi and Tanzania.

Usuwedwa. The household lives in Milombe, in a small house with only one room. The couple has six children from 2 months to 19 years of age. Since 2011, the household has not seen any changes in its composition. It still depends on the construction of sale of bamboo doors and repairs of agricultural tools. However, the husband has also started to learn to make canoes, which he thinks will enhance his income. The wife has a *machamba* of *mandioca* and also produces maize. The main changes in the family situation the past year is an increase in the value of the doors produced by the husband from 100 to 150 MT, and that the oldest child who studied in Metangula had to leave his studies because the family could no longer pay for his accommodation and his frequent absence compelled him to repeat 8th Grade. The family's relationship with the State is through the school and health services, and they claim that "up till now there has been no reasons for complaints [about our relations with the State] except that there are no medicines at the Health Post". The family does still not receive any support from local institutions, but they continue to receive support from the wife's uncle in times of real difficulties.

Chilecua. The household lives in Lussefa, and consists of an old widow as the household head; her daughter with three children for whom she does not get any support; and her granddaughter of approximately 15 years who has a child of 3 months and a husband who is usually out travelling. Since 2011, the composition of the household did not change, but the daughter of the household head is in the beginning of her fourth pregnancy. Moreover, the grand-children from another daughter of Chilecua have started to give some financial support and basic food as they saw their grandmother's situation deteriorate. The household also survives with the help of *machambas* owned by Chilecua's daughter and grand-daughter, but they expect a very low production as they are 'only women'. Finally, the household sometimes sell fire-wood. The main changes in the life of the family the last year are: the construction of two small bathrooms made of grass, and a small house for the old household

head as the old house fell down because it was in such a bad state. The family only has direct contact with the State through its health services. When they have needed help, they considered the support to be very poor. At one point the pregnant household member visited

Children Carrying Water, Majune



Photo: Minna Tuominen

the health post and state: "I am pregnant, my stomach is getting bigger and I went to the Health Post to have a check-up of the pregnancy to get registered ('abrir ficha'), but they told me that my stomach didn't have anything inside and that I had to come back for another consultation later". Even though it is a very poor family, their members still do not get any type of support neither from a public institution nor from neighbours, and they say: "When we have nothing, we do not ask anybody" ("*Quando não temos nada ficamos, não pedimos a ninguém*").

Maciquine. 'Maciquine' lives alone with her heavily handicapped boy of around eight years of age. Since 2011 there have been no changes in the family-structure. The main source of income for the family is the production and sale of reed mats. In 2011 the lady also sold chickens, but they died and she has not been able to buy new ones. The family get some support from the oldest children, and the nephew of a female household-head living close by. The support has been in the form of food. The household-head

has a *machamba* with *mandioca*, but also this year she had no production because of illness. The main change in the past year has been the health of the handicapped son: last year he could not walk, and this year he is able to move around alone, which implies more independence for both the mother and the son. The lady says: "When you were here last year my son didn't know anything, he did not walk and he never left the house, but I worked hard and I found a good *curandeiro* who massaged his feet and arms with plants, roots and herbs. He also gave him something to drink and now he is better and much less aggressive." Her relationship with the State has been through a couple of visits to the Health Post to get support for the child, but they did not have any medicines. Despite their poverty, the family does not receive any support neither from the State nor from the community.

Ukalama. The household consists of two elders living in a poor one-room dwelling, and have a small *machamba* as their main source of subsistence and income. Arriving at the dwelling of this household one year after our first visit, we were told that they had not been present for a couple of weeks and would not return for another two-three weeks. The reason was, people said, that the household had managed to open another agricultural field with the help of a relative, and had planted maize. Being a more important and nutritious crop than *mandioca* upon which they depended last year, they had decided to stay at the field and protect it from monkeys and other intruders. This way, the household has apparently seen an improvement in their situation. This will be followed up in the 2013 Reality Check.⁴

Odjifunila. The husband is 46 years old, lives in Nchepa/Ngala, and has two wives and a total of 15 children. During the past year a child of the second wife died. Otherwise the family composition is the same, with both sub-households having a mixture of children having moved out and staying at home. The main source of income for the family is still commercialization of dried fish. None of the co-wives work outside their dwelling. The main changes for the household the past year has been an increase in the quantity of fish sales to between 50 and 60 cans per month, and that they have finished the construction of a brick house next to the first wife's main dwelling. The illness of the second wife compelled the household head to stay with her at the hospital in Malawi for close to four months. This created difficulties for the business in that period of time, but the household head has worked hard to re-establish his fish-sales. His main concern now is that his two oldest sons who he

⁴ While it would have been possible to ask neighbours and others about changes in the family situation, there are many good reasons not to do so in a setting like Meluluca.

has put through secondary school cannot find a job. His main relationship with the State is through education and the school, and he sees no reasons for complaints about the former. His one contact with the Health Post was, however, a very negative experience: "When my child became ill we took him to the Health Post, but the nurse was not able to treat him and he took a long time to write a paper of transfer to Metangula. When he finally did the child was very sick. We rented a car to take him to Metangula, but he died on the way. This has also happened with other persons who have become ill".

Opata. 'Opata' has a total of four wives and 20 children between 23 years and one month of age. Opata is still seeking to expand his business, and his plan is to buy a car and start with transportation. When visiting the family again after one year the household head was absent on business in Malawi, but the first of his four wives had the authority to meet and speak to us on his behalf. During the past year the mother of the household head, who lived in Opata, died. Otherwise his large family remains the same. The main changes for the household have been a reduction in the number of the husband's cattle; the illness of the oldest child of the household head and his first wife, which led the latter to stay with her in a hospital in Malawi for five months; the construction of a wall around the dwellings of all four wives; the construction of a kitchen-section made of cement and with a zinc roof; acquisition of a larger variety of products in their store (spare parts for motorcycles and cars and paint among others); an increase in the quantity of fish; and overall improvements in the living conditions of the family. The family did not yet buy the vehicle for transportation they had planned to ("not because we could not afford it, but because we have not had the time"). The household's relations with the Mozambican State have been positive, even though they usually go to Malawi for business and treatment. With the illness of the daughter they first tried to get treatment in Mozambique and were followed up well: "When our daughter became ill, I first took her to the nurse at the Health Post in Meluluca, but he did not manage to cure her. He gave us a letter of transfer to the Heath Centre in Metangula, but they didn't know how to treat her either, and transferred her to the hospital in Lichinga. As they did not understand what was wrong with her either, the health personnel advised us to go to other Hospitals. We then went to the Hospital in Mandimba where they recommended that we go across the border to a hospital in Malawi. In Malawi they finally discovered what was wrong with our daughter and they operated on her abdomen".

Table 10c: Levels and Characteristics of Poverty and Well-Being in Majune/Malila (Yao)

The better-off	
Wakupatha	People who run their own business. They have other people working for them, and they do not depend on farming. They have one or more residential buildings, built with cement blocks, proper roofing, and furnished. The <i>wakupathas</i> eat well, drive cars and "have everything".
Wakupatha panandi	Men and women who live in proper housing structures, and who may have a car. They may run a business, or have employment. They may do some farming works, but they do not depend on their harvest. They have kitchen utensils, buckets, telephone and some also a TV. This category includes the teachers, nurses and other civil servants.
The poor	
Wakulaga panandi	Men and women who live on agriculture and are unemployed. They live in dwellings built with mud bricks and straw. They do not have furniture, but normally a locally built bed and perhaps a few chairs. The diet consists mainly of what they cultivate. They may own a bicycle, a bucket and a straw mat.
Wakulaga n'nope	Men and women who have difficulties to cultivate. These households often consist of one adult only. They depend on external assistance, at least one part of the year. They live in dwellings built with mud bricks and straw. They have no furniture, not even a straw mat.
Mazikine	Men and women who are physically disabled. The <i>mazikine</i> live on their own and depend on external assistance to sustain themselves.

Mazikine. *Mazikine 1:* A divorced man who was crippled by polio in his early childhood. He used to be married and has one adult son who lives and studies in Muembe. Some ten years ago, *mazikine 1* also lost his eyesight - possibly due to cataracts – and that was when his wife left him. Since then, even if he later on recovered his sight through an eye operation supported by catholic nuns, he has not remarried. *Mazikine 1* lives alone in a very small hut made of clay bricks and covered by straw. He sustains himself by repairing worn out pots and buckets that people bring to him. In bad days, when he has nothing to eat, he asks for assistance from neighbours. There are no considerable changes in his household or level of wellbeing since 2011. The only contact he has had with public services is with INAS who recently started to pay him a monthly subsidy of 130 mt. The *mazikine* had to advance an under-the-table payment twice to get enrolled.

Mazikine 2: A widowed man who has four adult children in Malawi. He became ill in his old days and one of his legs atrophied, thus he could no longer work. *Mazikine 2* lives alone in Malila in a small, run down hut, the roofing of which has partly collapsed. He has one adult niece in Malila who brings food and water for him, but not regularly. The hut was built for him by other community members, who also in 2011 used to give some food for him. In 2012, *mazikine 2* partly recovered from his illness and the community members ceased assisting him. He now depends entirely on the sporadic assistance of the niece. His only contact with the public services has been with the local INAS agent, *Permanente*, but he has not yet started to receive any assistance from INAS.

Wakulaga n'nope .1. *wakulaga n'nope:* Household headed by a single woman who must be well over her 40's, and who has three children (two daughters and one son) at 14, 9 and 8 years. The woman crippled her foot in the war time, and has limped painfully ever since. The household has a small farm field and in 2011 the woman sustained her children with the agriculture produce one part of the year. The rest of the year, the family was assisted by the sister of *wakulaga n'nope 1* and the sister's husband who used to live next door, and who cultivated a larger area. In 2012, the *wakulaga n'nope 1* has become more vulnerable than previously because their dwelling collapsed after some heavy rains, and because the sister has now fallen ill. The sister's husband has moved to Lichinga and extends no assistance to his ill wife. *Wakulaga n'nope 1* and her children are temporarily sleeping in a hut that belongs to a nephew who stays in Lichinga for some time; they do not know where to go to, when the nephew returns. During 2012, *wakulaga n'nope 1* has taken care of her ill sister and could therefore not cultivate anything. Both women are now sustained by a younger niece who is married, who lives nearby and who has a larger and more productive field. *Wakulaga n'nope 1* has reportedly tried 3 times to obtain assistance from INAS, but so far in vain.

2. *wakulaga n'nope:* The household used to be headed by an elderly widowed woman who lived together with her adult, handicapped daughter and her four grandchildren (all daughters). None of them was able to cultivate land; although the old lady had one adult daughter in Malila, and two adult sons in Lugenda, the household was not regularly supported by them, but instead, used to live from hand outs received from the neighbours. The household composition changed dramatically in the past year, as the old lady passed away. The handicapped daughter and her children are since then living together with the former's sister and her husband, in Malila. The sister and her husband cultivate land and sustain the entire family with their harvest. Three eldest children of the handicapped lady used to go to school but they have dropped out by now, and during the next season they will help out their aunt in the field. The handicapped woman has used public health and education services and is reportedly satisfied. The deceased old lady used to receive 130 mt from INAS, but her handicapped daughter does not receive anything. Clearly, she would not be able to initiate such a process on her own without external assistance.

3. *wakulaga n'nope*: A household that consists of an elderly couple – a husband and a wife. The husband is nearly blind and the wife has other health problems that limit her physical movements. The husband is a Traditional leader at 3rd category; he inherited the title from his deceased uncle; and he participates in the meetings with other traditional leaders and the government. The couple had two children but both passed away several years ago. The couple lives in a small hut built of mud bricks and straw roofing. The house was built with the help from the Catholic Church. The couple sustains their living through INAS assistance. Both the husband and the wife receive 130 mt per month. As a traditional leader, the husband occasionally receives some incentives from the government. When the money is used up, or when INAS delays with the payment, the couple asks help from their neighbours. This is a new household that was engaged with Reality Checks only in 2012. According to the couple itself, the life has not changed since 2011.

The Train in Coming! Cuamba



Photo: Kajsa Johansson

Wakupatha panandi. 1. *Wakupatha panandi*: The household is headed by a widowed man who is at his 40's. Some years after the death of the first wife, he remarried. He has 6 children with the deceased first wife – all of them live in Lichinga in a house that *wakupatha panandi* 1 sustains. He also has 2 children (a son and a daughter) with the new wife with whom he lives in Malila. *Wakupatha panandi* 1 makes his living through transport business, which was the only source of income of the family in 2011. Since 2011, the major changes in the household situation include the birth of their youngest daughter, the finalization of the household residence built of cement bricks and with proper roofing, and the purchase of a new and more powerful generator. In addition, during the past year, the wife of *wakupatha panandi* 1 has started to cultivate rice. For the near future, the *wakupatha panandi* 1 plans to open up a small kiosk in Malila, venture into construction business, and buy a second bus to expand his transport business. He is planning to submit a proposal to the Consultative council to get sufficient funds. The outcomes of these plans will be followed up in 2013. *Wakupatha panandi* 1 has several contacts with the local level public services, including local level Consultative Council (submitted one proposal for the District Development fund but it was rejected), Malila school and Malanga health centre. In relation to the school, he is satisfied (he used to go to the same school himself), but his opinion about the health post was more reserved. The most recent contact with the health centre was when *wakupatha panandi's* youngest daughter was born earlier this year. He had to under-the-table to make the available health staff to administer some painkillers to his wife who was in labour.

2. *wakupatha panandi*: The household consists a husband, a wife and their three children. The husband sustains the family through transport business that he has run together with his elder brother for years. His wife runs several small-scale businesses at home. Two of the three children (daughters) live by the brother of *wakupatha panandi* 2 in Lichinga where they go to school. The youngest child (son) stays with the couple in Malila. The composition of the family has remained unchanged in Malila since 2011, but *wakupatha panandi's* eldest brother and business partner passed away a couple of months before our arrival to Majune in 2012. Since then, the *wakupatha panandi* 2 is sustaining both his own and his brother's families. Within the past year, the *wakupatha panandi* 2 has started to buy and resell corn and fuel. Both of these businesses are taken care by his wife. *Wakupatha panandi* 2 plans to take the advantage of the new access road (Majune-Mandimba-Cuamba) and start bringing in sales articles from Nampula where there is greater availability and lower prices. Of the public services, the household mainly deals with Malanga health centre and the school in Lichinga. They consider the school in Malila poor because it is not able to control the drop outs.

Wakupatha. The wakupatha is a man at 55 with two wives: the first one in Lichinga and the second one in Majune. He has a total of 16 children. He is running several different businesses including a small shop, a guest house and a construction company in Malila, and a transportation business in Lichinga. Both wives take actively part in the husband's businesses. They do not cultivate land. All the children, except the very youngest ones, go to school; the eldest ones are in university. There are no significant changes in the composition of the household or in the family situation in general. There are however some indications that the *wakupatha* is more cautious with costs this year. He turns his generator on later in the evening than last year, and his shop seems to have more empty shelves than before. He explains though that his many businesses support one another. If one business area is doing poorly, the other areas should compensate for it until it is running smoothly again. The *wakupatha* has had contacts with education, health and the district directorate of infra-structures. He has a good opinion of all the public services and he knows personally several members of the district administration. A few years ago, he was a member of the district level Consultative Council but he left the Council when its composition was renewed.

4.3 Social Mobility and Gender

The general picture presenting itself on the basis of the focus households is one of non-mobility for the very poorest and upward social mobility for families who already are relatively well-off. Several of the very poorest families have seen members die the last year, with significant implications for their ability to produce food and earn an income. Apart from that, the changes they have experienced are small and not of a kind that will lift the household in socio-economic terms – even though seeing a crippled son being able to walk and being able to sleep on a blanket rather than rice bags is important enough for the people concerned.

Most of the poorest households also experience social isolation, stating that they do not receive support neither from their extended family, from neighbours and friends, or from locally based institutions. The situation seems to be particularly severe for people without a spouse (violating deep cultural notions on the importance of marriage), and for people with handicaps who are easily seen as a burden. In fact, most of these families seem to depend on the support of one or a few individual relatives who are vital for their survival, but which also leaves the poor families in very vulnerable positions. In poor communities and

We have no support. Not from the government, not from the traditional authorities in the neighbourhood. There is a problem of individualism.... People do not cooperate.

Young woman, Cuamba

neighbourhoods, people simply cannot afford to have outstanding claims that they know they will probably never get back. When forced to choose, support will usually be given to blood (consanguine) relatives rather than relatives by marriage (affinals).

Most of the poor households have some kind of contact with public institutions, primarily in the form of schools and health units. Few site money or corruption as obstacles (which does not mean it

does not exist), but many complain about poor treatment and poor service particularly in health. Access to basic social protection in the form of support from INAS shows great variations between the different study sites. In Lago/Meluluka none of the focus families receives this kind of support. In Majune access seem to depend a lot on personal contacts with powerholders. And in Cuamba, the institution has managed to increase the number of beneficiaries identified through their own representatives in the communities ('permanentes') and all but one of the poor focus families receive such support.

The better off families are characterised by having large extended families (often based on polygamy), and several sources of subsistence and income. An interesting common trait also seems to be that they have a history in other countries (Malawi and Tanzania) or in other provinces, where they have been able to accumulate money to start a business and apparently also learned the necessary skills. We have also seen how most of the better off

families have been able to expand their businesses the past year, often by establishing business relations outside of the community. This is particularly notable in Lago/Meluluka, where fishing is the basis for capital accumulation and business expansions.

The better-off families are clearly also in position to make better use of the public institutions that exist, as we saw in the case of the household that received support to get treatment for their sick daughter from the local Health Post and all the way to Malawi. These households also have access to a wider spectre of public institutions, often based - as we particularly saw in Majune - on personal contacts with power-holders and civil servants. One household in Cuamba was even prepared to use the formal court system to claim the right to employment for his handicapped son. The difference in accessing public institutions is probably a combination of the respect that many of the better-off meet when contacting public institutions, and their ability to claim their rights and pay their way when necessary.

However, we have also seen how even the better-off households are vulnerable to sudden shocks for example in the form of illness and ability to work - such as the household head in Meluluka where the head had to spend several months in Malawi with his sick wife and

Many [poor households] have money after the harvest, but when the season is over they return to stay on poverty because they have spent their money uncontrollably.

Better-off man, Cuamba

therefore could not attend to his fishing businesses. What characterises most of these households, though, is that they are able to recuperate from such shocks through easier access to public institutions and wider social networks. There is also a tendency among some of the better off households to blame poverty on the poor themselves (see Box).

We have also seen what seem to be systematic differences between the different study sites and men

and women. In Majune, because of the generalised situation of poverty, social networks and support structures seem to be weaker than in the other two areas. Losing a harvest easily makes people fall into the very lowest category of poverty. In Lago/Metangula, the dynamic economic situation particularly among people involved in fisheries has implications also for the poor in terms of more money in circulation and better access to short-term employment - even though we have seen that there are also here households that are completely detached from such developments.

Cuamba on its part seems to inhibit several characteristics of urban poverty, with easier access to a variety of income sources but also less stable households and social relationships that seem to largely depend on the circulation of money. The households in Cuamba also seem to be composed of a larger number of extended household members. There are also a number of people who in various ways seem to have given up making more out of their lives - apparently including young women as seen from the quote below.

The life of women [nowadays] is critical. Most of the girls aged 12 or above only want to smoke suruma (pot) and get drunk. The result is more infections and pregnancies. If the mother asks she will say: "Don't disturb me. You had your time. Let me be, this is my time."

Elderly woman, Cuamba

Having said this, the relation between gender and social mobility seems to be a complex one. Most of the very poorest households among our focus families are female headed, with their poverty based on a combination of the stigma and implications of living without a man and their more difficult access to public and traditional institutions. At the same time, however, women who are successful in economic terms do not seem to meet any particularly negative reactions because they are women - the way we know from other similar settings in other parts of Mozambique (Tvedten et al. 2010, 2011). A conclusion may be that while social economic and cultural constraints may make it more difficult for women to climb socially, those who make it are in a position to develop their sources of income as a man would. This does not mean that women do not meet negative reactions from men (see Box).

A development affecting a larger number women particularly in the urban setting of Cuamba is the apparently fast disintegration of the matrilineal kinship system, which affects both their social security as they and their children are seen to belong to the biological father's rather than their own family and their social relationships as they increasingly settle close to the husband's family (virilocality) or separately (neolocality) rather than with their own extended family (uxorilocality). While we identified such a trend also in Lago/Meluluka during the first Reality Check, the development is likely to go much faster in an urban context (see Box).

Mozambican women only wait for their husbands, they don't produce money. They are a weight on the man. Women should start taking business initiatives, like women from Zimbabwe.

Better-off man, Cuamba

The matrilineal system does not work nowadays. The man has to take the woman and not the other way around. We have found out that the family belongs to the father, and at the man should carry the family along. The man is oppressed, because when the man used to divorce he left all to [his wife's] family and had to start again from scratch. It was backwardness!

Better-off man, Cuamba

Finally our Baseline Survey as well as the focus households show that women have less contact with public institutions than men do. This is not necessarily only related to their status as women, where husbands are usually considered responsible for family well-being and control the household income. It is also closely related to the fact that women – and particularly women heading households – are usually poorer than men and male headed households. There are cases where women among the better-off pursue issues with public institutions themselves – even to the extent of being vocal in public meetings with powerholders from outside the community. The strong position of *rainhas* in some of the communities is another indication of the complexity of women's situation.

In sum, none of the focus households have experienced any dramatic change in their social economic position in the sense of moving up down the hierarchy of poverty and destitution they have identified between 2011 and 2012. Nevertheless even smaller negative changes makes like difficult particularly for the poorest households, and downward social mobility seems infinitely easier than upward mobility in Cuamba, Lago as well as in Majune. The next Reality Check (2013) will take a more particular look at agriculture and other sources of employment and income – or the economic base for social mobility.

5. SUMMING UP

5.1 Main changes in poverty and well-being 2011 to 2012

Cuamba, Lago and Majune are all poor districts/municipalities, even though Majune stands out as the area with the most limited economic developments the past year. Lago/Meluluka continues to develop primarily on the basis of fisheries and fish marketing, and some people have been able to exploit the new opportunities to diversify their income. Cuamba on its part is characterised by great expectations related to its strategic location and plans for larger scale industries, but still with limited implications in the local communities under study.

People primarily depend on subsistence agricultural production for their survival, in some cases combined with cash crops like cotton and tobacco – albeit with limited options for capital accumulation due to *de facto* monopolies and low prices. Lago/Meluluka has developed additional opportunities in production and trade in the fishery sector, and Cuamba as an urban area has larger opportunities in the informal sector. A trend seen particularly in Cuamba is that young people are increasingly unwilling to work in agriculture, with young men seeking employment elsewhere and young women doing nothing or trying to get involved in informal economic activities.

The Community Development Fund is seen by most people as being a ‘lost opportunity’ for local level job creation and income generation, primarily because it is hampered by non-transparency and corruption in the selection process. Many projects also lack a sound business plan, and with only a small proportion of the beneficiaries repaying the loans the programme’s longer-term sustainability is jeopardised. At the same time, however, the successful projects that do exist attest to the potential of the Fund for local level development.

The bulk of new enterprises are in the hands of men. However, there are examples of successful female entrepreneurs in all three study sites. This shows that the social-cultural constraints on women entrepreneurship are not absolute. The women who do have projects generally follow up and repay better than men. The unemployment rate is exceptionally high among young people, but there are examples particularly of young men who manage to establish small-scale businesses.

Physical infrastructure such as roads, water and electricity are still inadequate in all three sites, and when investments are made they tend to be located in areas closest to District/Municipality and Administrative Post centres. Supply of potable water is generally considered most urgent. The distribution of social support through INAS is skewed, leaving Meluluka without any beneficiaries; Majune without reaching many of the poorest; and Cuamba with a considerable increase in the number of recipients.

Education has seen improvements in terms of attendance, and initiatives such as the ‘Bilingue’ where students are taught in Portuguese as well as their national language are important to get more children through school. However, a large proportion particularly of the poorest families still argue that their children are needed at home to work in fields and don’t believe that education will improve their lives. The vulnerability of the efforts to develop a ‘culture of education’ is also evident in the large number of households taking the children out of school in connection with central rites of passage such as the *unhago*.

Health is seen as perhaps the biggest obstacle to the improvement of people’s lives, and illness has major implications both for social well-being and the ability to work and earn an income. Many health facilities lack basic infrastructure and medicines, and there are frequent complaints about the kind of treatment sick people receive. People with means tend to be better treated, or go to Malawi for hospitalisation. As indicated by the well-functioning health unit in Majune, improvements are possible and human resource development is key.

Based on findings from the Focus Households, the poorest families in the three study sites have not seen improvements in their social economic situation the past year and are

effectively trapped in destitution. Such households have to use all the resources for mere survival, and are not in a position to plan and invest in the future. Single headed households and households consisting of elders and/or handicapped often depend on support from one and two individuals for survival, and are often socially isolated with minimal contact with public as well as community based institutions.

The 'transitional poor' are households that manage to produce enough for subsistence and to diversify their sources of income outside agriculture, and that often have larger social network as they are in a position to exchange favours and resources in times of particular needs. However, also these are vulnerable to sudden shocks in terms of additional expenses and ill household members and therefore easily experience downward social mobility. There are examples of such households both among male- and female-headed household units.

The better-off households have generally managed well between 2011 and 2012, being in positions to both expand and diversify their sources of income. Many combine agriculture with various forms of commercial activities, but very few households have members in formal employment. A common denominator for many of these households is that they have a history in other countries and/or provinces, with extended social networks. The better-off also have easier access to public and community-based institutions, because of their status as well as their ability to pay their way.

5.2 Challenges in Government-Citizens Relations

The legal framework in Mozambique defines several mechanisms that seek to create greater democratic space in society. Decentralisation of powers from the central to the provincial and local government is meant to bring the decision-making closer to the citizens. At the same time, the local level councils are meant to provide a forum for the citizens to express their concerns and define their priorities. However, even though 10 years have gone by since the Law of Local Government (LOLE) was passed the relation between central, provincial, and local levels have changed little, and the democratisation process is still immature and has several weaknesses.

The unfinished penetration of the state and unclarity about the relations between political institutions at the local level is evident in the differences found between Cuamba, Lago and Majune. In Lago, the District Administration has increasing confidence in its status and role. However, it also admits that there are challenges in the relation both upward to provincial government in terms of autonomy and downward to the levels of the Administrative Post and the Locality in terms of the competence and capacity to execute decisions. With the strong position of traditional authorities, the District Administration also depends on a good relation with *régulos* and *raínhas*.

In Majune, the relationship between the District Government and the communities is handled through several layers of authorities whose formal ties and hierarchies are not always very clear. Frelimo as the governing party and traditional authorities effectively reign in parallel with government. Being a member of Frelimo is a precondition for obtaining leadership functions, and the traditional authorities are effectively co-opted by government through a system of remuneration for their services. Moreover, people with economic power and influence ('influentes') have an informal impact through institutions like the Community Court.

The main challenge of governance in Cuamba is the implementation of effective decentralisation, and its flipside the concentration of power and influence in the party-state nexus linking the municipality to national centres of power. The municipality has relative autonomy in being able to elect its own governing bodies (the municipal assembly and government), but suffers from limited popular knowledge about its role and potentials, a weak economic base, and still unresolved distribution of responsibilities between district and municipal responsibilities.

The representative organs of the Municipal Assembly and the Consultative Councils have proven unable to perform, in the first case because they are not given sufficient political space with the government and NGOs encouraging alternative community-based institutions and in the second because their role and responsibilities have consistently been reduced – ending up as organs for the selection of beneficiaries of the Local Development Fund in what is generally considered corrupt processes.

In this context, the political space for the opposition is severely constrained on a scale from Cuamba where they are in position to present candidates for municipal elections but with limited options for campaigning; to Lago where rare expressions of political opposition in the form of flags are tolerated as the state and traditional authorities are at odds with how to deal with it; and to Majune where members of the opposition are actively discriminated against not only politically but also as common citizens. The limited space for the opposition is one reason why national and municipal elections have such low voter turnout, with people experiencing that Frelimo is becoming increasingly dominant also at local levels.

The ability of local government to deliver services in education, health, physical infrastructure and basic social protection vary considerably between the three project sites, and is hampered by administrative, financial and capacity constraints. A major challenge in the government-citizen relationships is inadequate communication of what the former is in a position to do and the reason for decisions made. This has made civil servants susceptible to accusations of corruption and favouritism, and many deliberately bypass the lowest levels of public administration in order to relate directly to higher-level officials who they believe are in positions to make decisions. People generally have bigger faith in private enterprises and non-governmental organisations to deliver basic social services than in local government.

5.3 Possible Policy Implications and Development Interventions

For Niassa in general, extractive industries in coal and gold mining as well as the large on-going forestry investments have potentially significant implications for the overall economy as well as for the lives of ordinary citizens. In addition to proper pay and working conditions, it will be vital that their corporate social responsibility is followed up. As part of this they should honour their responsibility to return parts of their profits back to the community, and answer to the call from District authorities of becoming more involved in small scale business training through the District Development Fund.

The important policy of decentralisation should be continued, by securing clearer boundaries between the responsibilities of the State, the Party, traditional authorities and economic powerholders. The formal division and responsibilities between the province and the district /municipality should be accompanied by a similar distribution of funds, making it possible for each level to carry out their designated tasks and thereby improve their legitimacy vis-a-vis the population.

Politically the Municipal Assembly should be strengthened and given more space as a representative organ; the District Government should improve the communication of the basis for its decisions by making key policy documents easier accessible to the public; and the Consultative Councils should be reassessed both in terms of their responsibilities and their composition in order to become better and more representative organs.

Corruption and nepotism in the local government system should be challenged by clearer signals from central government that corrupt practices are unacceptable; by more actively and openly punish civil servants who enrich themselves at the expense of others; and by establishing 'open lines' for people who have been victims to corruption. In the absence of written media, the community radio seems to have the largest potential for playing such a 'watchdog' role.

To further develop the province, continued investments in roads, electricity, water and transportation will be vital. Transparency regarding constraints and priorities will limit

animosity between the public institutions and the communities. Infrastructure investments should include the most marginal districts that are now in the process of falling behind in terms of development. Effective connections between Niassa and neighbouring Malawi and Tanzania, that have a proven important both for overall development and socio-economic improvements at the household level, should also be intensified.

At the community level, the threshold for contacting the state representative should be lowered. As it is, such contacts are primarily in the hands of the better-off and men. One alternative is for heads of Administrative Posts and Localities to have special openings for women to approach them and voice their concerns. Community leaders, including traditional authorities and bairro secretaries, will still play an important role but there should be more openness regarding the communication they have with the authorities in order to uphold their legitimacy.

As a 'test case' for good governance, transparency and accountability, the process around the District Development Funds should be reassessed and reorganised. As part of this process, the less than three percent of the beneficiaries who have – partly or fully – paid back their loans should be recompensated. Involving relations of power between the government and its citizens, as well as vital and much-needed funds for economic and social development, open and transparent processes of selection of beneficiaries will say much about the state of government–citizen relationships in the districts and communities in question.

Finally, in order to enhance the government's legitimacy in service delivery special attention should be given to potable water, health and social protection. These are the public services with the most critical implications for the well-being of the population at large, and where people seem to be most dissatisfied. In addition to supply of more water-posts, the system of maintenance should be improved to reduce the number of defect installations. In health, improvements should be in the form of better infrastructure, equipment and medicines; improved competence and capacity among the personnel; and efforts to treat everyone the same way irrespective of social position or ability to pay. Finally in social protection, INAS must work out ways to cover not only the central but also the more marginal communities and the system of local community representatives should be built out to secure that the most needy are reached.

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