

**NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS
AND COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION
IN MOCUBA DISTRICT, MOZAMBIQUE:
AN ANALYSIS OF LOCAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS
FROM 1998 TO 2001**

ROSEIRO MÁRIO MOREIRA

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Submitted as the Dissertation Component in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
For the Degree of Master of Environment and Development,
in the Centre for Environment and Development (CEAD)
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Pietermaritzburg

2002

ABSTRACT

One key principle in Mozambican rural development policy is community participation. Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) play an important role in the process. Taking the district of Mocuba, in Zambézia province (Mozambique) as an example, this dissertation analyzes the way NGOs implement community participation following national policies and promoting environmental awareness. The study evaluates the implementation of community participation as a critical contributing factor to environmentally oriented and sustainable development projects by assessing and systematizing NGOs' interpretations and practices through specific development projects.

Following its specific objectives, the study focuses on the importance of community participation and the role of NGOs. It characterises NGOs operating in Mocuba, tackling their co-ordination with other development stakeholders, and the extent to which community participation is put into practice. The study also presents and discusses stakeholders' knowledge on the relevant rural development legislation, focussing on NGOs' perceptions, interpretations, experiences, practices, weaknesses, limitations and problems related to community participation and the environment in local development.

Although limited in scope to only one district and six NGOs, the present dissertation represents in microcosm the extent to which NGOs know and apply the principle of community participation and environmental issues in response to the country's relevant official policies, particularly considering those findings and discussions on: limited inter-NGO co-ordination and limited interaction with private enterprises and political parties, limited knowledge about rural development and its legal framework and community participation methodologies, the little weight given to environmental issues, and the token community participation. As a consequence and in line with its conceptual framework this research document appeals also for urgent and critical reassessments in the way development policies are prepared, issued, disseminated, implemented and monitored at relevant levels and by relevant stakeholders.

DECLARATION

This dissertation results from a research project carried out through a Masters' Programme in the Centre for Environment and Development (CEAD), University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg. Professor Rob Fincham, the Director of CEAD, supervised the project.

With appropriate acknowledgments in the text where the work of others had to be used, the present study represents the original work by the author and it has not been submitted in any form for any degree to any university.

Signature

Date

Roseiro Mário Moreira

15th / 04 / 2002

Roseiro Mário Moreira

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation could not be complete without the positive involvement of specific people and institutions both in South Africa and in Mozambique. The author is indebted to all those who directly or indirectly contributed to this study.

At the Centre for Environment and Development (Pietermaritzburg) the author expresses much gratitude to his supervisor, Professor Rob Fincham, for the outstanding advice that maintained the study in line with the research aims and objectives. In their capacity of Director of the Centre, and Programme Director, respectively Professor Rob Fincham and Dr. Nevil Quinn, deserve another warm word of acknowledgement for conducting an innovative programme through which it was possible to finalise this project in time. To the whole administrative staff, also goes a word of thanks for their remarkable attention and promptness to ensure a responsive and inclusive working environment.

In Mozambique, the author thanks the African American Institute for fully sponsoring his studies, and the Centre for Agrarian Training and Rural Development for granting permission to be absent from work for such a long period. A very special word of thanks is reserved for all those community members, NGOs, government and municipal authorities, and research assistants with whom the author worked in Mocuba. Gratitude is also expressed to the “Hotel Rosy” (in Quelimane) and the Restaurant and Guesthouse “O Sítio” (in Mocuba) for organizing space and sometimes paraffin light for after-hours’ work.

Last but not least, the author thanks warmly his dependant relatives who accepted staying alone in Maputo, as well as all other relatives and friends who interacted with him during the fieldwork period in Maputo, Quelimane and Mocuba.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my brother Trindade de Jesus Mário Moreira, whose life was prematurely taken by *unknown* murderers in Mocuba on the 11th of September 1999, when recovering from an equally mysterious and prolonged *pseudo-mental* decline.

Once, in 1991 after the author of this dissertation completed his Bachelor Degree, *Mano*¹ Trindade, expressed his support for those who embark on the adventure of further academic studies by arguing that while one is investing one's time in studying for a Degree at a university, the parents, brothers, sisters, uncles, and other relatives rather than simply waiting to benefit from that adventure, should be busy organizing ways to help the future graduate in how to start life in the real world of immense difficulties. That was also his clear observation namely that single efforts are not effective roads to success.

¹ *Mano* is a Portuguese word for brother, often used from a young to an old brother or reciprocally if they are all grown up.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| AAA | Action, Assessment, Action or the Triple A Approach |
| AAI | African American Institute |
| ADECO | Development Actions by the Community |
| ADRA | Adventist Development and Relief Agency |
| ANAMocuba ² | Association of Friends and Natives of Mocuba |
| BR | Boletim da República (Government Gazette) ³ |
| CBOs | Community Based Organizations |
| CEAD | Centre for Environment and Development |
| CFA | Centre for Agrarian Training and Rural Development |
| CLUSA | Cooperative League of United States of America |
| DANIDA | Danish International Development Agency |
| DDADR | District Directorate for Agriculture and Rural Development |
| DDCOA | District Directorate for Co-ordination of Environmental Action |
| DNDR | Directorate for Rural Development |
| DNER | National Directorate for Rural Extension |
| DOIC | Directorate for International Organizations and Conferences |
| FAP | Front for Patriotic Action |
| FONGZA | Zambezian Forum of Non Governmental Organizations |
| Frelimo | Mozambique Liberation Front |
| FUMO | United Front of Mozambique |
| IBIS-AISAM | IBIS ⁴ - Institutional Support for Mocuba Agrarian Sector |
| INDER | National Institute for Rural Development |

² Following the way institutions are known in Mozambique, all correspondent acronyms are maintained in their Portuguese version. Only their meanings are translated into English.

³ *Boletim da República* is the official publication of the Government of Mozambique. In this dissertation the document will also be called 'Government Gazette' as according to its translation in English.

⁴ IBIS is a Danish NGO and AISAM is its branch in Mocuba district.

| | |
|-----------|--|
| KAP | Knowledge, Attitudes and Practices |
| LINK | Forum of Non Governmental Organizations |
| MADER | Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development |
| MAP | Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries |
| MEI | Ministry of Energy and Industry |
| MICOA | Ministry for the Co-ordination of Environmental Action |
| MINEC | Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation |
| MONAMO | Mozambican National Movement |
| MPF | Ministry of Finance and Planning |
| NANA | Nucleus of Friends of the Nature and the Environment |
| NEP | National Environmental Policy |
| NGOs | Non Governmental Organizations |
| OMM | Mozambican Women Organization |
| PAR | Participatory Action Research |
| PCN | Party for the National Convention |
| PDD | District Development Plan |
| PLA | Participatory Learning Action |
| PRA | Participatory Rural Appraisal |
| PRQM | Project for Rehabilitation of Quelimane and Mocuba |
| RCL | Licungu Community Radio |
| Renamo | Mozambican National Resistance |
| Renamo-UE | Renamo- Electoral Union |
| STDs | Sexually Transmitted Diseases |
| TPP | Participatory Planning Table |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Programme |
| WCED | World Commission for Environment and Development |
| VIPP | Visualization in Participatory Programs |
| SWOT | Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats |

GLOSSARY OF KEY TERMS

Community Participation

The expression “community participation” is currently used in almost all development plans or reports in Mozambique. Its meaning, however, transcends the practice of holding meetings with residents of a proposed development project area to assist planners and developers from outside. It means also a learning and empowering process through which people at local level are given opportunities and tools to take full responsibility for their own development, ensuring that tangible results will come from local ownership of the problem-solving and decision making (Swanepoel, 2000; Motteux et al, 1999). More than an expression used by development agencies and officials, the term “community participation” represents an official principle for Mozambican rural development.

Environmental issues

The relevant legislation in Mozambique defines the word environment as “the medium in which men and other beings live and interact among others and with that medium ...” (Law n° 20/97, Art 1, point 2) including the physical world and material as well as “all socio-cultural and economic conditions that affect the life of the communities” (*ibid*). In this dissertation the expression “environmental issues” is used to refer to all impacts affecting or which can eventually affect the natural and social surroundings to the detriment of human health and other beings’ life whether in the short or long-term perspective. Other similar expressions used are environmental problems and environmental considerations that refer respectively to the existing impacts and the ways or attempts to address them.

Facilitators

Facilitators are all those activists and development workers who engage themselves in a development process without having any decision-making role but can help the stakeholders to find their way forward in the process. Facilitators are commonly linked to an institution (governmental or NGO) and work directly with people at grassroots level, but for the purpose of this study the term includes training facilitators of specific institutions and NGOs who deal with sensitization issues.

Local Development Projects

These refer to all planned development actions with a specific duration and from which social and structural transformation on people's behalf is expected.

Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)

The term Non-Governmental organizations (NGOs) will be used in this document to refer to the broad range of "autonomous, privately set up, non-profit making institutions that support, manage or facilitate development actions" (Liebenberg, 2000:109) including local associations and Community Based Organizations (CBOs). Distinction between NGOs, CBOs or Associations of Friends and Natives of a specific place will not be strictly made since it is not the purpose of the study, and also because in Mozambique the term NGOs is generally applied to all non-profit institutions dealing with any development or humanitarian activity. Without implying any meaningful differentiation other than their geographical area of operation, the organizations might be referred to as local, provincial, national, foreign or international.

Stakeholders

This term refers to any individuals, governmental institutions, private and non-profit organizations (both within and outside the study area) who are interested in doing and can do something positive or negative related to a particular situation in a specific place and period.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

The issue of participation in development and environmental projects is widely recognized as being a critical issue to change the former top-down approaches in development philosophy. Non-Governmental Organizations, herein also referred to as NGOs, play an important role in the process. In Mozambique, community participation is a key principle in the official rural development policy. However, experience shows that there is a gap between policies and practices. Given this background, the aim of this thesis is to focus on an assessment of NGOs and their role in promoting community participation. The study was undertaken in the Mocuba District, and analysed local development projects undertaken between 1998 and 2001. The dissertation explores the realities found in the field and the complexities of development. Crosscutting concepts, such as participation, empowerment, environment and sustainability in rural Mozambique are considered.

1. 1. Structure of the Dissertation

The present dissertation consists of seven chapters, references and an appendix.

Chapter 1 provides a general introduction to the dissertation in 6 sections, namely, rationale, problem statement, research question and assumptions, aim and specific objectives, conceptual framework, and the intended beneficiaries of the study. *Chapter 2* describes the methodology used and problems encountered, while *Chapter 3* presents the study area including its socio-economic and cultural peculiarities conducive or not to the implementation of community participation. *Chapter 4* contains the literature review, which in line with the objectives and context of the study discusses the concepts of community and participation, the importance of NGOs in development processes as well as an approach to other local development stakeholders. *Chapter 5* presents the research findings, while *Chapter 6* discusses the major issues emerging from those findings. *Chapter 7* provides the concluding remarks and final recommendations, allowing the

study to remain opened for further analysis and incorporation of new critical issues for a better understanding and practice of community participation and environmental issues at a district development level.

1. 2. The Rationale

Community participation is one of the key principles stressed in the official Mozambican policy towards rural development. Non-Governmental Organizations are perceived as important actors in the implementation of development programmes and projects (Liebenberg, 2000). To perform their role in rural development, in accordance with the national policies, NGOs have to address the issue of community participation, engaging themselves in a participatory approach for a sustainable local development project.

From the researcher's experience of working with development NGOs and related governmental staff, a gap exists between the policies and practices of NGOs regarding the question of participation. The need to incorporate principles of community participation without even understanding them, just in order to accommodate a national governmental policy or a new world development paradigm, may lead to conflict during implementation of projects with related damage to the local socio-economic structures, thus contributing to undesirable social and environmental conditions. These factors associated with the need to analyse the impacts of the efforts already made or currently running in Mocuba (a District¹ in Zambézia province, Republic of Mozambique) were behind the idea of undertaking research on how NGOs are dealing with the implementation of the principle of community participation.

¹ A district, in the Mozambican Administrative context, corresponds to the immediate territorial division of a province. Each district can then be divided into Administrative Posts, and these into Localities (see Article 4.1 of the Constitution).

1. 3. The Problem Statement

In Mozambique the number of NGOs working in rural development is increasing. In many cases the same organisational structure, behaviour and personnel used for aid and relief packages in the past emergency period (1985 – 1992) continue to be used for rural development approaches, while the knowledge for appropriate interpretation and implementation of community participation is still developing.

According to the Guidelines for Rural Development and Mechanisms for Inter-Sectors Coordination², community participation is one of the key principles for all rural development projects in the country (Resolution n.º 3/98, in BR, I Série, No 7, 24/02/1998, 2.º Suplemento). The emphasis on the role of citizens' participation in local development is also stressed in the constitution (Article 38, Constituição da República de Moçambique, 1990). Researchers also support the idea that "local people, ... usually have the appropriate information ... suited to their particular conditions" (Treurnicht, 2000:67). There is a worldwide and increasing support for empowering people oriented projects based on local knowledge, attitudes and practices (KAP), and criticism against "blueprint approaches, which work with controllable and predictable things, to access with uncontrollable and unpredictable people" (Chambers, 1999:190). In the light of this scenario and attempting to follow national policies, NGOs, ideally, should incorporate the principle of community participation in their local development strategies.

The community development approach under which the principle of community participation falls is "an ongoing and complex process of dialogue, exchange, consciousness raising, education and action aimed at helping the people concerned to determine and develop their own vision..." (Ife, 1995:93-94). However, different rural development stakeholders might perceive and apply the principle in different ways, hence leading to different levels or rungs of participation (Arnstein, 1969 and UNICEF-Mozambique/CFA, 2000) as shown in Figure 1, below.

² Published in the Government Gazette, the Guidelines for Rural Development represent the official document containing principles and guidelines for rural development in Mozambique.

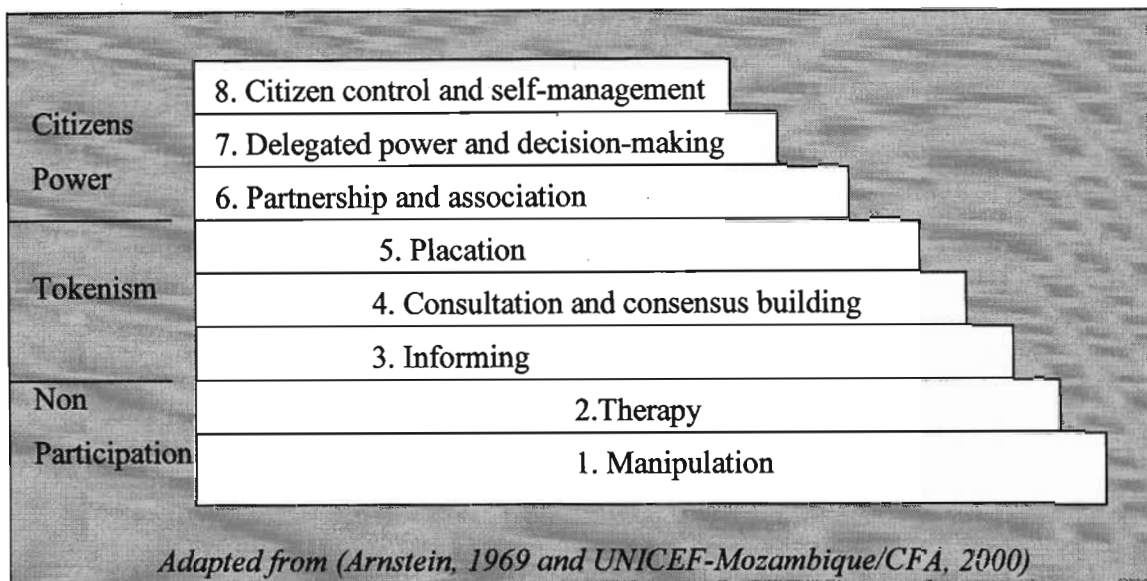


Figure 1: Levels or Rungs of Participation

This research focuses on a specific group of stakeholders – the NGOs, due to the existing acknowledgment of their role “towards enhancing the lives of the poor and protecting their basic rights” (De Beer & Swanepoel, 1998:39). On the main assumption that NGOs have over utilized the expression “community participation” without necessarily applying the principle as stated in the national policy, the research analyses the way NGOs implement projects and the degree to which local participatory activities follow national policies as well as promote environmental awareness. Local development projects initiated or supported by different NGOs, during the period from 1998 to 2001 in Mocuba, are considered.

1. 4. The Research Question And Assumptions

Against the background of the problem statement, the research question is 'How do NGOs apply the principle of community participation and promote development and environmental awareness in local development projects?'

The research was undertaken in line with the following basic assumptions:

1. Most NGOs refer to the principle of community participation without necessarily understanding the implications of fully implementing this approach;
2. The expression "community participation" is introduced in most local development programs to ensure project confirmation by the relevant authorities rather than for full people's participation in the whole project cycle;
3. NGOs do not use community development methodologies and techniques systematically to follow national policies when designing and running local development projects;
4. There is a gap between the principle of community participation and the practice of community participation in most NGO related local development projects;
5. Community participation is interpreted differently by different development NGOs working in the selected area;
6. More training on participatory methodologies is required for better implementation of the principle of community participation; and
7. NGOs give little weight to environmental considerations when planning their community development projects.

1. 5. The Aim And Objectives

To answer the question above, the main aim of the research is:

To evaluate the implementation of the principle of community participation as a critical contributing factor to environmentally oriented and sustainable development projects, by assessing and systematizing NGOs' interpretations and practices through specific local development projects in Mocuba district.

In the light of this aim the specific research objectives are:

1. To evaluate the implementation of the community participation principle by NGOs in Mocuba local development projects;
2. To assess NGOs' interpretations and practices of community participation in implementing local development projects in Mocuba;
3. To assess the level of environmental considerations in the NGO related local development projects running in Mocuba;
4. To identify weaknesses and limitations of NGOs in implementing community participation and environmental oriented principles in local development projects;
5. To systematize theories, methodologies, and practices of community participation for empowerment and ensuring environmentally concerned local development projects.

1. 6. The Conceptual Framework

In Mozambique policies are defined at national level. Only the President, the Parliament Commissions, the Members of Parliament, and the Council of Ministers have the legal competence to create laws (Art. 137, of the Constitution, 1990). Under this constitutional prerogative, the Council of Ministers issued the Resolution n.º 3/98, of February 24th, approving the Guidelines for Rural Development and Mechanisms for Inter-Sectors Coordination (BR, I Série, N.º.7, *op.cit*). The implementation of this policy was to be promoted and monitored by the former Institute for Rural Development (INDER)³ which activities should in turn be monitored by four Ministers, namely the Minister of State Administration, the Minister of Finance and Planning, the Minister for the Coordination of Environmental Action, and Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries⁴ (*ibid.*).

According to the Guidelines for Rural Development and Mechanisms for Inter-Sectors Coordination, the principle of community participation must underpin all development projects in the country. In general terms, once defined and approved at national level, the policy should be interpreted and disseminated with the required monitoring at provincial and district levels. The principle of community participation is thus the same for the whole country, but specific conditions of each province or district (cultural and religious factors, access to formal education, remoteness and accessibility, economic and political considerations, as well as local acceptability of the project) can bring about different implementation rates. Technically the link 'national – provincial – district and project' levels for community participation might therefore not work in the same way throughout the country, province, or even the same district. This study is focused on one local implementation level (a district) where there are various development actors and projects.

³ Following the way governmental institutions are known in Mozambique, all the acronyms are maintained in their Portuguese version. INDER is now known as National Directorate for Rural Development (DNDR), within the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (MADER).

⁴ In 2000, the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries (MAP) was changed to Ministry of Agriculture Rural Development (MADER).

The research concentrates on NGOs' efforts to apply the principle of community participation in local development projects. Because there is a linkage between NGOs with both the government and communities, these two stakeholders are also considered in the study. Figure 2 depicts the conceptual framework of the research through which the meaning of the community participation principle as defined by national authorities will be considered. The research findings are expected to have an impact on the reassessment of actions, interpretations and policy.

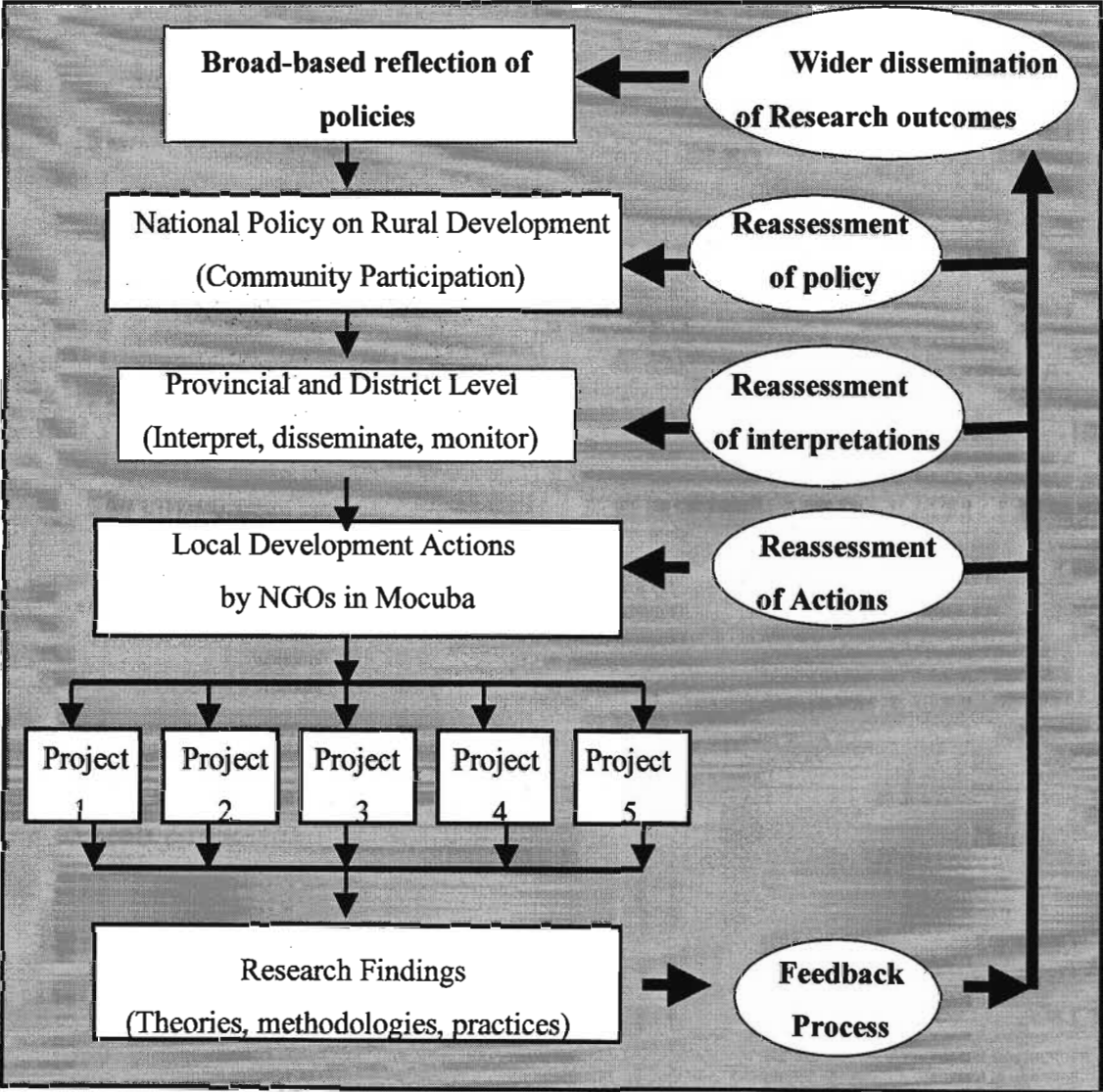


Figure 2: The Conceptual Framework

As suggested in the conceptual framework, the study will provide feedback to all levels of development stakeholders. This will allow NGOs to reassess their development projects. Government authorities at the appropriate levels may use the findings to ensure community participation in projects as defined by the national policy. At the national level there is also the ability to reassess the policymaking process.

1. 7. Benefits from the Research

Beneficiaries of the research results are planners of rural development at all governmental levels (district, provincial, national); development NGOs; facilitators and activists of community development; and academics interested in participatory development. More specifically, the study contributes to the refinement of the participatory and environmental approaches currently applied in the Mocuba development projects. The lessons in this dissertation may be of value throughout the country.

To fulfill its aim of influencing the reassessment of policies, interpretations and actions, this dissertation should be translated to Portuguese and made available to the potential development stakeholders both within and outside the Mocuba district. To reach a wider anonymous group of beneficiaries and informants of policy, lessons from the research should also be published in the Mozambican media.

CHAPTER 2

The Research Methodology

2. 1. Introduction

To achieve the defined aim and objectives of a study the researcher must apply a detailed and comprehensive methodology. This research had recourse to a multi-criteria participatory methodology. The methodology followed a process of combining a literature review with relevant methods and techniques, namely those of PRA (Participatory Rural Appraisal), PLA (Participatory Learning Action), VIPP (Visualization in Participatory Programs), and SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats). A triangulation procedure was also adopted.

Why did the researcher adopt these methods and techniques? The answer to this question is outlined below, by summarizing the general importance of each method and technique, and its relevance for this research. Furthermore, it is also explained how the process was carried out, what problems were encountered in the field and which options were taken. The characteristics of the study area, including the reasons for choosing it for the fieldwork are discussed separately in Chapter 3.

2. 2. Literature Review

A prior documentary study on the existing written information (Mikkelsen, 1995) consisted of a literature review and review of technical reports. A literature review from published books, journals and on line searches provided a theoretical understanding of the nature of NGOs and the concept of community participation. Technical reports were reviewed to look at the recent management information on the ways NGOs have been dealing with the principle of community participation in Mozambique, and specifically in the Mocuba district.

Relevant documents from the former National Institute for Rural Development (INDER), the former National Directorate for Rural Development (DNDR)¹, the Center for Agrarian Training and Rural Development (CFA)², the Directorate for International Organizations and Conferences (DOIC) in the Ministry Foreign Affairs and Cooperation (MINEC) and from the Ministry for the Coordination of Environmental Action (MICOA), including their related branches in Quelimane (the provincial capital city of Zambézia) and Mocuba (the study area district), refined the researcher's background on the official governmental perspective towards community participation in the trilogy, rural development, NGOs and the environment.

Contract documents between NGOs and provincial or district authorities to initiate specific projects were reviewed. Articles from newspapers and audiovisual documents were also consulted due to their usefulness to this kind of research (Mikkelsen, 1995). The literature review is considered in Chapter 4.

2. 3. PRA, PLA and VIPP Methods

PRA (Participatory Rural Appraisal), PLA (Participatory Learning Action), and VIPP (Visualization in Participatory Programs) methods and techniques complement each other and are commonly used in rural development to work with interactive groups seeking to articulate their problems and find alternative ways to solve them (Chambers, 1992; McKee, 1993). Their propensity to base the study on grassroots KAP (knowledge, attitudes and practices) and to raise self-esteem is suitable for this research, since it documents issues of community participation principle in practice. Under this cluster of participatory techniques the researcher used direct observation, interviews, round tables, card collection and visualized discussions.

¹ The National Directorate for Rural Development (DNDR) existed under the former Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries. After the creation of the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (MADER) the National Institute for Rural Development (INDER) was integrated into MADER, which formed together with the existing DNDR one National Directorate.

² The Center for Agrarian Training and Rural Development (CFA) is currently the only Central institution, which provides structured short courses on Community Participation in Development through its Unity for Community Participation. Most of the NGOs' community development agents in the country who hold an attendance certificate on community participation were trained by CFA or by its Provincial branches.

2. 3. 1. Direct Observation

This technique was used because it helps to counter-check data collected both from the technical reports and from interviews. The researcher visited and interacted with NGOs' offices, specific development projects, and community members found to have been involved in a participatory development process. During the visits it was possible to come across realities omitted in reports and previously made interviews. Observation was also conducive to enhance the pertinence of questions to discuss during informal talks with residents and extension workers. In addition the method was used as an opportunity to draw one sketch map of the district capital town with the help of a young volunteer from the *Bairro 25 de Setembro* and a student at Mocuba Secondary School. Photographs are used in this dissertation to illustrate situations and give substance to these observations.

2. 3. 2. Interviews

Semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions were used to collect a range of data. To increase clarity both from the researcher's questions and respondent's answers, focus groups and key informants were identified.

The major focal groups included top NGO managers, activists, and community committees. Key informants consisted of specific community development workers, community leaders and ordinary members of the communities, and the relevant government district officers.

Besides the ordinary community members, government and municipal officials, the numbers of planned interviews per focus groups considered were not totally covered. As shown in Table 1, from the planned 43 interviews 36 were conducted, involving 52 interviewees of whom 38 were men and 14 women. The women were ordinary community members who belong or not to the community committees. These 52 interviewees included individual and group interviews (with community committees).

Table 1: Variation Between the Planned Interviews and the Interviews Conducted

| | Planned interviews | Interviews conducted | N.º of in- terviewees | N.º of men | N.º of women |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|------------|-----------------|
| NGOs managers | 6 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| Community committees | 6 | 4 | 20 | 13 | 7 |
| Community/ extension workers | 10 | 8 | 8 | 7 | 1 |
| Community leaders | 6 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 0 |
| Community members (ordinary) | 10 | 10 | 10 | 4 | 6 |
| Government/Municipal officials | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| <i>Total</i> | 43 | 36 | 52 | 38 | 14 |

A plan of the interviews containing key aspects to cover and a guidance questionnaire (see appendix 1) was developed according to specific groups and informants. Openness was always maintained to incorporate new related issues, which could result in meeting more fully the research objectives. Tape recording and note taking were used as auxiliary techniques. Before any attempt to tape-record or take notes, permission was asked of the interviewees. Some of the interviewees did not accept being tape-recorded but all of them felt comfortable with the note taking. One research assistant was contracted locally for the whole fieldwork in Mocuba and one interpreter helped with translations in some communities.

2. 3. 3. Round Tables

Interviews with community committees were conducted through group meetings 'round tables' with visualization of ideas. Four committees were present. Two were composed of 5 members, one came with 6 members and the other one had 4 members. To handle a profitable discussion, the meeting began with a general introduction of the research team, the participants, the objectives of the session and its expected outcomes. Then each

committee formed one group and discussed separately under the facilitation of the research team. The exercise brought some consensus on what issues should be considered to ensure community participation and a good level of environmental consideration in local development projects, and to recommend ways for improvement. The consensus was built in a plenary visualized discussion with the 4 committees. Brainstorming was applied to start the discussion. In this exercise the ideas were taken from a participatory action research (PAR) process with the research team and the participants as partners (Bhana, 1999). The participants preferred their ideas to be written down on cards and flip charts rather than having the option of tape recording the debate.

2. 3. 4. Card Collection and Visualized Discussions

As referred to in the previous method, card collection was used to quickly gather and discuss the ideas of focal groups participating in a round table session, and to achieve a collective understanding of the issues encountered (McKee, 1993). This visualized process was found useful both for research analysis and for participants' empowerment in the light of a participatory action research (Bhana, *op cit*). Visualized discussions helped to draw a Venn diagram³ to verify participation levels in NGOs projects (Mikkelsen, 1995) as perceived by community committees.

2. 4. SWOT Analysis

To improve assessments of key issues one participatory SWOT analysis exercise involving participants from NGOs, government, and community committees was planned. However, during the period of two weeks the researcher was collecting data in Mocuba, there was a cholera outbreak in that district. This meant that the potential

³ A Venn diagram is a simple illustration of a specific community situation. The diagram consists of a big circle, which represents the community. The participants in a Venn diagram exercise draw inside and outside the big circle other circles or squares to represent the institutions that work in or for their community. The sizes of the circles or squares inside and outside the big circle show how the participants perceive the work of the existing institutions. For the purpose of this research the exercise was restricted to the analysis of the considered development stakeholders as willing to put community participation into practice or not. The results were then used to crosscheck other data collected from different sources.

participants of the planned participatory SWOT meeting were very busy with the district emergency plan, specifically set up to deal with the outbreak. Provincial and Central authorities as well as staff from other provinces and districts were in Mocuba and a sequence of meetings were taking place, mainly with the same NGOs and governmental staff. This fact was behind the failure to schedule the meeting for the planned SWOT analysis.

Notwithstanding this problem, assessments of strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats to NGOs implementing community participation were made through separate meetings and interviews. From these interviews, a SWOT analysis was then developed by the researcher to further substantiate recommendations on the way forward.

2. 5. Triangulation

Applying various methods to gather more information on the data encountered is fundamental to the validity of the research. So triangulation was used in association with all other techniques, exposing the research participants to different situations to discuss participation issues. In essence a 'within-method' triangulation (same method for different occasions), and a 'between-method' triangulation (different methods applied to one object) were used in a methodological pluralism perspective (Mikkelsen, 1995).

Different ways of analyzing data, including revisiting the written or verbal sources in a probe search were applied. In an analytical way deductive and inductive reasoning were helpful to generate pre-conclusions, respectively, from specific findings to general and from general views to specific perspectives. Comparative reasoning was part of triangulation by analyzing participatory similarities, differences, and contradictions among projects in the district. Successful examples from other parts of the country and the Southern African region were collected as part of literature review and further compared with the situation in Mocuba, as shown in the discussion chapter.

2. 6. Ethical Considerations

A research project is an intervention, which requires that attention be paid to the way the process is conducted. A high level of integrity is always needed from the research team. Respect for people's routine and culture, willingness to participate, and representative samples were safeguarded through prior consultation and continuous cooperation with local informants and leaders. Recording, photographing and verbal data to be further quoted with or without anonymity was done under strict permission and acknowledgement of the sources. To guarantee the observance of these ethical procedures the research assistant and the interpreter had discussions with the researcher on basic communication techniques in participatory research. This was done prior to the interviews and visits and also during daily evaluation sessions in order to mitigate communication problems in the following sessions.

2. 7. Limitations to the Study

There were three main constraints to this study, namely time constraints, weak co-operation and lack of feedback from previous researchers.

Time constraints: the time allocated for data collection was short, considering that the researcher had only one month to review documents in Maputo, Quelimane and Mocuba; and to organize meetings to conduct interviews in Mocuba. The time constraints (for a researcher) tend to be very severe within the Mozambican socio-political context where bureaucracy is extremely high in government institutions and almost the same in the NGO sector at district level.

Weak co-operation: governmental officials are used to making clients wait on the pretext of consulting their superiors before taking any decision. In most cases the superiors were permanently busy or temporarily out, even after receiving the researcher's credentials and agreeing on a meeting for the following afternoon or day. Most of NGOs' managers and staff had previously worked for government institutions and still use the same

organizational behavior as that of the public sector. Power is concentrated in the figure of the managers and the other staff members can hardly have a word with an outsider without prior authorization from their superiors. There were cases in which the director (of one district directorate) and the coordinator (of certain NGOs) were not in the district and none of their staff could participate in the interview. This practice accentuates the low willingness to co-operate with researchers, which in turn delays the research process.

Feedback from previous researchers: Mocuba has been receiving visits from different researchers among honors Degree students from Eduardo Mondlane University and consultants hired by NGOs to evaluate some projects. However, the findings and results of those studies are not sent back to the public in the district. The reports are kept in University libraries or NGO headquarters. This fact might have had some negative influence on people's perceptions about a research project. This project would not be an exception. The researcher had to explain the research objectives and to produce the University Credentials. It is therefore important to return the final research document to the relevant public institutions and NGOs in Mocuba.

CHAPTER 3

The Study Area

3. 1. Introduction

To conduct the study, a specific district¹ had to be considered. After reflecting on different factors that could lead to the finalization of the project within the time limits given, it was decided to undertake the study in Mocuba district. This chapter provides condensed information about the Mocuba district covering issues on its geography, administrative and political situation, socio-economic peculiarities and an overview of NGOs operating in the district as well as the reasons for selecting it as the study area.

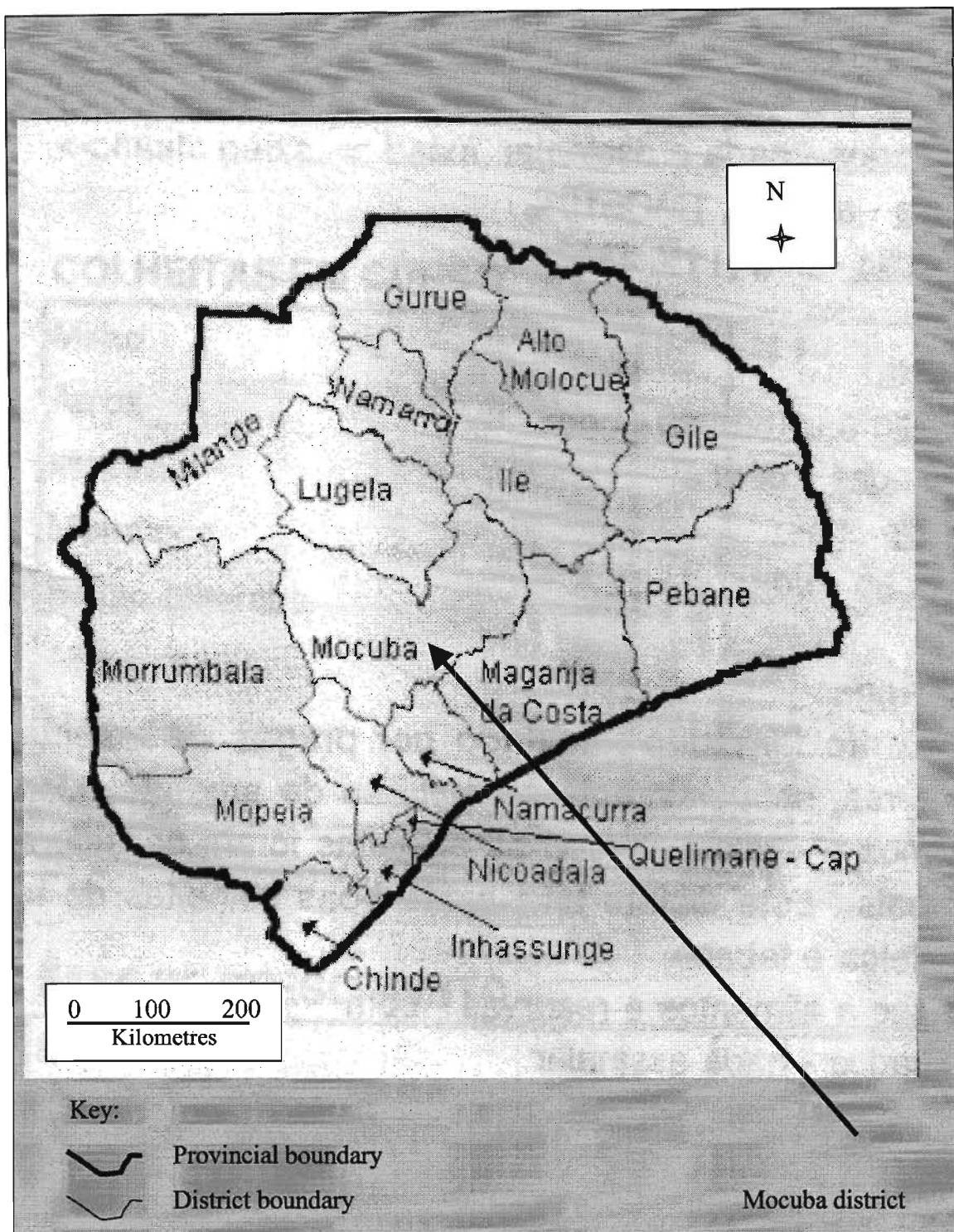
3. 2. Geographical Information

Mocuba is located in the central province of Zambézia, in the Republic of Mozambique. Surrounded in the North by the mountainous districts of Lugela and Ile; in the Southeast by the coastal districts of Nicoadala, Namacurra and Maganja da Costa; and in the North-west by the Malawi bordering districts of Morrumbala and Milange, Mocuba is geographically at the centre of 17 districts that compose Zambézia province (Map 1).

Two of the four biggest rivers of the province (Licungu and Lugela) run through the district. The Lugela River joins the Licungu at Mocuba Municipal Town before its mouth to the Indian Ocean down to the South. The confluence of the Lugela and Licungu rivers gives a unique geographical aspect to the town and its suburbs by placing them in three sloping banks² of the two rivers.

¹ See footnote 1 in the introductory chapter for clarification on the Mozambican Administrative division

² From the other two banks at the joining point (right bank of Licungu and left of Lugela) there begins another district territory, the district of Lugela.



Map 1: Geographical Location of Mocuba at the Centre of Zambézia Province

(Source: Medecins Sans Frontieres, 1997)

3. 3. Administrative and Political Information

According to the Mozambican administrative division (Art. 4 of the Constitution, 1990), districts are divided into Administrative Posts and Localities. Mocuba is divided into 2 Administrative Posts (Mugeba and Namanjavira) and 4 Localities (Alto Benfica, Muaquiwa, Munhiba and the Municipality of Mocuba town).

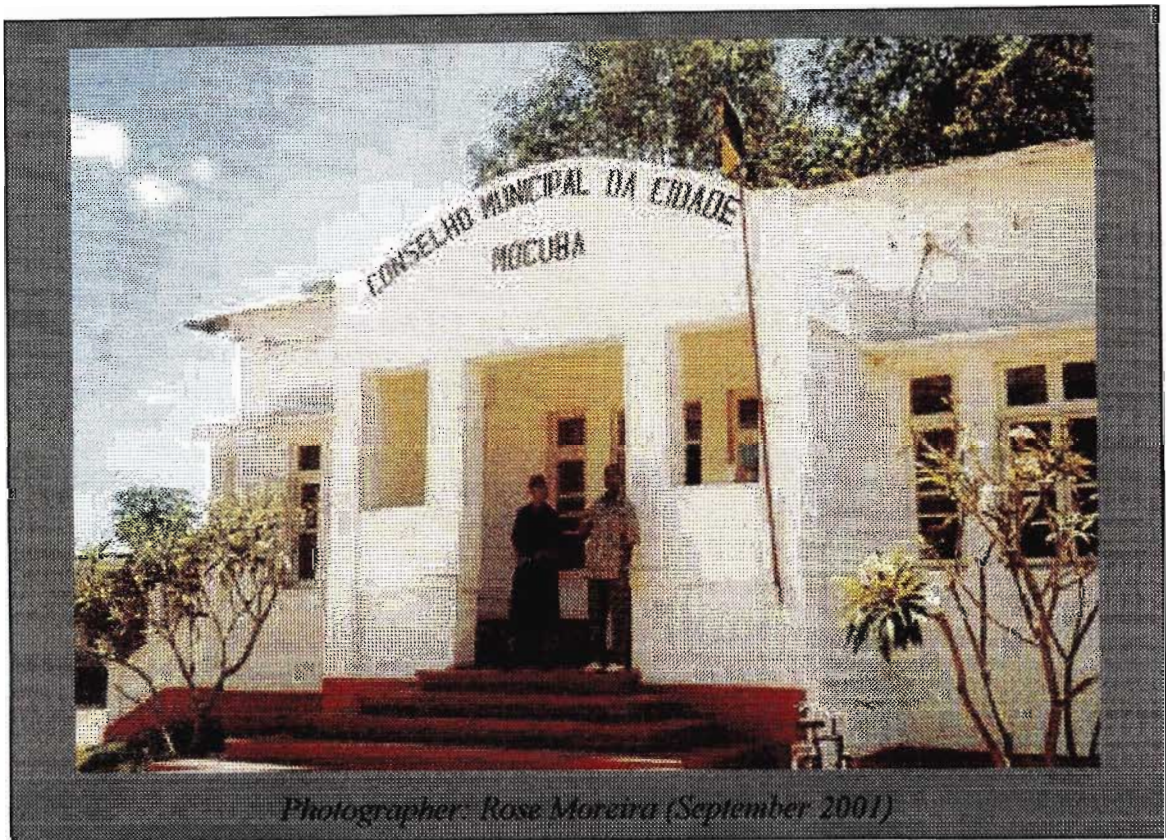


Plate 1: Mocuba Town Municipal Council – The Headquarters

Mocuba is one of the 4 districts in the province, with both locally elected and centrally nominated government authorities. Elected authorities, composed only of members of Frelimo³, operate within the territorial limits of the town and its suburbs, in conformity with the national interests, plans and policies (Art. 189. 2 and 195 of Constitution, 1990).

³ Political parties from the opposition, and other civil society sectors felt that there were no conditions for free and just municipal elections, and that a Frelimo victory was already guaranteed by the political system. Their participation in the elections would only be an exercise to confirm that status quo. Frelimo is also the ruling party in the country since independence in 1975.

The centrally nominated government authorities, on the other hand operate in all localities and administrative posts of the district. However, there is no duplication of administration in the district since the country is politically defined as only one and indivisible (Art. 3. 1 of the Constitution, 1990). Besides Frelimo, and although not represented in Mocuba town municipal assembly, the main political party in Mocuba district, like in many other central and northern areas of Mozambique is Renamo. There are other small parties like MONAMO⁴, FUMO⁵, FAP⁶, and PCN⁷, which are represented in the National Assembly (the Parliament) through coalition in Renamo-UE⁸ and hence can be influential for change in Mocuba.

3. 4. Socio-economic Information

Although its capital town (Municipality of Mocuba) is the second largest town in the province, and the district is a national transportation corridor, Mocuba is categorized as a rural area. There are no industries in the district and the main economic activities are agriculture, woodcutting and commerce. Formal employment is scarce.

The health infrastructure network is composed of only 1 Rural Hospital, 2 Health Centres and 5 Clinics. The population is more than 214 748 inhabitants, 55 923 of them living in Mocuba town (INE, 1998). The most common diseases are malaria, anaemia, tuberculosis, malnutrition, diarrhoea and sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) (a health official, *pers. comm.*, 17/09/2001).

There is at least 1 primary school up to standard 5 in each administrative post and locality, but the district has only 1 secondary school up to standard 12 and has the only agrarian basic school in the province. Both the secondary school and the agrarian school also serve the neighboring districts, which make access to education limited.

⁴ MONAMO – Mozambican National Movement.

⁵ FUMO – Mozambican United Front.

⁶ FAP – Front for Patriotic Action

⁷ PCN – Party for the National Convention.

⁸ Renamo-UE – Renamo – Electoral Union is a colligation of 10 oppositional political parties lead by Renamo and with seats at the National Assembly (the Parliament).

3. 5. Why Mocuba?

The province was chosen because there was a significant presence of NGOs working on rural development. Previously there were three districts chosen namely Mocuba, Lugela and Alto Molócuè, but due to time limitations for the fieldwork and to allow more accurate data collection and analysis, only one district had to be chosen.

Mocuba district was selected on the basis of, (i) geographical location and accessibility (along the Principal Trunk Road, in the Central region of the province); (ii) existence of local development projects currently running; (iii) previous contact with some NGOs operating in the district including the Provincial Forum of NGOs; as well as (iv) some understanding by the researcher of the local language. Besides these reasons and making the research project more interesting and challenging, is the fact that in Mocuba there are municipal and government authorities dealing with development, the environment and the inherent work of NGOs in the district, and the district capital town is semi-rural and semi-urban.

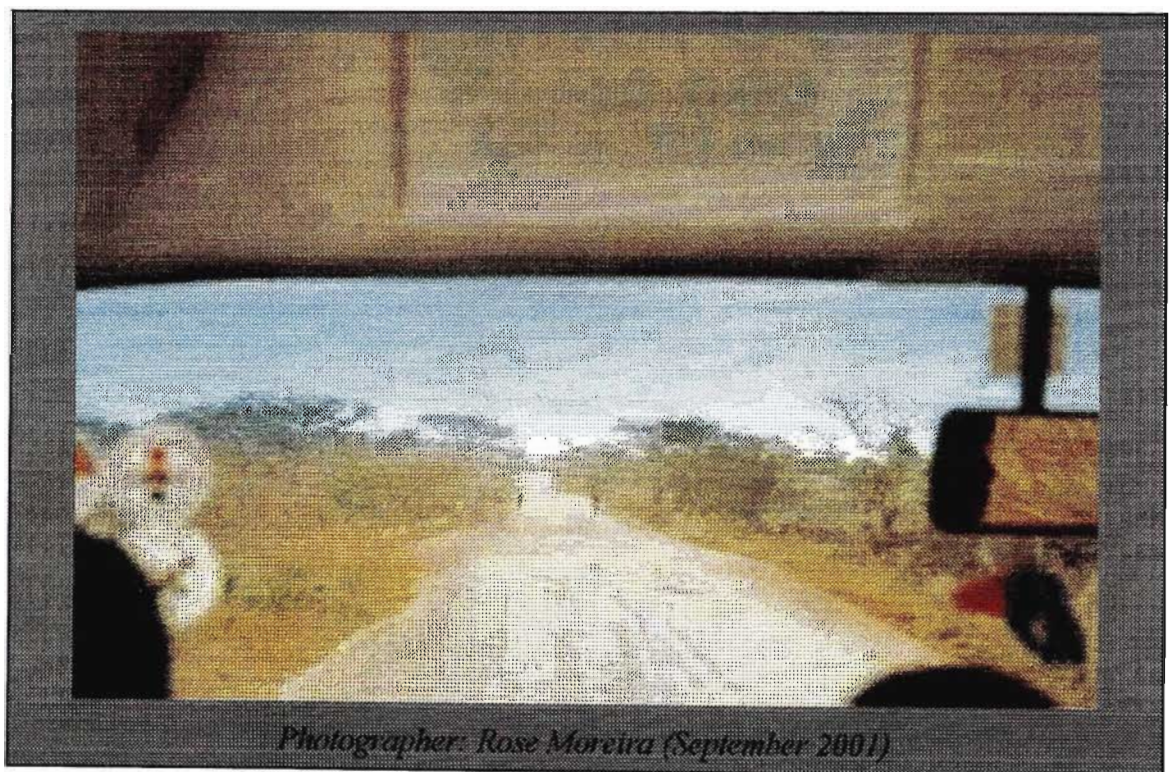


Plate 2: A Partial View of “the Principal Trunk Road” in Mocuba Rural Area

3. 6. Overview of NGOs in the Mocuba District

NGOs operating in the Mocuba district fall into four categories⁹, namely: (a) local, (b) provincial, (c) national and (d) foreign, as described below.

(a) Local NGOs

Created and operating within the geographical limits of the district, most of them have none of their own installations. They work in small rooms, with limited furniture and almost no equipment (e.g. typewriters, telephones, computers, or fax machines). Some of them have their 'offices' in one member's residence (frequently, the president) or in a room attached to another institution with which there is a partnership. Another common characteristic of these NGOs is the lack of funds and qualified personnel. They are not self-reliant enough to turn their plans into effective operations using their own resources (Ife, 1995). Because of these weaknesses they tend to act as implementing 'branches' of other NGOs, district directorates or the Municipal Council (FONGZA¹⁰ liaison officer, *pers. comm.* 11/09/2001). However, since they are rooted in the local people's aspirations to represent themselves in issues of common interest, local NGOs have a recognized strength and "they tend to enjoy more legitimacy in the communities they serve" (Liebenberg, 2000: 119). So, regardless of being highly dependent on external support, local NGOs have a good reputation and enjoy the confidence of local people, the authorities and other partners.

(b) Provincial NGOs

With less affirmation in the district, these are branches of those NGOs created and operating at a provincial level. They pursue the same objectives that can be met by local or foreign NGOs and their role tends to be less weighted by other development stakeholders. Most of their activities are planned and run from a 'virtual office' in

⁹ This categorization was made from the terminology found in Directories of NGOs, technical reports, and from personal interaction with NGO managers, government officials and communities in Mocuba.

¹⁰ FONGZA – Forum of NGOs of Zambézia, the province where Mocuba – the study area – is situated.

Quelimane, the provincial capital city. In terms of installation and funding they are also very weak as, according to a FONGZA liaison officer (*op. cit.*), “the challenges to our NGOs in Zambézia province is how to organize funding, installations, equipment and even trained personnel”.

(c) National NGOs

These are created at national level to pursue objectives that can influence development around the country. They normally have branches in some provinces and districts according to specific priorities. In Mocuba they operate in a very limited and *ad-hoc* manner. They can set up an office in the district to deal with a specific issue found critical at a certain time (for example, ORAM - Rural Organization for Mutual Support). Invariably they prefer to work in partnership with an existing NGO, which has gained the confidence of the local institutions and people in the district. Their financial situation is better than the two previously described categories of NGOs because their headquarters are in Maputo, the capital city of the country, where the concentration of finance from fundraising is found. In some cases the National NGOs operate as simple ‘*liaison officers*’ between the funding agencies and the local NGOs (FONGZA liaison officer, *ibid*).

(d) Foreign NGOs

The organizations from outside the country fall into this category. While the previous three categories need to be formally registered for their official recognition (Law n.º 8/91, Art. 4, Art. 5, Art. 6, Art. 18), foreign NGOs also need an authorization to begin undertaking their activities (Decree n.º 55/98, Art. 1.2, Art. 5, Art. 6.1, Art. 9). Lasting for two extendible years (Decree n.º 55/98, Art. 6. 2) the authorization is restricted to specific purposes and areas. Written agreements with provincial and district governments are required (see example in the Appendix 2).

Foreign NGOs are characterized by well-established infrastructures, good furniture, modern equipment and transport facilities. They operate with a pre-planned budget over the year or period of their program-contracts. They support some local NGOs micro-projects by specific partnerships and they are thus the most '*visible*' NGOs throughout Mocuba, as described by some residents. Their personnel are a mix of Mozambicans and other nationalities, but the presence of expatriates mainly from the county of origin of each NGO, is characteristic.

CHAPTER 4

Literature Review

4. 1. Introduction

Literature review can be defined as “the identification and analysis or review of the literature and information related to what is intended to be, or has been, studied” (Blanche & Durrheim, 1999:480). In fact, literature review is very critical for a broad understanding of relevant ideas surrounding the research topic. Carmo and Ferreira (1998) consider literature review an important step in the research process, since it helps to “select, treat and interpret raw information that exists ... in order to extract some meaning” (Carmo and Ferreira, 1998:59). On the other hand, Kaniki (1999:18) advises researchers to review relevant work from others because this activity “puts ... research into context by showing how it fits into a particular field”. Fully agreeing with the above quotations, this chapter is a theoretical review on the linkage between participation and community as sources of an alternative development, on NGOs as recognized stakeholders, and on other rural development stakeholders since NGOs and communities cannot operate in isolation if they are to bring real community participation into practice and promote social and sound environmental development.

4. 2. Participation as an Alternative Development Paradigm

The term “participation” is currently used in almost all development and policy statements. It is commonly used and often abused in an attempt to address the aspirations of those who were or are left at the periphery of developmental philosophy, namely, local communities in poor countries. As indicated by Swanepoel (2000:xvi) “very few institutions will question the idea of participation”. However most of the interpretations of it are far from what participation is meant to be. To quote Mikkelsen (1995:62), “participation is so widely and so loosely used, like many other catchwords in development jargon, that the meaning of the concept has become rather blurred”. Ife also

points out that there are “terms that have been grossly over-used and misused in recent years, such as community, ... participation” (Ife, 1995:xii-xiii). This tendency to use new terms in the development agenda was noted by Chambers, for whom the late 1980s and the 1990s brought into the development scenario a variety of new terms including “civil society... participation, people centered development, stakeholder, sustainability” (Chambers, 1999:189).

Participation in development theory came through the need for an alternative paradigm to the former top-down approaches. Following several reflections on the new rural development alternatives many methods of inquiry were developed from the early 1980s onwards (Kaplan, 2001). The list of the most widely known methods emerging in that epoch include, the Rapid and or Participatory Rural Appraisals (RRA, PRA) and their related problem solving methods such as Participatory Learning And Action (PLA) and Participatory Action Research (PAR) (ibid.).

In Tandon’s point of view the alternative approach of participatory development seeks for “human development that can be understood, managed, and monitored by small collectives of human beings” (Tandon, 2001:45). Manghezi, quoting Du Sautoy 43 years before Tandon, put it this way: “community development deals with simple people things and unsophisticated people” (Manghezi, 1976:42). A fieldworker cited in a 1996 Master’s dissertation was even more radical when saying, “development must start in somebody’s sense; development is not about things you see..., it is about the way somebody is developed in their thinking” (quoted in Kaplan, 2001:322). These reflections of Tandon, Sautoy, Manghezi, and Kaplan, from different countries and epochs are also found in the writing of other researchers, scholars, academics, development organizations and United Nations Agencies when addressing development.

As argued by Tandon quoting a World Bank 1994 policy statement, “participation is a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives, and the decision and resources which affect them” (Tandon, 2001:50). It is all a question of process orientation in which, according to Treurnicht (2000:67),

“participation should be managed in an open-ended way to ensure that there is continued space for new inputs”.

Almost all attempts to define community development include the word participation, referred to as a process of changes and empowerment (Manghezi, 1976). However, it is not in itself a panacea of all rural development problems. Furthermore, as stated by Mikkelsen (1995:31), “the concept of ‘participation’ itself raises suspicion of an unequal relationship ... who participates in whose conditions is not always clear”. The word participation became so highly sophisticated in the alternative development paradigm that:

“National governments, UN agencies, the Bretton Woods institutions, development think-tanks – the entire development community by the mid-1990s – began to create an impression that the mainstream development discourse had ‘absorbed’ the principles of alternative development paradigm that were being promoted by NGOs in the 1970s. Local-level development, integrated interventions, mobilization of the poor, and participation have become the hallmark of development philosophy.”
(Tandon, 2001: 49)

According to Arrossi *et al* (1994:34) “in 1984, the UN Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat) launched a training programme for community participation” and “an analysis of 93 UNDP country programmes approved for the period of 1992 to 1996 shows that 86 per cent address poverty alleviation and grassroots participation in development” (ibid: 35). The Earth Summit held at Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) in 1992 also addresses the question of participation through, among others, “Principle 10 of the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development...: Environmental issues are best handled with the participation of all concerned citizens, at the relevant level” (http://www.farn.org.ar/docs/pp/en_intro.html). The UN World Summit for Social Development (1995) issued a Declaration and Programme of Action listing the requirements for encouraging participation in society: “(a) strengthening the capacities

and opportunities for all people ...; (b) enabling institutions of civil society ...; and (c) giving community organizations greater involvement in the design and implementation of local projects” (Tandon, 2001:49-50). These approaches, emanating from the United Nations underpin the idea that more local-centred decision-making is needed for a true development process, using community participation.

The Mozambican National Indicative Programme funded by the Economic Union (1997) focussed on “community-based development in a wide sense ...” (Le Grand, 1998:2) and its aim was “to achieve a general improvement of living conditions in rural areas, on the basis of active participation by local communities” (*ibid.*). Besides the Constitution and the Guidelines for Rural Development, there are a number of specific regulations¹, which refer to the need for community participation in Mozambique. Due to its socio-economic impact in the whole local development process the environmental legislation deserves mention. The environmental policy interlinks with the principle of community participation by taking as its strategy “the involvement of the local communities in the management of natural resources to promote the sustainable use of natural resources” (<http://easd.org.za/Eis/repts/Mozambique/mozeis2.htm>). Furthermore the same legislation addresses land policy recognizing “local communities’ rights as well as their methods and approaches to agrarian management of land” (*ibid.*). Almost all development related institutions and regulations in Mozambique refer to participation as a tool to be utilized to involve affected and interested people in all stages of development.

Involving people in all stages of development is a way of safeguarding that the “local perception, attitudes, values and knowledge are taken into account as fully and as soon as possible while creating the conditions for a continuous and comprehensive feedback ...” (Mikkelsen, 1995:61). These approaches using involvement need methods and techniques which can lead to what Tandon (2001) calls ‘collective empowerment’. However, according to Manghezi (1976:47) “Community development is not only a method of development, it also shows many characteristics of a social movement which spreads a kind of ideology throughout the world”. The involvement must flow from the beginning,

¹ See details in the discussion (Chapter 6).

deciding on the needs, the process, and evaluating the available resources for the implementation phase (Arrossi *et al*, 1994). On the other hand individuals or groups sharing a common problem will be more prepared to participate in the process of solving it than anybody from outside that specific system. In this regard "a clear link between the act of participating and the achievement of desirable outcomes" (de Valk, 1990:7) is an important aspect to consider when addressing the whole issue of community participation in development.

Perhaps the best way of theoretically addressing the question of participation is to look at the range of different interpretations it has occasioned over the years. The literature shows that participation can promote better living for rural and impoverished communities. The question to be answered is, how can the process be run? Also without any answer at this stage, Mikkelsen helps to end this section with her idea of an opened window for further analysis when she says, "participatory development is a new frontier. Different interpretations can be expected. A precise, global definition may not emerge for some time, nor may one even be desirable" (Mikkelsen, 1995:62, quoting FAO, 1989b).

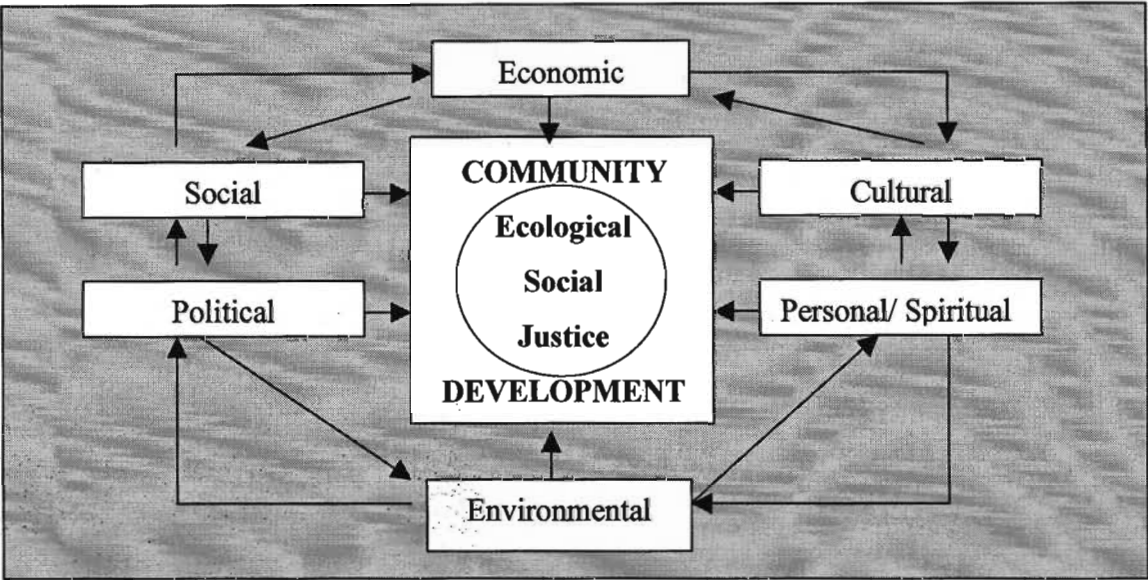
4. 2. 1. Local Communities and Participation in Development

The attempt to consider the aspirations of the poor meant that local communities were at the core of the debate on participation. However poverty, the target of all participatory movement still represents a threat to many people. Local communities, now placed at the core of the participation debate, but continuing to belong to the peripheral world, are invited to be subjects and not mere objects of the development process. For a more comprehensive debate, great importance is to be given to the understanding of local communities as dynamic social entities. Tendencies to confine community in "the individuals and interest groups that live in a locality" (Elcome and Baines, 1999:5) can mislead the interpretation and scope of it. There are, of course, other aspects to consider in defining community, such as sharing of values and expectations, only to mention one example. Only after considering all characteristics that make a specific community, the question of community participation can then be addressed.

Some analysts advocate that "local people are the experts in their particular area and the value of their knowledge should not be underestimated" (Treurnicht, 2000:67). As Arrossi *et al* (1994) put it, participation should encourage community involvement in decision-making, use of resources and the role of external agencies. In summary, community participation should develop from acknowledging "the increasing importance of the role which communities take in solving their own problems and their capacity to design, manage, execute, control and evaluate the projects which aim to develop their settlements" (Arrossi *et al*, 1994:73). Elcome and Baines refer to the roles of communities in development as those of active participation in different phases of a development project, namely they "... take part in identifying the issues, policies and solutions and in the implementation of these policies and actions by contributing their ideas, labour or other resources" (Elcome and Baines, 1999:5).

Contribution from the local communities has been a question of major debate among development NGOs and practitioners. What kind of contribution is meant? When, how often and why should they contribute? There are fears that under the banner of contribution, participation can erroneously be used to reduce costs of projects for the implementing organizations, since it can provide cheap or even non-paid labour from communities (Arrossi *et al*, 1994). But, as discussed above, providing cheap labour is not the aim of participation. The many differences in participatory approaches are not due to the importance given to people's involvement, but in the ways participation is understood and practised. For many analysts development must be endogenous driven, by creating opportunities for people to value their own engagement and contribution to sustainable development in an empowering manner (Tandon, 2001; Wekwete and Munzwa, 1990). In this regard, citizens of a specific community should be given opportunities to develop their own initiatives in a scenario in which development agencies facilitate the process and do not only rely on dictating rules to be strictly followed by the so called beneficiaries (Manghezi, 1976; de Valk, 1990; www.edc.org/mcl/Mozambique.htm, 2001).

Since every community is unique, participation makes much more sense in each specific community, which is thus the core for participation in rural development. However, there are general factors or dimensions to consider in the whole process of rural development. Ife (1995) suggests a model of integrated community development (Figure 3).



**Figure 3: Six Factors to be Considered
for a Successful Community Development Process**
(Adapted from Ife, 1995:132).

As suggested in Figure 3, all the six factors (social, economic, cultural, personal or spiritual, environmental and political) are important for community development. But due to possible differences in the specific development of each factor in a particular community context the priorities will also vary from community to community. However, “to have a truly healthy and functioning community it is necessary to achieve high levels of development on all six dimensions” (Ife, 1995:133).

A community must have good facilities for education, health, housing, water, sanitation, and recreation (social factors); access to and control of land, employment opportunities, shops and banks, favourable crop price policies, and access roads (economic factors). All social and economic activities must occur having in mind the surrounding environmental

conditions. Cultural and personal or spiritual values together with political stability can drive development in a certain way and so these factors are also of critical importance.

4. 3. NGOs and Community Participation

The participatory thinking and practice discussed above is strongly motivated and supported by NGOs. This motivation and support does not mean that the participatory approach was created only by NGOs, but the literature recognizes that NGOs hold a privileged pioneering role in developing and spreading community participation. According to Tandon (2001:45), “when development NGOs began to be noticed in the 1970s it was for what was beginning to be called an alternative development paradigm”. Arrossi *et al* (1994:72) had recognised that “participation is one of the key features in NGO projects directed towards the development of poor communities”. Liebenberg also portrays this privileged status of NGOs in the sphere of the alternative development by saying: “It is generally accepted that non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have become very important and permanent institutions in the implementation of development programmes and projects” (Liebenberg, 2000:108). In 1987, the World Commission for Environment and Development (WCED) also recognized that:

“Non-governmental organisations ... are springing up in many countries to provide cost-effective channels for assistance ... a much larger proportion of assistance should be channelled directly through these organisations” (quoted in Arrossi *et al*, 1994: 48).

Defining NGOs is also problematic, although not as much as defining words like “participation” and “community”. For a working definition it seems inclusive enough to borrow ideas from Liebenberg (2000:109) who defines NGOs as “autonomous, privately set up, non-profit-making institutions that support, manage or facilitate development action”. In a review of the African experience on democratic decentralization, Pasteur (1999:50) refers to NGOs as “a range of different types of organizations ...”, a definition previously made by Arrossi *et al* (1994), stressing two important characteristics of

NGOs: (i) they are not part of any governmental structure, and (ii) their nature is non-profit making.

Although the existence of organized groups of interest is not that recent, the term NGO began to be used with the general meaning given above, only in the late 1940s (Arrossi *et al*, 1994). In Mozambique, the emergence of national, structured and formalized NGOs is very recent, and still in the process of building “their identity, their mission and their sustainability” (www.linkong.org). However, the NGO phenomenon (both national and foreign) has been mushrooming in the country, specifically after the adoption of the new constitution in 1990, which legitimises free association, and more increasingly with the advent of peace from 1992.

Due to the need for co-ordinated action “a number of countries have instituted the registration of NGOs” (Pasteur, 1999:51). Registration is also a pre-requisite for all NGOs in order to have a legal existence and pursue their activities in Mozambique, a country where the information flow on legal issues, specifically those related to NGOs and participation, “is almost non-existent” (www.linkong.org). This fact may lead to a situation in which a small local organization starts a community project in partnership with a national or foreign organization operating in the same district but the small organization cannot deal with some issues due to its legal status or because it is not informed enough about its rights and duties. The limitations of NGOs to undertake their activities and to contribute to community development will grow if there is no political will from governmental authorities to co-operate with them. Quoting Monaheng (1995:298) Swanepoel criticizes this limiting approach:

“... the government should treat participatory structures as instruments of empowerment, ... not mechanisms of political control. ... should respect the autonomy of these structures, and not impose either political functionaries or traditional leaders on them” (Swanepoel, 2000:94).

In many rural communities, however, traditional leaders are very powerful authorities that cannot be underestimated when initiating a community development project.

Commitment from governmental officials and political leaders is also of great importance for NGOs in order to pursue their activities in a given community. Registration and legal recognition are thus not enough for a successful accomplishment of an NGO mission in rural development. Liebenberg gives some more guidelines:

“... for an NGO to function efficiently it must possess a well-trained and motivated staff. Secondly it needs an organizational structure that is appropriate in design to the task that it seeks to accomplish. Finally ... the vision of the NGO must be accepted by all the important stakeholders in a given community” (Liebenberg, 2000:115).

To better deal with community participation and increase its supportive role in rural development, all development agents must engage themselves in the process of change. The fact that NGOs are recognized as important role players in the field of development does not mean that they have achieved all the requirements to undertake their work in an exemplary way. Failure to understand the needs of the poor by excluding them from acting as real stakeholders of their development tends to be common in development organisations and practitioners. Development is in itself a learning process in which all role players are sharing and acquiring new knowledge or at least refining what they have learnt whether in formal training institutions or through practical experience in the field. NGOs do not present an exception. As observed by Swanepoel:

“... NGOs must themselves follow an adaptive mode of administration. No organization can support and facilitate an adaptive process if it is itself inflexible and rigorous ... a significant change will be necessary for them to become supportive instead of being the primary role-players, to enable decision-making instead of making the decisions, to enhance ownership instead of being the owners of development” (Swanepoel, 2000:xvii).

A similar analysis is given by Conyers (1990) re-enforcing Uphoff and Esman's (1984) ideas, for which NGOs must work as partners of other stakeholders. These authors also advocate a diversity of channels for better participation results. In fact, one of the

challenges for NGOs in community participation is to be able to congregate different resources from different channels into a development framework appropriate for all parts and compatible with the existing legal provisions. Pasteur mentions the merit of NGOs in “insisting on the production of plans and the setting of priorities for community needs” (Pasteur, 1999:51), but Marrington’s (1991) refinement of this understanding summarizes the fundamental requirement of making use of the inputs from the grassroots for a local development planning and not just making use of the NGOs’ managers’ orientation. He states, “an NGO has as its function the transformation of resources which it receives from society, into programmes, projects, products and services for a particular target group of people” (quoted in Liebenberg, 2000:115) and this seems to be the way forward, for NGOs so that they can continue to deserve the privileged status they have achieved.

4. 4. Other Stakeholders in Community Participation

Besides NGOs and local communities, other development stakeholders to be considered for appropriate participation approaches are the government (at national, provincial, and district or Administrative Post levels), the political parties, the churches, the traditional leaders and the private enterprises.

All these stakeholders must seek to understand the process of participation. People, organizations and institutions involved in the same situation and its problems must understand their respective roles. It is often noted that organizations and government institutions expect people at only community level to participate in their projects. Quoting Cernea (1992), Mikkelsen, gives an important reminder:

“Indeed, for people’s participation to be efficient and successful, it will in many cases be a precondition that ‘officers’ of involved authorities themselves participate in activities directed at involving the community or at least support the idea of people’s participation. There is also substantial evidence that support is required from top officials for participatory development activities to become successful” (Mikkelsen, 1995:36)

Instrumental participation, aiming to support only projects already designed by top NGOs' managers or governmental institutions for any political reason or other kind of trade-off does not necessarily result in meaningful participation towards the desired change (de Valk, 1990). To reverse this situation an inclusive participation process in development must be encouraged. Inclusive participation does not mean that all stakeholders will have to participate the same way in all related projects. They have different aspirations and their participation has to be in accordance with what their expectations are and with what they can contribute to enhance the process. For example, the government as previously noted needs to refine its approach by empowering its officials with adequate community development knowledge so that things can go beyond good intentions and a list of legal documents, which are commonly unknown at ground level.

In this chapter, it was noted that participation is not an easy concept to understand but that it can be much clearer as the process develops and new challenges are faced. The different interpretations the term might have, does not necessarily contradict the alternative paradigm according to which development must be people-oriented and driven from an endogenous perspective with local communities as core stakeholders. NGOs have acquired a good reputation in promoting rural development by considering local priorities and knowledge. However, since community participation is also a learning process there is still much to achieve through interaction among communities, NGOs, and other stakeholders in the sense that every idea counts but needs to be shared and understood in a particular context (McKee, 1993).

CHAPTER 5

The Research Findings

5. 1. Introduction

Having engaged in a literature review and done fieldwork “in the actual set of events ... to get some first-hand knowledge of the situation” (Blanch & Durrheim, 1999:478) the researcher organised those accounts in a logical manner as part of the research project. This chapter presents the findings covering issues such as NGOs in Mocuba, their interaction with other stakeholders, knowledge of legislation, experiences, practices and weaknesses of participation and the environment in rural development.

5. 2. NGOs in Mocuba

NGOs are growing worldwide, aiming to provide social and economic services (Pasteur, 1999) to people living in conditions of poverty, such as rural communities in Mocuba. As presented in chapter 3, NGOs in Mocuba are divided into 4 categories: local, provincial, national, and foreign (Table 2). Out of 18 NGOs operating in Mocuba district (FONGZA, 2001) only 5 local and foreign NGOs were considered for this study due to their prominence in the district.

Table 2: Example of NGOs Operating in Mocuba by Category

| Designation | Category |
|--|------------|
| ANAMocuba – Association of Friends and Natives of Mocuba | Local |
| NANA – Nucleus of Friends of the Nature and the Environment | Local |
| AZADER – Zambezian Association for Rural Development | Provincial |
| ORAM – Rural Organization for Mutual Support | National |
| IBIS - AISAM – Institutional Support For Agrarian Sector Mocuba | Foreign |
| CLUSA – Cooperative League of United States of America | Foreign |

Adapted from “FONGZA, 2001; LINK, 2000 & Personal communications”

5. 2. 1. Common Designations for NGOs

The different designations used to name NGOs in the district are: organization, association, nucleus, forum, and union. Under the absence of a clear distinction for these social groupings (Lane, 1995; De Beer & Swanepoel, 1998; Pasteur, 1999; Liebenberg, 2000) and mainly according to consulted legislation¹ and two directories produced by LINK² and FONGZA entitled 'Directory of NGOs', all kinds of non-profit entities which pursue a specific objective, have an organizational structure (Liebenberg, 2000), hold a registration and an authorization to develop their activities, can fall into the general designation of NGOs³ in Mozambique regardless of their potential differences in various aspects (De Beer & Swanepoel, 1998).

Curiously when most of the local people in Mocuba (including extension workers) refer to foreign NGOs or their local partners with relative material wealth, they use the term "projects" and not NGOs. So, the link of the term "project" with "NGOs" is erroneously making the two terms synonymous.

Another surprise is the fact that the term Community Based Organizations (CBOs) that is been used worldwide in rural development approaches (e.g. Ife, 1995; De Bee & Swanepoel, 1998; Pasteur, 1999) is not actually in use in the Mocuba district. The term CBOs is used in some technical reports but what was found in reality is no more than community committees created in connection with related NGO projects for specific purposes. In fact some of the development academic jargon is not always translated into reality in rural areas. A similar phenomenon is the gap between legislation and the reality that accepts the existence of NGOs (especially the local) operating without prior registration or authorization for certain activities found pertinent after consultation with communities. Even governmental authorities work with these NGOs, which by law are regarded as irregular (Law n.º 8/91, Art.18).

¹ The legislation on Associations and NGOs comes in two Government Gazettes. The first is "Law n.º 8/91, in BR, I Série, N.º 29, 18/07/91, Suplemento" issued by the Parliament. The second is "Decree n.º 55/98, in BR, I Série, N.º 40, 13/10/98, 2.º Suplemento" issued by the Council of Ministers.

² LINK, based in Maputo, is a Forum of national and foreign NGOs. FONGZA, based in Quelimane, is the Forum of national and foreign NGOs in Zambézia province. These are two independent NGOs although some members of FONGZA are also members of LINK.

³ See working definition of NGOs in the glossary of key terms.

After considering the above categorization it was found that local and foreign NGOs are prominent in the Mocuba development context. Provincial and national NGOs operate sporadically. The CBO phenomenon is not yet a reality unless it only means a new jargon for the growing NGO movement at local levels. Table 3 shows the 2 local and 3 foreign NGOs considered for this study due to their actual operation in the district. The reason why more foreign NGOs were considered than local ones is because they have more projects currently running. It was also assumed that they had more experience than the local NGOs.

Table 3: NGOs Considered for the Study

| Designation | Area of Activity/ Project | Category |
|--|--|-------------------|
| ANAMocuba – Association of Friends and Natives of Mocuba | Sensitization for People’s Empowerment and Participation in Local Development Projects | Local |
| NANA – Nucleus of Friends of the Nature and the Environment | Environmental Action and Community Health Awareness | Local |
| ADRA – Adventist Development and Relief Agency | Reconstruction and Socio-economic Community Development (roads, forestry, water, cattle-raising) | Foreign (USA) |
| CLUSA – Cooperative League of United States of America | Program for Rural Enterprises Association Development | Foreign (USA) |
| IBIS – AISAM | Institutional Support for Mocuba Agrarian Sector | Foreign (Denmark) |

Adapted from “FONGZA, 2001; LINK, 2000 & Personal communications”

Of these NGOs, IBIS is the one with more experience of work in the province and particularly in Mocuba. ANAMocuba and NANA were created only in the late 1990s. ADRA and CLUSA are also recently established NGOs in Mocuba (H. Costa, *pers. comm.* 13/09/2001) but their previous experience of work with communities in other provinces or districts was considered relevant to the study.

5. 3. Interaction of NGOs with other Development and Environmental Stakeholders

In undertaking their role in a development process, NGOs cannot work in isolation (Pretty & Scoones, 1995). To explore more how NGOs apply community participation and address environmental issues it is also critical to see their interaction with other stakeholders. Who, then, are the other stakeholders in Mocuba?

Besides NGOs, development and environment stakeholders in Mocuba are the District Administration, the Municipal Council, the communities, the political parties, and the private enterprises. In the District Administration, the Directorates of Agriculture and Rural Development (DDADR) and for the Co-ordination of Environmental Action (DDCOA) are relevant to this study. In the Municipal Council the Sector of Environment and Urbanization is relevant. In all groups of stakeholders the role of extension or community workers is very important.

According to the District Extension Supervisor, extension and community workers are usually the same individuals or if not they work together under a formal co-ordination from the DDADR, and the assistance of IBIS (H. Costa, *pers. comm.* 13/09/2001). The difference between them is not in their duties or in what is expected from their intervention in communities, but their institutional affiliation. When they are from a government institution they are called extension workers (*extensionistas*), and when they are employed by an NGO they are “identified by being labelled ‘community worker’, ‘community development officer’” (Ife, 1995:221) as well as “activists” or “animators”. Regardless of the potentially confusing labels used, they all are, in essence, community development agents of change, and make the linkage among stakeholders.

5. 3. 1. Co-ordination among Stakeholders

In the words of the Councillor for the Environment and Urbanization, interaction between NGOs and the formal authorities in the district is generally characterized by

good co-ordination (G. Opinae, *pers. comm.* 14/09/2001). NGOs provide financial and technical support and the authorities organize ways of better allocating that support to the different communities with prior participatory consultation in the field, undertaken by “the extension workers network” (H. Costa, *pers. comm.* 13/09/2001). Examples are the financial support from DANIDA (Danish International Development Agency) channelled to MICOA district branch⁴ for a town rehabilitation project (G. Opinae, *pers. comm.* 14/09/2001), and to the DDADR, via the Danish NGO IBIS, for institutional support and enhancement of that directorate’s co-ordination role in NGOs and rural development in the district (Mangeira, 1999).

Co-ordination implies selecting the right people for the opportunities available and this “is absolutely essential if one thinks of community development as a total transformation” (De Beer and Swanepoel, 1998:63). Co-ordination also helps NGOs to “identify how best they might support but not substitute for what exists” (Pretty and Scoones, 1995:163, quoting Roshe, 1991:41). This sort of opening up of information flow (Pretty and Scoones, 1995) was proved to be effective by the co-ordination among the NGOs DANIDA, NANA, the Municipality, and community structures. The co-ordination made it possible to employ (although temporarily) community members who were really disadvantaged: work seekers, widows, and demobilized (G. Opinae, *pers. comm.* 14/09/2001; E. J. Yatitima & A. S. Sulvai, *pers. comm.* 18/09/2001). About 150 family members from *Bairro 25 de Setembro*, were employed in road rehabilitation, including building of small bridges, during one year and half, but “Without proper co-ordination even these temporary jobs would never be given to community members”(G. Opinae, *pers. comm.* 14/09/2001).

Most of the NGOs in Mocuba operate away from the municipal town area. Their relation with official institutions is thus much closer to the District Administration than to the Municipal Council (G. Opinae, *ibid*), and specifically to the DDARD, the institution in charge of the co-ordination of NGOs’ activities in the whole district (Mangeira, 1999; H. Costa, *op. cit*). Co-ordination is also a vital necessity to the

⁴ The correspondent District Directorate for Co-ordination of Environmental Action in Mocuba was only opened in 2001. In its place an office was created at the District Administration, basically to run the project on the rehabilitation of the district capital town and suburbs.

District Development Plan (PDD) to avoid over channelling of resources to the same community to the detriment of others. Interviewees were asked to express their views on their own interaction with other development stakeholders following a pre-set classification matrix (appendix 1, questionnaire n° 1, question 11). Table 4, summarises the opinions of interviewees on stakeholders' interaction towards achieving community participation.

Table 4: Classification of ‘Stakeholder to Stakeholder’ Interaction

| Stakeholders | N° Inter- viewees | Interaction Perceived as | | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| | | Co-ordinated actions | No co- ordination | No interaction |
| NGOs managers | 5 | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Community committees | 4 | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| Community/ extension workers | 8 | 8 | 0 | 0 |
| Community leaders | 4 | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| Government /Muni- cipal officials | 5 | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| <i>Total</i> | <i>26</i> | <i>26</i> | <i>0</i> | <i>0</i> |

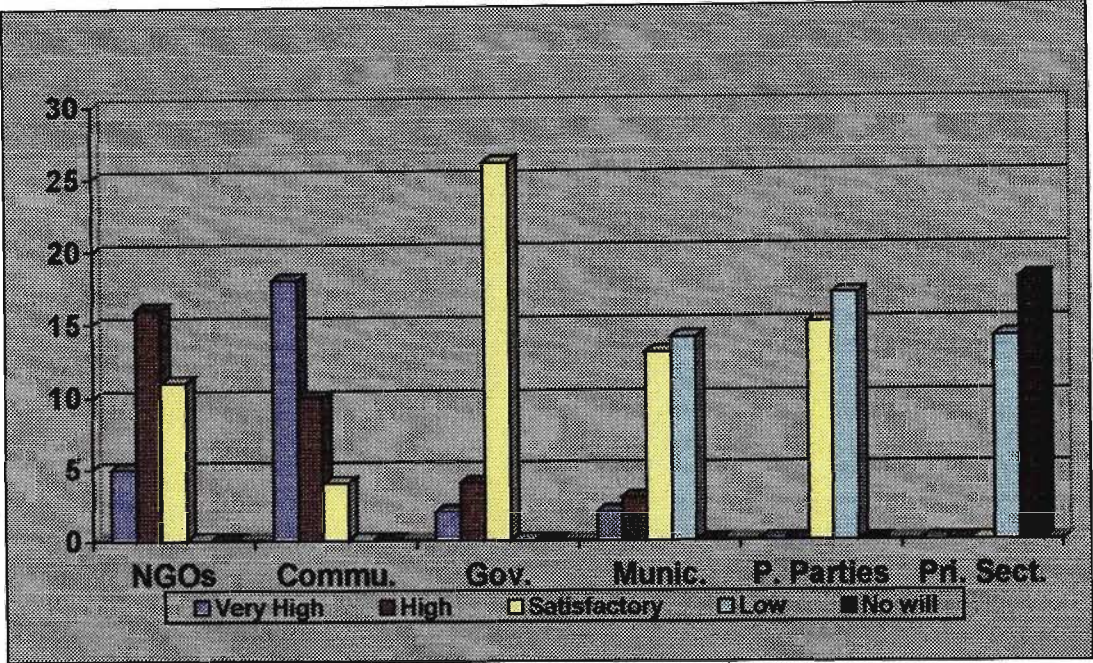
At community levels, projects from both local and foreign NGOs are very well received. Satisfactory to very high levels of willingness by the communities to implement their participation is higher than that found in NGOs, the government and the municipality put together (Table 5 and Figure 4). According to a journalist and editor of community programs at Licungu Community Radio (RCL), this is probably because “the population of Mocuba is so deprived that when there comes an NGO for whatever purpose, which may help the people to mitigate their suffering, it is obviously welcomed” (M. Magaia, *Pers. comm.* 19/09/2001). The relatively high community willingness to participate is thus not only attributed to NGOs and government efforts (although fully recognized in this dissertation) but also on the real needs of the impoverished rural population.

Interviews conducted with 32 individuals confirm that people (including NGO managers and governmental/ municipal officials) attribute more participation willingness to communities than to NGOs and other stakeholders. As summarised in table 5, the private sector was rated with no or low willingness to participate, while political parties were put between low and satisfactory levels. Literate people in the communities tend to participate more than illiterates. In terms of gender and age, men are more likely to participate than women while the youth participate less than adults. The participation imbalance between men and women, or adults and youth is attributed to the dominant status of men and adults towards other members of families (H. Costa, *pers. comm.* 13/09/2001; M. Magaia, *pers. comm.* 19/09/2001; Z. Manteiga, *pers. comm.*, 19/09/2001; J. Cassamo, *pers. comm.* 24/09/2001). Men and adults traditionally take decisions of importance for the family or for the whole community. These decision makers are more likely to assign themselves tasks out of the house, thus reducing the chances for outsiders to interact with women and young people (Z. Manteiga, *pers. comm.*, 19/09/2001; J. Cassamo, *pers. comm.* 24/09/2001).

**Table 5: Stakeholders and Specific Community Groups:
willingness to put Community Participation into Practice**

| Number of Interviewees | Stakeholders & groups considered | Degree of Willingness | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------|------|--------------|-----|----------|
| | | Very high | High | Satisfactory | Low | Not will |
| 5 NGOs managers | Other NGOs | 5 | 16 | 11 | 0 | 0 |
| | Communities | 18 | 10 | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| | Government | 2 | 4 | 26 | 0 | 0 |
| 8 community workers | Municipality | 2 | 3 | 13 | 14 | 0 |
| | Political Parties | 0 | 0 | 15 | 17 | 0 |
| | Private sector | 0 | 0 | 0 | 14 | 18 |
| 4 community leaders | Local leaders | 10 | 18 | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| | Women | 10 | 10 | 9 | 0 | 3 |
| | Men | 12 | 15 | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| 10 community members | Youth | 0 | 0 | 19 | 13 | 0 |
| | Adults | 0 | 20 | 12 | 0 | 0 |
| | Literate people | 7 | 17 | 8 | 0 | 0 |
| 5 government/ municipal officials | Illiterate people | 2 | 0 | 16 | 14 | 0 |
| 32 | ← TOTAL → | 68 | 113 | 142 | 72 | 21 |

Table 5 and Figure 4 show that the highest extent to which NGOs are willing to put community participation into practice is more than three times lower than that of the communities (dark blue bars). However, NGOs tend to apply community participation to a larger extent than the government and the municipality (dark blue bars). The general tendency to put participation into practice in local development projects in Mocuba district is mostly at a satisfactory level (yellow bars).



**Figure 4: NGOs and Five Selected Stakeholders:
willingness to put community participation into practice**

As previously stated, and illustrated in Figure 4, communities have a very high willingness to participate in local development projects and accept the NGOs' initiatives. Behind this willingness is also the forum for the local radio broadcasting planning (10 committees of 5 members each) composed of members from the radio, the communities, NGOs, and relevant public institutions, which play an important role in bringing on the air, in local languages, updated information on local development issues and sensitisation for community participation (M. Magaia, *pers. comm.* 19/09/2001). This flow of broadcasted information plus the activities of extension workers who meet regularly with communities (H. Costa, *pers. comm.* 13/09/2001) ensures credibility for co-ordinated development actions and enhances the idea that

communities are more willing to participate when their voices are heard, when they are well informed about their benefits, and when they believe in the goals and there are no unspoken disagreements (Hope and Timmel, 1999).

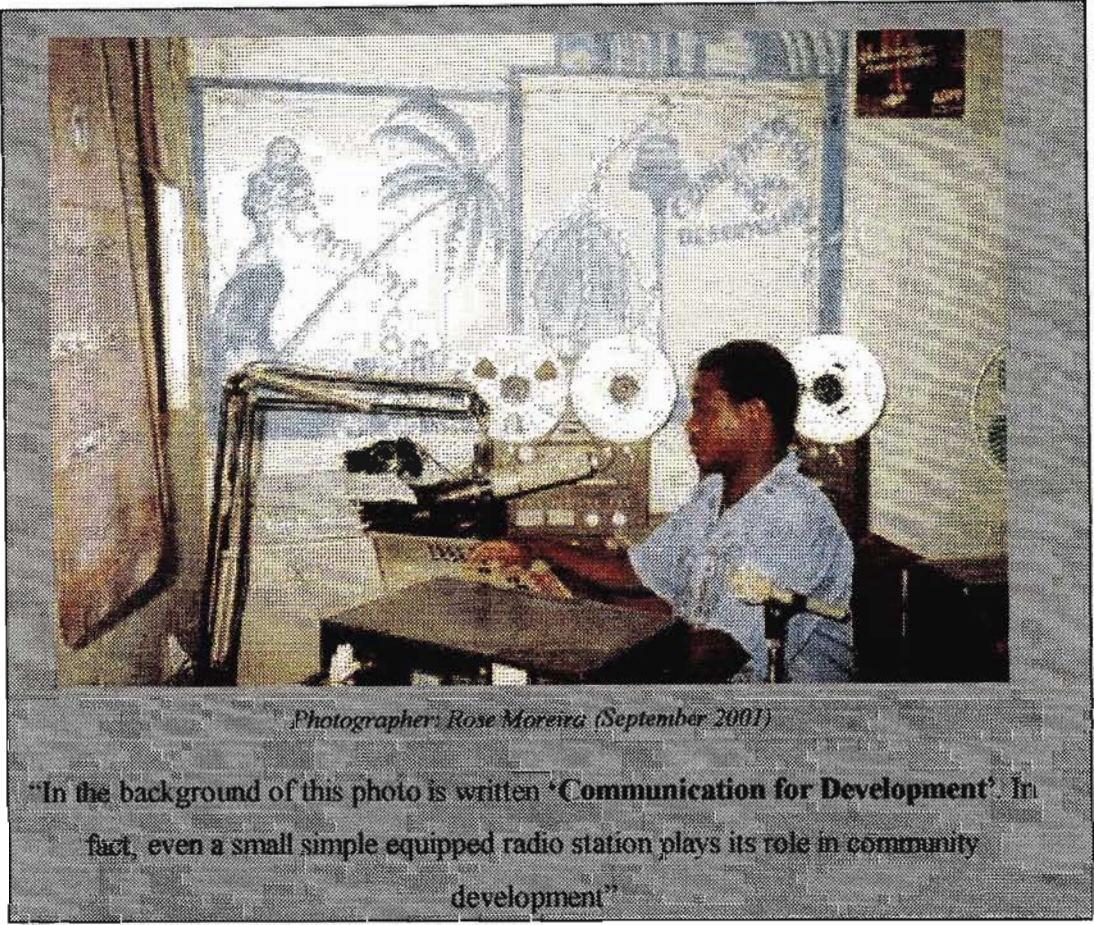


Plate 3: A View of the only Studio of Licungu Community Radio

5. 4. NGOs and the Legislation

The development process does not happen separately from a set of regulations, laws and policies that constitute the legal framework of a specific country (Swanepoel, 2000). In Mozambique, community participation is a fundamental principle in rural development and environmental policy as well as other related legislations. To assess NGOs' implementation of community participation it is then important to see how far stakeholders know the relevant development legislation. This section illustrates the gap between existing policies and knowledge of them by NGOs and other

stakeholders. It also covers perceptions, experiences and limitations found in the prevailing gap.

In most cases, if there is any knowledge about the legislation on rural development, and specifically on the principle of community participation, it is only weakly expressed with no precise idea of what that legislation states (M. Magaia, *pers. comm.* 19/09/2001). The institution that was supposed to disseminate that information (INDER) ⁵ was not clearly represented in the district, although it had an office in Quelimane and a number of community development projects throughout the province and the country. Extension or community workers interviewed (including those from the DDARD) also revealed very limited knowledge of the principle of community participation as an official development policy. Even the phrase ‘Guidelines for Rural Development and Mechanisms for Inter-Sectoral Co-ordination’⁶ was very unfamiliar to most of them. Table 6 summarises the stakeholders’ knowledge about the legislation on community participation and rural development.

Table 6: Knowledge of Community Participation and Rural Development Legislation

| Stakeholders | Nº. Interviews | Knew about the legislation | Could explain something on the legislation | Had no information about it |
|--------------------------------|----------------|----------------------------|--|-----------------------------|
| NGOs managers | 5 | 3 | 1 | 2 |
| Community committees | 4 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| Community/extension workers | 8 | 2 | 0 | 6 |
| Community leaders | 4 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| Community members | 10 | 2 | 0 | 8 |
| Government/Municipal officials | 5 | 2 | 2 | 3 |
| Total | 36 | 9 | 3 | 27 |

⁵ INDER was disbanded by a Presidential Decree, January 2000, and subsequently integrated into MADER, together with the National Directorate for Rural Development.

⁶ The legislation on rural development comes in under Resolution n.º 3/98, in BR, I Série, N.º 7, 24/02/98, 2º Suplemento, issued by the Council of Ministers. Refer to the chapter on Literature review for some details.

The table above shows how low the level of knowledge about the legislation on rural development in general and on the principle of community participation in particular is. Even from the nine interviewees who stated that they knew about the legislation (column 3), only one NGO manager and two governmental and municipal officials (column 4) could explain a little bit further what exactly they knew, revealing also the lack of clarity in the legislation. Besides the historical top-down process of creating and sharing information in Mozambique, there are no other reasons for the limited information on the legislation framework than those identified in Box 1 below:

Box 1: Reasons for the Limited Information on Legislation Framework

- There is no information flow from top relevant governmental authorities to the interested parties;
- No seminars were held at provincial or district levels to help the dissemination of the Guidelines for Rural Development;
- The Government Gazettes (BRs) are not accessible to all interested parties;
- No brochures were available at district level on legislation issues; and
- Communities do not regard consulting the regulations as a priority, since they still expect authorities to clarify issues for them.

It is not surprising in the general context of the Mozambican public sector (where high confidentiality characterizes the working system of the senior staff and who are more likely to have access to legal information) to find that they keep to themselves what they know (or at least should know). Important documents are accumulated in their offices whether waiting for a '*despacho*' (dispatch) or simply archiving them before prior circulation among the rest of the operating staff, who are expected to deal with the implementation of the regulations.

A journalist and editor of community development programs at the local community radio confirmed that he and his colleagues have never been shown any document on rural development or environmental legislation (M. Magaia, *pers. comm.* 19/09/2001). They, at Licungu Community Radio (RCL), produce and broadcast their programs

based on the daily experiences around the district (M. Magaia, *ibid*). Dissemination of policies cannot thus occur appropriately if there is very little knowledge about them by those who are charged with the communication of the development and extension services. Figure 5 underlines again the high level of ignorance on the legal framework for rural development and community participation among stakeholders in Mocuba.

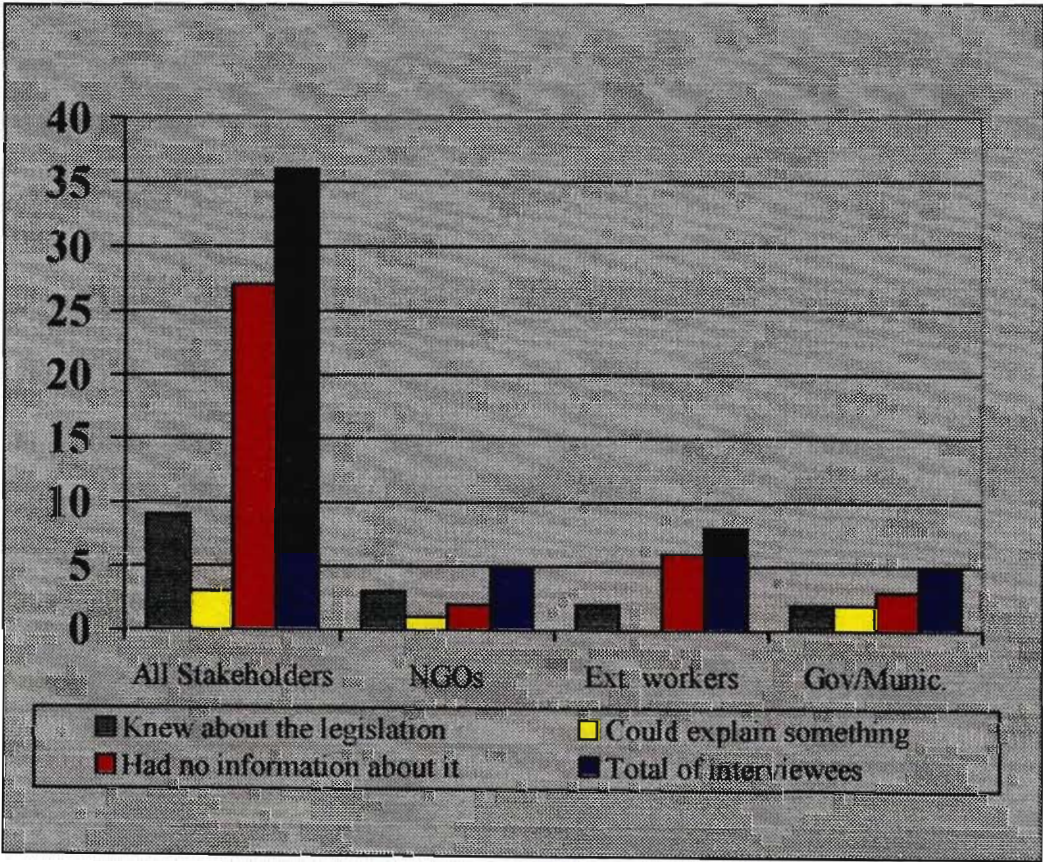


Figure 5: Knowledge Levels about Participatory Legislation

5. 4. 1. Perceptions and Interpretations of Community Participation

Confirming the assumptions already made (see Chapter 1, page 5), the previous section showed a gap between legislation on community participation and the actual knowledge of that legislation by NGOs and other development stakeholders in Mocuba. However, the knowledge gap on the legislation cannot necessarily be assumed to be caused by NGOs’ apathy towards community participation in local development projects.

Although different ways were found of interpreting the concept of community participation, there was also a common understanding of participatory methodologies as important tools for a transformational process of development from within the social forces of each specific community since “the true needs are those felt by the communities themselves” (An extension worker, *pers. comm.* 17/09/2001).

Regardless of the different perceptions and interpretations of participation, it is evident for NGOs that if communities are not involved, development will not be effectively achieved. For the government these different interpretations of participation, if combined adequately, are not a hindrance to rural development. Addressing the Parliament in Maputo (17/10/2001) on the current rural development activities, the Vice-Minister of Agriculture and Rural Development underlined that “there is no a single model; there is no infallible formula; it is the adequate combination of models which results in development” (<http://www.mozambique.mz/governo/masoko/informac.htm>: p 1 of 7) and reaffirmed community participation as “a fundamental requisite for the sustainability of rural development interventions” (*ibid*: p 2 of 7).

From the interviews conducted it can be said that the perceptions and interpretations given to “community participation” in the Mocuba development projects include those known words and expressions from the development thinking vocabulary which can mean different things to different people at different and specific time as summarized⁷ in Box 2. In effect, when NGOs managers, government officials and extension workers speak about development, their words are very often dominated by empty terminology created outside the meaningful context of the communities they work with and seek to develop (Kotze & Kotze, 1996).

⁷ Expressions summarized from interviews with NGOs managers, extension workers, community leaders and members of five areas where there are Agrarian Posts from which NGOs and communities exchange their ideas. The Posts are run by the DDADR under IBIS technical assistance.

Box 2: Expressions that Characterize Interpretations of Community Participation⁸

- *Involvement of the society in a certain activity at local level;*
- *Surveys of community needs by the communities through facilitation;*
- *Self organisation of communities to discuss their problems, identify needs and negotiate with formal authorities for appropriate solutions;*
- *Being involved in the process of political and economic development, including decision making in their area;*
- *The community collaborates with NGOs through extension services, to materialise projects both from the government and those planned locally;*
- *Means for achieving sustainability in development projects; and*
- *Process of bringing together different stakeholders to discuss, plan and implement actions in rural development*

If perceptions point to a common understanding of the importance of participatory mechanisms, the same does not apply to interpretative approaches from NGO to NGO. According to their own development objectives, specific target groups and mainly their very different organizational structures, NGOs interpret in different ways their commitments to community participation as well as use different techniques and methodologies experienced through their different backgrounds accumulated prior to their current involvement in the specific context of Mocuba. As noted by an ordinary community member who usually attends meetings with extension workers at Bive Agrarian Post:

“When a new *project*⁹ appears here we know that they will call everybody to participate. But we never know what will be our actual participation until the meetings are held and it is *decided*¹⁰ whether we are simply going to help them, whether we will be paid, whether there

⁸ The words in *italics* are those found close to the development thinking vocabulary.

⁹ The term project in this statement probably means NGO, as explained previously.

¹⁰ The word ‘decide’ here might mean ‘agree’. Most of rural people will say ‘*it was decided to contribute with our labor*’ instead of ‘*we have agreed to contribute with our labor*’. This peculiar synonymy can be attributed to the times of central planning during which everything was *decided* by top officials and always *agreed* by the masses

is a loan of some agrarian tools and seeds or they just want us to be aware of their project plans” (A community member; *pers. comm.* 17/09/2001).

The spectrum of *'hands waiting for a superior command or for donation'* still characterises the authorities' and local people's perception of development. The following statement from the municipal authorities can portray the still existing dilemma of donation: “for community participation they¹¹ donated the money. They identified a co-ordinator from within this district. The co-ordinator is subordinate to the Municipal Council “ (G. Opinae, *pers. comm.* 14/09/2001).

Even when people are organized in freely created local NGOs they “tend to see other NGOs (mainly foreign) as money providers, and by so doing they are distorting the actual spirit of participation” (J. Cassamo, *pers. comm.* 24/09/2001). For example, the president of ANAMocuba referred to community participation as follows:

“Community participation happens when one has a project in his hands, or when a project is designed and a request is formulated to an NGO and then the entity which accepts that project, very often, demands that there must be community participation”(Z. Manteiga, *pers. comm.*, 19/09/2001).

It is important to remember that NGOs, local communities and other stakeholders at all levels should work together to avoid unexpected '*NGOisation*'¹² of development efforts which would simply substitute the 'State-provider' with an 'NGO-provider' approach, and perpetuate the 'donor-recipient' vicious cycle (Moreira, 1996). The words of a community leader also deserve to be given substance (*pers. comm.* 17/09/2001) when referring that there is community participation, when a project is approved to be implemented in a certain place, and the beneficiaries participate not only to add a significant meaning to the outsiders' intervention, but also to understand

¹¹ Refers to an NGO.

¹² This term is used here to express fears of centralizing all development efforts in NGOs.

and feel that their involvement in the project makes things happen in a way that the project becomes part of the common life of that specific population.

Generally, community members (*pers. comm.* 17/09/2001) described participation in NGOs' development projects as a good idea. However, participation must be continuously improved, making it always present in all projects including those planned by governmental institutions, to guarantee that "real local problems are addressed with the appropriate measures like job creation projects, expansion of socio-economic infrastructures as well as local leadership empowerment on project management and environmental care" (J. Cassamo, *pers. comm.* 24/09/2001).

5. 4. 2. Experiences and Practices of Community Participation

As mentioned in the previous section, the gap in knowledge about legislation does not imply that NGOs are not thinking and practising any sort of community participation in local development projects. They have their experiences and ways of putting participation into practice.

a. From Seminars, Workshops and Training Courses

The success of NGOs' plans depends on their extension workers' experience. Although most of the extension workers did not attend a specific training course on participatory techniques and methods in community development, they came from a formal background in rural extension and they held experiential backgrounds of dealing with community sensitisation in the field.

At the Mocuba district level, when an NGO organizes a seminar or workshop on participatory approaches an invitation is sent to the DDADR and this means the extension workers are expected to attend the event and after that they are responsible for sharing information with others (H. Costa, *pers. comm.* 13/09/2001). Many technical reports reveal lack of structured and complete training on community participation. The extension workers themselves who testified that they need more

training in participatory methodologies proved this fact. The same evidence can be taken from the statistics of eleven courses on community participation in development that were run in different places around the country by CFA¹³ and UNICEF. The statistics show that from May 1998 to October 2000, the CFA and UNICEF community participation team trained more than 200 people from different organizations operating in the country, but none of the courses was held in Mocuba and only three participants (all from IBIS and working for DDADR)¹⁴ were from that district (UNICEF/CFA, 2000).

b. Participation by Consultation and Community Committees

Consulting has become an ingredient of all community development efforts. A UNICEF/CFA manual for training support in community participation in development addresses the concept of consulting as participation at a level in which “there is a two-way communication flow, but there is no certainty that the information gathered from the community will be used. In most cases it is an intervention of one-way importance, from the community to the outsiders” (UNICEF/CFA, 2000: 32).

In Mocuba, communities are organized in committees for specific purposes such as developing water, health, and roads. NGOs normally work with the existing committees or local activists where there is no specific committee for a proposed activity. Community members are integrated in the consulting process, before decisions are made, but yet top NGO managers and related governmental senior officials make the final decisions. The process of consulting for decision-making in the Mocuba local development projects is thus more a tokenism approach than real citizens’ power (Figure 1 in Chapter 1). The process seeks to include communities in the existing projects with very limited possibilities to change those projects, but mostly aiming to change people’s behaviour towards the projects. However, it must be recognized that decisions are difficult to make in large groups and action does not

¹³ CFA – Center for Agrarian Training and Rural Development is the only institution in the country, which provides a complete training course on community participation in development and has developed a respective training manual in partnership with UNICEF-Mozambique.

¹⁴ It must be remembered that IBIS is giving institutional support to the agrarian sector in Mocuba. So it is understandable to have technicians from that NGO working for the DDADR.

always come from agreement among all parties although it is important to engage in pluralistic debate prior to a decision being made (Chambers, 1998). One example from Mocuba experience deserves mention:

“Area chiefs, secretaries of the *bairros*¹⁵, and heads of families were involved in the process, as good key informants, for the selection of manual workers according to specific terms of reference (TOR) previously agreed between the funding NGO, the Municipal Council and community committees. Then we and the NGOs involved in the rehabilitation project were in good position to decide who to employ and where to start” (G. Opincae, *pers. comm.* 14/09/2001).

c. *Participation by the Community Provision of Physical Labour or by payment*

Communities also participate by offering their physical work with or without material incentives. Examples are, reopening of local roads, building of small bridges, gardening and planting of trees around the town, making bricks, building houses for the elders, widows and disabled, and ‘rotating cultivation’¹⁶ on behalf of these group of disadvantaged people (G. Opincae, *pers. comm.* 14/09/2001; Z. Manteiga, *pers. comm.* 19/09/2001; E. Yatitima & A. Sulvai, *pers. comm.* 18/09/2001). Plate 4 illustrates a public garden, rehabilitated by the locals under the co-ordination of the environmental organization (NANA) in Mocuba town. Until recently, namely late 2000, the garden was occasionally transformed into an informal market (NANA, 2001).

¹⁵A “*Bairro*” is a part of a city, town or village. In this dissertation the word *bairro* is used with that meaning instead of “district”, its correspondent word in English, to avoid any ambiguity from mistranslation. According to the Mozambican Administrative Division, the country is divided into Provinces, the Provinces into Districts, and these into Localities and Administrative Posts. Cities, towns or villages (which are subdivided in ‘bairros’) are parts of specific districts or Localities.

¹⁶ Rotating cultivation refers to an old system of helping people with disabilities or disadvantages in communities. It consists of organizing days for collective work by active people in the fields of those identified as weak families in terms of family labour force. The innovation in the process is that NGOs support private initiatives of those community members who involve themselves in that kind of community work. It must be underlined that this practice was almost disappearing from the communities’ life due to the strong influences of urban way of life.

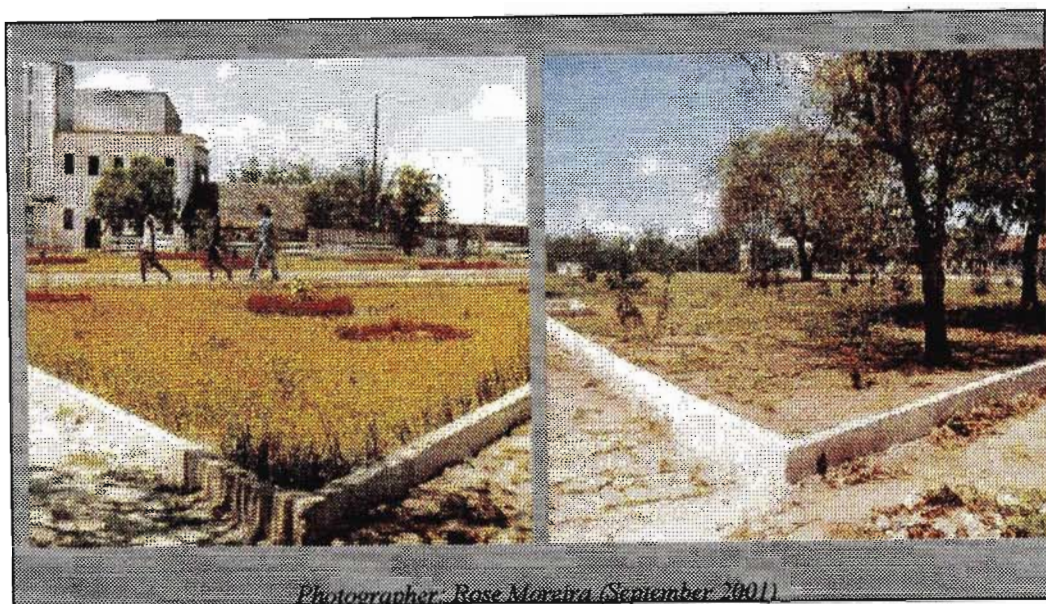


Plate 4: A View of a Public Garden Rehabilitated through Community Work

One of the advantages of participation is the sense of ownership it can develop in those who actually put their efforts into a project. Participation in the form of provision of physical work is a clear example: “Because they have participated in the rehabilitation, with their own labour, when they see any attempt to be constructed something strange in the garden area, they approach us and we together with the Municipal Council maintain the garden” (E.Yatitima & A. Sulvai, *pers. comm.* 18/09/2001).

On the other hand people also participate by contributing to the installation or maintenance of socio-economic facilities in their areas. For example, with support from donors the government used to provide water for free by opening boreholes and engaging technicians to maintain the water systems. With the current shifting to participatory approaches a DANIDA sponsored project resulted in the construction of five boreholes in the *bairros*. The beneficiaries of each borehole were previously contacted through the Municipal Organs and local key informants in order to agree on the appropriate place to locate the water facility (consultation), to identify local labour (consultation and physical work), and to fix the price for water consumption in order to guarantee its maintenance (consultation and payment). To manage each borehole a

community group was formed and one member was chosen to be responsible for collecting the money (*Consultation and Community Committees*). That money (1.000,00 MT/bucket or 10.000,00 MT/month/household)¹⁷ is further used for repairing any damaged pipes, and for payment of the technician (G. Opincae, *pers. comm.* 14/09/2001).

d. *Participation in the form of "Passing the Gift"*

Another practical experience found is known as 'passing the gift'. Through consultations with committees and leaders, community members are identified to receive seeds or animals for domestic production. The NGO involved also provides training and an extension worker to assist the communities. The beneficiaries commit themselves to return to the NGO an agreed quantity of seeds or number of animals after the first harvest or offspring (M. Magaia, *pers. comm.* 19/09/2001; Mangeira, 1999; Community committees, *pers. comm.* 15/09/2001).

The innovative part of it is that both the seeds and the animals to start the 'passing the gift' process are acquired from within the communities (Mangeira, 1999; Community committees, *pers. comm.* 15/09/2001; CLUSA, 2001). Only when there is no availability of seeds or animals in their communities does the NGO then search in neighbouring communities or districts for these commodities. A similar experience was found involving small amounts of money, also first borrowed by an NGO from local people to pass it to others. In this case the interest is re-channelled to the original lenders and the beneficiaries are encouraged to join that credit system (CLUSA, 2001).

e. *Participation by Planning Together*

Experiences of planning with the interested parties were also found. One of the major focus of IBIS, for example, is to decentralise the decision making process, and this

¹⁷ MT (Metical) is the Mozambican currency. The exchange rate was R 1.00 = 2.600,00 MT. The price of water above represents approximately R 0.4/bucket and R 4.00/month/household.

encompasses encouraging development stakeholders in the district to plan in a participatory manner those activities that will affect different groups. At the DDADR level from where co-ordination of rural development is expected, planning together is the practice. The extension workers, for example, meet on a weekly basis with their supervisor and representatives of NGOs that operate around the district to discuss ways of incorporating communities' opinions in the plans. Common tools used for planning with communities are the problem tree and the logical framework, which they simply call 'Participatory Planning Table' (TPP). These tools are used when a new problem needs to be identified, analysed and a feasible strategy found for its solution. The whole process includes five stages of a project cycle (Figure 6 below) and is known in the country as 'Develop Action by the Community' (ADECO) because it is the community who plans its projects (UNICEF/CFA, 2000). NGOs facilitate the workshops while sharing with the participants (from the communities) the different participatory techniques for problem identification, prioritising, defining of strategies and listing/ sequencing the activities that will lead to the expected results.

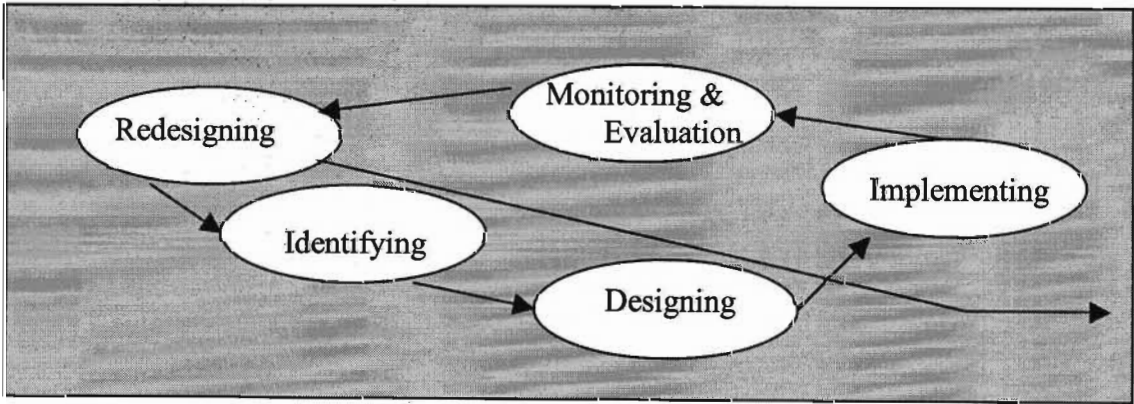


Figure 6: Five Stages of a Project Cycle

Source: UNICEF/CFA, 2000:51

5. 4. 3. Weaknesses and Limitations of Community Participation

Besides the fact that the legal framework for rural development and community participation is poorly known, some weaknesses and limitations were found to be hampering the better way forward for the community participation process in Mocuba local development projects. These are presented and explained in table 7, below:

Table 7: Weaknesses and Limitations of Community Participation

| Weaknesses and Limitations | Key issues |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| Power balance | Communities are afraid of exposing their ideas in the presence of government authorities. They fear to say something that can compromise them. Communities discuss issues of local interest from an inferior position. They are aware of appraisals and surveys that have not resulted in an appropriate response to the their problems because decision from the top prevails against local opinions. |
| Lack of commitment | Government authorities are not committed to the agreements with communities. Consultation only satisfies political agendas, to the detriment of participatory approaches. |
| Conflict | Conflict of interest among traditional leaders, government authorities, and political parties, hinders these groups in coming together to discuss community problems. |
| Donation economy | Communities see foreign NGOs as deliverers of money, in complete distortion of the aims of community participation. |
| High illiteracy | Communities' illiteracy is very high, with limited technical knowledge. The process of participation becomes slower. |
| Low training | Community workers are not well trained in participatory methodologies. |
| Language | Some extension workers are not from the areas in which they work and they face language barriers in their work. |
| Dishonest beneficiaries | Some beneficiaries of the 'pass the gift' system do not return the gifts, thus hindering continuity of the process. |
| Limited use of the local radio | NGOs do not fully use the local radio RCL to disseminate their plans and to receive feedback from the communities. |
| Immediateness of problem solving | Community members want to see immediate solutions. Some donors also want the results of projects in the short term, making NGOs very much project oriented. Thus |

| | |
|--|---|
| | development workers stick to very fixed plans, and do not consider the holistic process and social environment in which their projects are inserted. |
| Partial co-ordination | Co-ordination achieved with formal authorities still needs improvement among NGOs themselves and between them and the private sector and political parties. |
| No political issues allowed | NGOs are not allowed to tackle political issues although political actors are also important development stakeholders. |
| Traditional Monitoring and Evaluations | Monitoring and evaluations are conducted by consultants who are not very familiar with the local processes, and are working under terms of reference that were not designed according to the real project process. Communities are only involved in so far as they fill in the questionnaires and they are not aware of the need of monitoring the whole process by themselves (H. Costa, <i>pers. comm.</i> 13/09/2001). |

Most of the problems are linked to the low dissemination of policies. Neither the NGOs nor the communities or even the authorities are fully aware of their rights and obligations to promote local development. Looking at the number and scope of the issues raised in table 7, although not covering all the weaknesses and limitations to community participation process, one can note that most of the existing weaknesses can be remedied. What is lacking is a coherent and co-ordinated strategy towards it.

5. 5. NGOs and the Environment

If NGOs in general are a new phenomenon in Mozambique (see chapters 1 and 4), environmental NGOs are either more recent or very few exist (with most of them concentrated in Maputo). In Mocuba there is only one typical environmental NGO, the Nucleus of Friends of the Nature and Environment (NANA). The rest of the NGOs tackle environmental issues only occasionally (see table 8).

Table 8: Approaches to Environmental Issues

| Type of NGO | Issues Addressed | Frequency |
|---|--|---|
| Environmental (NANA) | Sensitisation for green behaviour and health care; promotion of participation. | Follows internal plans and engages in emergencies as needed or called for by other institutions. |
| Other (ANAMocuba, ADRA, CLUSA, IBIS) | Not defined but can include sensitisation to prevent uncontrolled fires, tree cutting and to encourage basic soil conservation techniques. | Occasionally, in response to an evident problem or when dealing with agricultural and livestock related activities. |

Confirming the little weight NGOs give to environmental considerations, the president of ANAMocuba was critical by arguing:

“Environmental issues are not always taken into account, because some projects, if not all are designed in accordance to the area of interest of each NGO. Only when what they want to undertake clearly touches environmental issues they give some considerations to the environment, but it is not something substantial” (Z. Manteiga, *pers. comm.* 19/09/2001).

However, IBIS-AISAM shows to be aware of the importance of greening development:

“Although AISAM is not exactly an environmental project, some of its activities can be considered pro-environmentalist: supervision of wood cuts, campaigns for the prevention of uncontrolled fires, demonstrations on the use of natural pesticides and repellent plants as well as soil conservation and improvement techniques, are some examples” (Mangeira, 1999).

IBIS commitment to environmental issues was also reported by extension workers who had some information on environmental issues including aspects of the legislation from a seminar on environmental law that was conducted by the IBIS assistant at DDADR. However, extension workers still need more information on linking participation, development, health issues and the environment.

NANA was involved with the Municipal Council in the Project for Rehabilitation of Quelimane and Mocuba (PRQM). NANA co-ordinated residents' participation for the construction of public gardens in the town (see plate 4, page 56) and a nursery (plate 5, below) to grow plants for further planting around the town as well as for weeds to be replaced in the erosion areas (G. Opinae, *pers. comm.* 14/09/2001). To address problems of sanitation, there were also public bathing facilities built in public squares and improved latrines built in a primary school with local people's labour (*ibid*).



Plate 5: A View of the Municipal Nursery

Governmental institutions dealing with environmental issues in Mozambique are as recent as environmental NGOs. The Ministry for the Co-ordination of Environmental

Action was created in 1994 and it has not yet established itself in all districts. Hence, even if there are environmental NGOs or environmental actions from other kind of NGOs one can hardly find a governmental institution to relate with at district or local level.

In the case of Mocuba, the District Directorate for the Co-ordination of Environmental Action (DDCOA) was opened only in January 2001. Relevant development stakeholders do not yet know about DDCOA or the directorate has not yet established contacts with them. The DDCOA report of the environmental week 2001, states that distinguished members of the government, municipality and the civil society at district level, attended the ceremonies (Confiar, 2001). The guests did not include any other NGO besides NANA and the Mozambican Women Organization (OMM), thus indicating a poor liaison with NGOs in general. On the other hand, the directorate personnel is composed of only the director and one technician who are also responsible for three neighbouring districts. No environmental publications were found at the directorate, not even those related to the environmental law.

5. 5. 1. Environmental Problems in Mocuba

The main environmental problems in Mozambique are soil erosion, high population growth, industrial pollution, environmentally damaging mining, emission of gases, the problematic urban environment, tsetse fly infection, threatened ecosystems, deforestation and bush fires, reduction of the fauna, degradation of water and soil resources, natural disasters (drought, floods and desertification) and landmines (<http://eads.org.za/Eis/repts/Mozambique/mozeis2.htm>; Resolution n° 5/99).

Most of the rural areas like the Mocuba district do not directly face all the problems mentioned above. Summarising from the interviews conducted and directly observed, the most critical environmental problems in Mocuba and their related impacts are presented in Table 9, below:

Table 9: The Critical Environmental Problems in Mocuba

| Problem | Impact on the Environment |
|--|--|
| Domestic cutting of trees | Deforestation, soil degradation, and erosion |
| Uncontrolled 'looting' of wood (industrial) | Deforestation |
| Uncontrolled bush fires | Deforestation, threat to wild species' habitat, threat to households, erosion. |
| Traditional fishing with poisoned leaves | Water pollution, threat to river species, threat to human health. |
| Overpopulation in the town | Pressure on soil and social services (overuse), insufficiency of sanitation facilities, littering. |
| Weak water facilities | Water borne diseases (diarrhoea, cholera) |
| Flooding | Erosion, displacement of human settlements and famine, dispersion of landmines |
| Landmines | Accessibility to fields threatened, health and life risk |
| Location of town on slopes and lack of restoration | Erosion of town roads, threat to buildings and residents |
| Weak management of litter | Irregular dumping, bad smelling and view, spreading of flies, water borne and skin diseases. |

As seen above, deforestation, erosion, inferior water quality, litter and health problems are prominent in Mocuba. The geographical situation of Mocuba capital town on steep slopes (see study area) makes the town vulnerable to erosion. The absence of road restoration for more than 30 years is an underlying factor of a problem that transcends the local level (G. Opincae, *pers. comm.* 14/09/2001). There are roads and avenues which are currently impassable (Plate 6 and 7, below). The only option of the municipality is to use the newly created nursery to grow and replant more trees to prevent erosion.

**Plates 6 and 7: A View of an Avenue, and a Road Affected by Erosion
in the Capital Town of Mocuba District**



Above: Avenue 8th of March not very far from the DDCOA is completely eroded.

Down: Che Gue Vara Rode, from the District Administration and near the residence of an NGO coordinator is also eroded and impassable



Photographer: Rose Moreira (September 2001)

5. 5. 2. Weaknesses and Limitations to Environmental Considerations

The environmental problems listed above cannot be solved or mitigated if some weaknesses and limitation are not identified and removed. Box 3, summarises the weaknesses and limitations to a better environmental approach in Mocuba:

Box 3: Weaknesses and Limitations to Environmental Considerations

- Low dissemination of the environmental laws;
- Low awareness from communities on environmental issues;
- Low collaboration of the DDCOA with the NGO sector;
- Limited staff at the DDCOA;
- DDCOA is under-equipped;
- DDCOA not concentrated in one specific district;
- Limited scope of NGOs' activities by authorization documents; and
- Environmental activism limited to a small local NGO;

5. 6. Conclusion

The principle of community participation stated in the official legislation related to rural development is not widely known by NGOs and other stakeholders at the Mocuba district level. Community participation is put into practice through daily experience and the general level is only one of tokenism with much talk of consultation and meetings with community committees. NGOs interact more with official institutions than among themselves and with political parties and private enterprises. The environment is generally regarded as being of less importance, because of authorisation limitations and low awareness. There is a need to train extension workers, NGOs and governmental senior staff as well as communities in participatory methodologies and environmental issues.

CHAPTER 6

Discussing the Findings

6. 1. Introduction

As stated in the introductory chapter, the aim of this study is to evaluate the implementation of the community participation principle as a critical contributing factor to environmentally oriented and sustainable development projects. Although the study was confined to a limited number of NGOs, development and environmental institutions from the government, as well as the communities in which those NGOs operate, the findings on their interpretations and practices of participation and their current knowledge about the legislation are substantial inputs for a critical discussion on how the principle of community participation stated in the official policy is truly practised at local levels.

Without reducing the importance of any finding previously referred to, and fully recognizing that “such description is more than a mere copy of the original phenomenon being studied... to place real life-events and phenomena into some kind of perspective” (Blanche & Kelly, 1999: 139), this chapter discusses in a clustered form only the major issues of concern emerging from the findings, namely: limited knowledge of rural development policy; weak synchronization between development related legislations; co-ordination among stakeholders; limited training on community participation; levels of community participation; and tangential environmental issues in development agendas.

6. 2. Limited Knowledge of Rural Development Policy

Knowledge about the legislation on the principle of community participation was found to be almost non-existent or at best it consists of very faint information. The legislation was approved as Guidelines for Rural Development and Mechanisms for Inter-Sector Co-ordination, in a Resolution issued by the Council of Ministers and published in the Government Gazette in February 1998 (BR, I Série, N° 7). However, after three years it

has remained a document basically known only by very top-level government officials rather than by those who directly deal with rural and community issues. What then, is behind the limited cognitive levels of policies by NGOs and other stakeholders? An analysis of policy formulation, dissemination and monitoring suggests some answers.

6. 2. 1. Dissemination of Policy

The task of disseminating the policy was left to INDER (*ibid.*), a small governmental institution headed by a president with a seat in the Council of Ministers but with no strong representation countrywide and which basically worked through projects in a typical NGO style. So, if at the top ministerial level there was a strong voice for rural development issues, the same could not be said for the provincial and district levels where things were expected to happen.

6. 2. 2. Monitoring of Policy Implementation

The monitoring task of INDER activities in implementing the formulated policy was again trusted only to high government members. The task was given to a high ranking working group composed of four Ministers¹ (*ibid.*) who were already busy and could hardly monitor in person those activities undertaken in remote rural areas even if they wished to do so. It must be stressed that when a competence is given personally to a Minister it does not necessarily mean that the same competence is given to a whole Ministry nor will it undertake the related activities. However, it seems to be much more practical to have monitoring groups at those levels where community participation is expected to occur. As noted by the World Bank Development Report, one of the main objectives of participation is “to use community and participant monitoring to improve implementation, transparency, and accountability” (World Bank, 2001:88). The option of a highly centrally based team instead of an inclusive local system to deal with issues of verifying the implementation of the formulated policy resulted in a very limited

¹ The four Ministers were those of State Administration, Finance and Planning, Co-ordination for Environmental Action, and Agriculture and Fisheries.

dissemination and poor knowledge of it by important rural development stakeholders such as NGOs.

According to the proposed institutional framework for the implementation of the guidelines, INDER should also “give technical support to interested NGOs” (Resolution 3/98, point 58) so that projects would not be overloaded in rural areas without following governmental priorities. The question that emerges here is how could NGOs be interested if the information was not delivered to them? And with such a gap in the dissemination of policies, the implementation of the community participation principle cannot easily occur in local development projects due to the consequent very limited knowledge about the legislation among development stakeholders.

6. 2. 3. Policy Formulation

The process of creating policies also plays an important role in the ways it can be disseminated, known, implemented or enforced. Decentralization and inclusiveness are very crucial aspects in decision-making processes for rural development. Decentralization allows decisions to be made or at least influenced by the exact territorial level that will be affected. Inclusiveness allows different social strata to participate in the creation of decisions. By allowing decisions to be made or influenced from appropriate levels and people, decentralization and inclusiveness also constitute a step forwards for better dissemination, clarity and implementation of policies. Arguments favouring decentralization for better addressing rural people’s needs underline that:

“Decentralization can be powerful for achieving development goals in ways that respond to the needs of local communities by assigning control rights to people who have the information and incentives to make decisions best suited to those needs, and who have the responsibility for the political and economic consequences of their decisions” (World Bank, 2001:106).

So, if “decentralization can make state institutions more responsive to poor people” (*ibid.*) the top-down process of creating, interpreting, disseminating, implementing, and

monitoring policies needs an urgent change towards decentralization and inclusiveness for the country to achieve tangible results from any policy of community participation.

6. 2. 4. Senior Staff Behaviour and Bureaucratic Burden

Senior governmental staff must also embark on self-oriented programs for behaviour change to better embrace the new development paradigm emerging in the country. These staff should be made to understand that legislation issued consist of public documents not to be archived but passed to relevant organizations and people accompanied by appropriate interpretation and guidelines for implementation. One way to reverse the existing situation can be to assess stakeholders' needs regarding rural development, then to supply answers from what the relevant laws, resolutions, decrees and other legal documents provide. Considering the scarcity of publications on legal issues in the country, officials from governmental institutions at relevant levels could perform this task since they at least have access to the Government Gazettes. But, first, far reaching changes must occur in the heavily bureaucratic public institutions.

6. 2. 5. Policy Implementation Strategy

Last but not least, for any policy to have a successful implementation, it needs to be supplemented by an operational strategy known and understood by relevant stakeholders. Nothing can be achieved if there are no clear strategies for implementation. So, even if the legislation on rural development were very well formulated, the limited and unclear strategies for their implementation, underlined by the diversity of the country and the economic imbalances among and within regions lead to the current limited knowledge about policies and as a consequence to a poor implementation.

Any model to reverse the current tendency on the knowledge of rural development policy and the community participation principle should consider the five points above as part of the same problem and hence as factors to consider when looking for the solution.

6. 3. Weak synchronization between Development Related Legislation

A policy must also fit into a general legal framework in which other legislation correlates and functions. If not, failures are likely to occur in the implementation, mostly by lack of synchronization, by contradiction, by unfeasibility, or simply by an unnoticed lapse of one of the correlated regulations. Looking at the legal framework for rural development in Mozambique, it is important to consider not only the guidelines for rural development (Regulation n° 3/98), but also the following among others (Box 4):

Box 4: Legislation² to consider for Rural Development and Environmental Issues

- The right to free association (Law n° 8/91),
- The National Environmental Policy (Resolution n° 5/95),
- The Legal Framework for Foreign NGOs (Decree n° 55/98),
- The Land Law (Law n° 19/97),
- The Environmental Law (Law n° 20/97),
- The Population Policy (Resolution n° 5/99), and
- The Municipalities laws (Laws n° 2/97, 7/97, 9/97, and 11/97).

All these policies are concerned with rural development and advocate the approach of participation by local communities in the affairs that affect their lives (Art. 24 of Land Law, Art. 4.b, 4.e, 7, 8 and 30 of the Environmental Law, Points 2.1, 2.2, 2.3.10 of the National Environmental Policy, Point 3.1.5 of the Population Policy). But there are some aspects that need to be balanced to harmonize these legal instruments in order that NGOs can play their role in rural development and contribute to the people's empowerment process from an endogenous community perspective (McKee, 1993). One example is the registrations and authorizations needed for NGOs. The Minister of Foreign Affairs and

² Besides the compilation of the Municipality Laws, with relevant comments, produced by Mr. Teodoro Waty, President of Maputo Municipal Assembly, as 'Autarquias Locais – Legislação Fundamental', our sources are directly from the respective *Boletins da República*, the Mozambican Government Gazettes.

Co-operation grants the authorization to a foreign NGO after consulting the tutelary central organ and verifying a number of requirements including the general proposal of activities the NGO intends to undertake in the country (Decree n° 55/98, Art. 5. 1 and 5. 2). Five interesting points emerge from this situation:

6. 3. 1. Pre-conceived Projects

The situation encourages top down planned projects and after authorization the NGO implements its pre-conceived activity program focussing on specific and agreed aspects. The real translations of policy into meaningful actions to promote a more 'Action – Assessment – Action (AAA) or simply, Triple A approach' (UNICEF/CFA, 2000) is cut off right at the beginning and the understanding of community participation as "part of a range of decentralized measures to create a real empowerment basis for communities to take care of their own destiny by involving themselves in the consultative planning process for the envisaged benefits" (J. Cassamo; *pers. comm.* 24/09/2001) is left out.

The situation also misplaces the role of NGOs as facilitators of participatory development and promotes people's laziness in planning. But it mustn't be forgotten that Mozambique lived under a political and socio-economic system in which everything had to emanate from relevant district, provincial or central authority. So, transition to a demand driven approach is not an easy process both for institutions and for community members.

6. 3. 2. Limited Flexibility

Even if the authorizations follow government plans from assessments of districts' needs in the country, they are normally granted after new problems have occurred or their social impacts have augmented. NGOs are supposed to undertake only those activities for which they have authorization and if the approved activity program does not include clear strategies for environmental considerations it can hardly include these issues later since it would mean a new kind of activity for which the NGO has not been authorized. The flexibility to change becomes limited under the authorization process needed for new projects and plans.

6. 3. 3. Non-Participatory Project Planning

Before the authorization there are no possibilities to work with communities and consequently the approved activity program to be implemented cannot result from a participatory planning process involving the NGO, the community, and other development stakeholders at local level. Pretty & Scoones voice their advice when they argue that “if development is to be sustainable, planning will have to begin with the people who know most about their own livelihood systems” (Pretty & Scoones, 1995: 157).

6. 3. 4. Short-term Approaches

Other aspects that deserve discussion are the duration and scope of the authorization for foreign NGOs. Although it can be extended, the authorization is only granted for two years. This limits foreign NGOs' projects to a short-term perspective, while community participation is a slow, complex and process-oriented approach with some results within the process but the significant achievements only tangible in the long-term (Ife, 1995). Due to the non-participatory planning caused by the legal barrier discussed above, when the need to adjust projects with local aspirations through involvement of communities in the implementation stage becomes evident and unavoidable, the period of two years becomes insufficient, and a new authorization might be required.

6. 3. 5. Prohibition of Political Issues

Still, according to the Decree n° 55/98, NGOs are not allowed to tackle political issues but political actors are also important stakeholders in development and they need to be involved in the community participation process (World Bank, 2001) whether they belong to the ruling power or not. This means that NGOs should also maintain good working relations with the existing political parties. Unless the prohibition on political action is in fact meant to prevent NGOs from being supportive to some political parties and consequently to channel financial support to other areas where parties have more

influence, the legislation should regard development as part of politics, in line with Swanepoel's radical observation:

“... the process of development is political. The taking of power and the resulting decision-making on the utilization of scarce resources are political acts. The efforts to separate development from politics in the past – as if politics would adulterate development – ... is simply impossible to realise. It can be said without fear of contradiction that development is part of local politics, ..., this political process of development should be supported rather than disclaimed, ignored or opposed”³ (Swanepoel, 2000:xvii).

Turning towards the main issue of synchronization of policies, it is significant to observe that, the legal barriers to all stakeholders in the participatory planning process, which persists in the regulations on NGOs do not match the approach of community participation covered in other regulations related to rural development (box 4). The Resolution n° 3/98 on the guidelines for rural development, which were approved eight months before the Decree n° 55/98 on foreign NGOs, is theoretically more progressive, but as shown it is basically unknown.

Recognizing the role of the State in promoting community participation, co-ordination of development support, decentralized decision making and realising that “innovative solutions adequate to local problems do not come if naturally there are bureaucratic barriers in the form of rigid standards and complex procedures” (Resolution n°. 3/98, point 5.b.), the guidelines for rural development states clearly: “the main author of rural development is the rural population; it is up to them the option and permanent adjustment of approaches and models, of community level and within the civil society” (*ibid.*, point 12.a.). In contrast NGOs can hardly decide together with the communities on the suitability and priority of their activities, because the decision on where to undertake which NGO activity is still neither an NGOs' nor a community competence but a top authorities' competence (Decree n° 55/98). Once again, Pretty & Scoones can point the way forwards when supporting a development episteme that says “all actors, and

³ Underlined by the researcher to show the key point.

particularly those stakeholders with a direct social or economic involvement and interest, have a different perspective on what is a problem and what constitutes improvement in rural systems" (Pretty & Scoones, 1995:157).

6. 4. Co-ordination among Stakeholders

The main development stakeholders were identified as NGOs, District Administration, the Municipal Council, and the communities. The private sector and political parties must also be regarded as potential groups that can influence the course of local development. Of greater importance than their simple identification is their participation in local development. That participation cannot be fruitful if wider co-ordination is not achieved among all stakeholders and within specific groups. As argued by Theron & Barnard, "the comprehensive mobilization of the population requires support from all the local structures (NGOs, private sector, peasants' movements) in order to foster self-development" (Theron & Barnard, 1997:52).

Research findings showed good co-ordination between the NGO sector as a whole and the official institutions, especially those related to rural development. The weak co-ordination between NGOs and the newly established District Directorate for the Co-ordination of Environmental Action is an exception. This confirms that "in the last two to three years some forms of informal and occasional relationships have started to grow between public services and NGOs ..., particularly at provincial level" (Gemo⁴ & Rivera, 2001:3, on line). To Gemo and Rivera's findings can be added the formal and coordinated links found occurring in Mocuba.

However, the relative good co-ordination achieved with government, municipal authorities and community committees still needs to be worked out among NGOs themselves. NGOs need to revisit their relationship with the private sector as also noted by Gemo & Rivera (ibid): "the same cannot be said in relation to private enterprises involved in commodity extension". In the light of interacting with distinct groups of stakeholders political parties must also be taken into the process. Although it must be

⁴ Hélder Gemo is Director of the Directorate of National Rural Extension (DNER) in the MADER.

recognized that “sometimes NGOs reflect the political system in which they thrive, or local interest groups, and thus might not serve the interests of poor people as well as they might” (World Bank, 2001:111) the legal barrier to tackle political issues discussed above should not in itself hinder NGOs in co-operating with political parties for community development purposes (Ife, 1995; De Beer & Swanepoel, 1998). If it does occur at Mocuba level, a critical analysis of the bottleneck involving government officials, NGOs, and the political parties existing in the district is urgently needed. This will help to reveal and solve any misunderstandings deriving from limited knowledge of rural development requirements or misinterpretation of the overall legal provisions and competences of each stakeholder.

Real community participation is not an arithmetic sum of packages from various agents working in a particular geographical area but rather it can come from an integrated combination of efforts from all local and external stakeholders. And again, no integrated combination of efforts will be achieved if co-ordination is not appropriately worked out at all levels: NGOs with NGOs, NGOs with government institutions, NGOs with communities, NGOs with private sector, NGOs with political parties, and among all stakeholders.

The simple change in the labels used for extension or community workers can influence the attitudes of local people towards this or that project. Ways should be found to unify professional designations of those who work at the community level. Co-ordination must also be translated into a common language for the same goals. Hitherto, co-ordination achieved resulted from the role of the DDADR and the presence within it of an NGO assistant whose tasks are among others those of enhancing decentralisation procedures and dialogue between the directorate and its clients *vis-à-vis* the normally closed and bureaucratic working system that characterises the public sector. NGOs must also seek more close ties with other stakeholders so that information sharing can help to mitigate some weaknesses such as their poor knowledge on legislation.

Mocuba has the privilege of having the Licungu Community Radio (RCL), in a country where most of the mass media are situated in its capital (Maputo) and broadcast mainly urban-centric news and with very weak coverage in rural areas. However, this facility for

communication, education, and information sharing which could also serve as a focus for stakeholders' co-ordination is underused. In planning their programs, NGOs should start considering the existing local media facilities as potential linking mechanism with other stakeholders and target groups. Broadcasting relevant NGO and community development issues should be understood as necessary activities to achieve the expected project objectives and enhance co-ordination by knowing and letting know who is doing what and which avenues are available for rural partnerships.

6. 5. Limited Training on Community Participation Methodologies

NGOs cannot succeed with their plans if the knowledge of their staff concerning community participation methodologies is limited as it was found. If planning needs specific skills, participatory planning and the whole participatory development needs more training, flexibility and experience. Most of the skills to work with communities in a participatory manner do not come from formal training, which the extension workers obviously have. NGOs need to invest more in new and regularly updated training of their personnel, not only those directly working at ground level with communities but also the NGO managers, and senior officials from related institutions (De Beer & Swanepoel, 1998) so that they can be able to understand the need for equipment and time that will eventually be required by their staff when applying participatory methodologies. As expressed by De Beer & Swanepoel, borrowing and commenting Sheng's (1997) thoughts:

“Training that focuses only on the community without also training project staff can raise expectations within that community which may not be met due to opposition from the project staff⁵. Likewise, a lack of involvement by senior officials results in their not fully understanding the operational needs of implementing a community development approach” (De Beer & Swanepoel, 1998:90)

⁵ The underlined passage is from Sheng. It appears between inverted commas in the original De Beer & Swanepoel text.

But if NGOs need to train the human resources, there must be training courses available, affordable, and with the quality to answer the imperatives of rural development in a holistic manner, paying attention to legal frameworks and the environment. This means that the institutions and independent consultants who can provide training on rural development and specifically on community participation must also co-operate with the NGOs to find out together the exact training needs and ways of maximizing the funds available. The training needs assessment must be done very carefully so that the right trainers can train the right personnel, for the right purpose at the right time. Following the recognition that “participation is both a means and an end in the process of development” (Theron & Barnard, 1997:39) for social and structural transformation, as well as “a social learning process ... through which participants in the development process learn to be effective, learn to be efficient, and learn to expand” (*ibid.*) the required training courses should be conducted under real conditions in an area where a project is to be planned and implemented. This will also give an advantageous opportunity for local communities to gain technical knowledge from their involvement, while making their own skills available to the development process as suggested by Dudley, when he argued: “The advantages of using existing skills lies not simply in the use of those skills but in the opportunity to exploit the complex network of existing and understood relationships within the rest of the community” (Dudley, 1993:41). So, with improved co-ordination among NGOs and other stakeholders, as suggested previously it can be possible to plan and run training sessions for all those who need it and yet at the same time save costs.

6. 6. Levels of Community Participation

Participation levels are commonly measured from very low or non-participation levels (manipulation and therapy) to high or citizens power levels (partnership, decision-making and self management), as shown in the introductory chapter (Figure 1, page 4). According to the research findings stakeholders generally apply community participation in local development projects in Mocuba at a satisfactory level with a tokenism tendency.

This situation can be attributed to the fact that both the participatory development approach and the NGO movement, although established long ago in other parts of the

world is still new in Mozambique and in the process of maturing (www.linkong.org). Also, it mustn't be forgotten that the country experienced both in the colonial era and practically until the first half of the 1990s political and economic systems which discouraged decentralized decision-making and pluralistic participation. The country as a whole is facing a unique transition process of which the transformation from a centralized State to a decentralized and participatory system is only one among other relevant and running transitional processes such as from war to reconstruction and resettlement, from a single party system to a plural party system, from a centralized to a market economy (<http://easd.org.za/Eis/repts/Mozambique/mozeis2.htm>). In most cases learning from own experiences can be the only way forward, and putting people together becomes a complicated task especially if the agents of change are lacking the necessary methodological skills and knowledge about rural development legislation framework and consequently interpret community participation in different ways, as discussed above.

Whatever development intervention takes place local people expect positive outcomes in terms of change in their communities and their environment. As Mr. Manteiga pointed out, stressing the differences in methods and techniques of implementing community participation by NGOs projects in Mocuba, "the impact of our local development projects will also depend on the way people give their contribution and the clarity of the reasons why they are invited to participate" (Z. Manteiga, *pers. comm.*, 19/09/2001). Until clarity on 'what kind of participation?', 'in which phases?', 'whose participation?', 'what extent or level of participation?' and 'why participation?' is achieved, interpretations of participation will differ even within the same NGO (UNICEF/CFA, 2000) but whatever interpretation made should not avoid the following questions: 'whose categories and concepts?', 'whose values and criteria?', 'whose preferences and priorities?', 'whose analysis and planning?', 'whose action?', and 'whose monitoring and evaluation?', or simply "whose reality counts?" (Chambers, 1998:110).

As previously observed the legal framework under which NGOs are operating does not help them to bring about participation from an endogenous model although this is suggested by rural development regulations. Under the prevailing gap, community participation becomes only a recently incorporated tool into an existing development agenda more to make existing projects work than to initiate these projects with the

people. Consultation seems to be used more for remedying errors in the still prevailing top-down planning *modus operandi* than to minimize these errors by paying attention to the community felt and prioritised needs. Efforts from NGOs to make community participation happen cannot bring positive results if there are no changes in the system as a whole. To enhance community participation levels, the problem should be viewed in its structural and systemic perspectives.

6. 7. Tangential Environmental Issues in Development Agenda

As argued by Ife (1995:166), “the environment is a critical component of community, and needs to be incorporated in any integrated approach to community development”. Putting the environment into the participatory development agenda is also in accordance with the Mozambican national environmental policy (NEP) which declares in its introduction that it “represents the instrument through which the government recognizes in a clear and unmistakeable the interdependence between development and environment” (Resolution n° 5/95). It is also acknowledged worldwide that development initiatives to meet social and economic sustainability must pay attention to the environmental implications. In this regard development and the environment stand as two sides of the same coin as put by the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development “...development and environmental protection are interdependent and indivisible” (Quoted in Hope and Timmel, 1999, Book 4:28). So, NGOs as development actors should also take the role of environmental activists through their projects.

However, in Mocuba there is only one NGO specifically focussed on environmental issues, the Nucleus of Friends of the Nature and Environment (NANA), which is not in a position to deal well with environmental problems in the district. Like other local NGOs operating in the district, NANA has no funds and most of its members are young secondary school students with only a vague theoretical knowledge on environmental issues despite their efforts to co-operate with other local authorities for community sensitisation. Considering the good will of NANA members, their experience with the Municipal Council and their good relations with the Directorate for Co-ordination of Environmental Action, NANA is an example for other NGOs to start new approaches

towards environmental issues, by embarking in more coordinated and inclusive development efforts in the district.

Other development NGOs in Mocuba tangentially and sporadically address the question of the environment. They tackle environmental issues only occasionally, as shown in the findings chapter (table 8, page 61), for an evident problem but not with thoroughness. It must be remembered that NGOs start operating in the district after an authorization is given, and this limits them to work on what was agreed at national, provincial and district levels (Law n° 8/91 and Decree n.° 55/98). If one takes into the consideration that environmental issues only started to be regarded as critical to sustainable development very recently, it is not hard to understand why NGOs in general do not fully address environmental issues through local development projects. On the one hand the regulations on NGOs, rural development and the environment are confusing. On the other hand the environmental movement is weak and the communities' understanding of environmental issues is still very limited so that to link these issues with their development aspirations is difficult.

But for an NGO to address problems in the environment, it does not necessarily need to be purely an environmental NGO but it must see environmental conservation as an inseparable ingredient of sustainable development and thus put the environment into any participatory agenda that is expected to bring development. Experiences like those of IBIS-AISAM of tackling environmental issues through their regular planned activities are very important but must be followed by other NGOs in a co-ordinated manner. The environment must be understood as an issue of concern for all individuals and organizations. The legal framework for approaching this issue although somewhat dispersed and unclear is provided by different laws, regulations, and decrees issued by relevant authorities. What is missing is the ability to turn these ideas into actions, to begin with the existing local and non-local institutions at the relevant level, and to remove any inconvenient bureaucratic procedure or legal hindrance to incorporating environmental issues in projects already running.

NGOs will hardly shift their projects to be green oriented if there is no opening for doing so from the relevant authorities, and if the NGOs themselves are not encouraged to accept

that every intervention has a socio-economic and environmental implication occurring right at the level it was initiated. The newly established District Directorate for the Co-ordination of Environmental Action (DDCOA) needs to enhance its co-operation with development stakeholders. The directorate must lobby to be better known by NGOs so that a climate for exchange of information is established. The relative importance given to the question of the environment, in this case both from NGOs and the government, can also be judged by amount of allocation to infrastructural and human resources to this vital sector of sustainable development. It is important to establish environmental divisions or assistants in NGOs, equipping them with the necessary expertise. This approach could seem like wishing for a utopia if we observe the situation even in the DDCOA where there are only two technicians working including the director, the equipment is poor or non-existent and literature on environmental issues is scarce. But establishing environmental divisions in NGOs and other development institutions should be taken as a warning that there are many issues to be readdressed if the environment and development are to be managed together effectively.

The current environmental problems to be looked at in Mocuba were summarised in the findings chapter (table 9, page 64). The governmental and municipal authorities will need more contribution from the NGO sector to mitigate the impact of these problems. For example, to overcome problems of overpopulation in the *bairros* an expansion area was identified by the municipality, with 600m² for each household, to relocate people (G. Opinae, *pers. comm.* 14/09/2001) but more sensitisation must be done and social facilities should be built in that area before resettlement begins. With concerted actions and a more inclusive negotiation process NGOs can channel their efforts and resources to achieve a better and more participatory relocation process following the people-driven development examples of 'Ecitate yo'khopela'⁶ and 'Mandela Village'⁷ of prioritising infra-structural needs (school, hospital, shops, access roads, water, electricity, gardens, sport field) involving the people themselves in the building of these facilities as well as their houses (Mesquita & Azevedo, 2000, *video document*; Hagg, 1996).

⁶ Ecitate yo'khopela (town in the continent) is a settlement in Lumbo district, Nampula province, established by relocated people from Ilha de Moçambique (Mozambique Island).

⁷ Mandela Village, in South Africa, is a result of an informal settlement originally created by squatters in 1991 some kilometers away from Pretoria.

Again, training is needed for those who will undertake the task of improving communities' awareness of the importance of the environment in such a way that communities themselves are responsible for using and protecting their resources (Ife, 1995). Since NGOs are those development stakeholders that are in a critical position to promote development at community level with less bias, they should be also the first target group for training in the basics on the dichotomy between 'environment and development' looking at very typical examples from the local perspective. In this sense, the training needs assessment referred to above must include environmental issues. The existing training institutions on rural development and independent consultants must also rework their course syllables in order to incorporate modules on the environment.

CHAPTER 7

Conclusions and Recommendations

7. 1. Introduction

This dissertation analysed NGOs' implementation of the community participation principle as a critical ingredient in all phases of local development projects and also paid attention to the way environmental considerations are tackled by NGOs in their local development projects. With the district of Mocuba as an example, this study discussed several local development and environmental issues that need to be reassessed by NGOs and other relevant stakeholders.

If the findings and discussion presented are taken as a microcosm of the country's development reality, the approach of this study could be applicable to the wider perspective of current rural development in Mozambique. The following are concluding remarks and recommendations emerging from the present study.

7. 2. Concluding Remarks

Community participation is a crucial alternative to top down approaches of development projects both for socio-economic development and better environmental results at local levels. However, no appropriate socio-economic development and environmental awareness will be achieved and maintained if the stakeholders involved in the process are not well informed about their roles and responsibilities.

In this regard, it is critical to put into practice what Brokensha and Hodge thought in 1969 about community development: "...the educational process by which people change themselves and their behaviour, and acquire new skills and confidence through working in cooperation ..." (De Beer, 1997:26, quoting Brokensha and Hodge, 1969:48). The educational component is very important in development processes and, in fact, the emphasis for an appropriate implementation of community participation both by NGOs and other relevant stakeholders must be on a

horizontal way of exchanging knowledge and experience whether gained from a government regulatory framework or from other sources of thought.

In line with the need for co-operation and exchange of knowledge, NGOs need to embark on a lobbying process for a serious redefinition of the role that private enterprises play in local development. In the case of Mocuba, which has potentialities in a timber industry but timber is harvested in an uncontrolled manner with heavy damage to the environment and with no relevant income amelioration for local communities, the co-operation of private sector needs urgently to be gained to increase benefits to the district from the industry's potentialities and reverse worries already recognised by the then Mocuba district administrator, when said: "We are very worried about this uncontrolled exploitation of timber and particularly of our rare hardwoods which are so valuable on the foreign market" (<http://wildnetafrica.co.za/bushcraft/dailynews/1999archive>).

As stated in the previous chapters, participation must be understood as a means and an end of development in an inclusive way that makes the whole community learn and benefit from the interventions of all stakeholders and prevent actions found to be detrimental to their present and future surroundings.

7. 3. Recommendations

Fully agreeing that no one can teach community participation better than the circumstances in which it occurs (Pretty and Scoones, 1997; De Beer, 1997), and in line with the conceptual framework presented in chapter 1, in this study there emerged several issues which need to be readdressed in the manner in which rural development and environmental policies are formulated, issued, disseminated, implemented and monitored from the national to the local level where NGOs, communities and other relevant stakeholders are practising or must practice participatory development. These issues constitute the basis for the recommendations summarised in Table 10, below:

Table 10: Approaches for Reassessing Rural Development Issues

| Stakeholder | Issues to Readdress | Recommended Approaches |
|---|--|--|
| National Level (Ministries) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policy formulation • Issuing and Disseminating policy • Monitoring policy implementation • NGOs registration/ authorization | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Broaden consultation to local levels; give feedback • Issue and distribute to relevant interested parts using appropriate media for local levels • Broaden and decentralise the process to local levels involving NGOs, communities and all stakeholders; • Explicit political issues not to be tackled; expand durations for at least 5 years; allow planning with communities before project approval; allow flexibility for new issues; decentralise |
| Provincial and District Level (Directorates) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policy interpretation and Dissemination • Monitoring | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work with NGOs and other stakeholders to find local ways for dissemination; train some officials on basic notions of rural development policies and participatory methodologies; change bureaucratic behaviours • Involve relevant stakeholders at the appropriate level; be part of the process and not simply a head |
| NGOs | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Project planning • Knowledge about regulations • Participatory methodologies • Environmental considerations | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lobby with government authorities to change the planning process to be closer to communities • Look for information at each relevant directorate; contact LINK or FONGZA; share information • Share experiences with other NGOs, train staff members and community activists; involve relevant authorities in the training • Introduce environmental unities in NGOs structures; work with existing environmental NGOs and the relevant Directorates; put the environment into local development projects' agenda |

In essence this study has shown that both NGOs and the relevant governmental or municipal authorities need a critical change themselves to remove the gap between the community participation principle in the theory as laid down by national or organizational policies and the real practice of participation. But community development must go beyond the academic, political and practitioner elite where it still finds itself "...in an Alice in Wonderland world where words still mean what you want them to mean" (De Beer, 1997:23 quoting Smith, 1979:58). To avoid this 'Alice in Wonderland world' stakeholders must work together, embracing errors as learning opportunities, must plan with the people as a tribute to the people's right to plan their future; and must link knowledge building with action and accept that it is also part of the learning process that characterises contemporary development (De Beer, 1997; Lane, 1997). That is why the researcher believes that perhaps the most valid recommendation has already been suggested by James Yen's 1920 credo to guide the Rural Reconstruction Movement in China. After 80 years of development changes all over the world, it still sounds commendable not only to recite that credo, but also to put it into action in the context of Mozambican rural development:

"Go to the people
Live among the people
Learn from the people
Plan with the people
Work with the people
Start with what people know
Build on what the people have
Teach by showing; learn by doing
Not a showcase but a pattern
Not odds and ends but a system
Not a piecemeal but an integrated approach
Not to conform but to transform
Not relief but release"
(Quoted in Westmore and Theron, 1997:101)

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APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRES

Some of the questions asked to different stakeholders were the same. The language and the way in which the questions were asked changed from respondent to respondent, as dictated by the perceived situation. It was important, however, to develop primary questions for each focus group or key informant. The general questionnaires are inserted below:

A. QUESTIONS TO BE ASKED TO NGOs TOP MANAGERS:

1. The government has defined a policy stressing the “principle of community participation” as a key factor for rural development in Mozambique. Does your organization have any information about that policy?

| Yes | No |
|-----|----|
| | |

- 1.1. If your organization has some information about the “principle of community participation” as part of government policy, what exactly is that information?

- 1.2. How clear do you think is the principle of community participation for your organization?

| Very clear | Not very Clear | Clear | Not Clear |
|------------|----------------|-------|-----------|
| | | | |

1.3. If your organization does not have any information about the “principle of community participation” as part of government policy, what do you think are the reasons for that lack of information?

2. Besides the government definition of the “principle of community participation” as a key factor in development projects, do you have any information about community participation in general development thinking? If yes, can you explain what theories you know about community participation?

| Yes | No |
|-----|----|
| | |

3. What does community participation mean to your organization?

4. Why does your organization need community participation for local development?

5. How would you classify your personnel experience with participatory methodologies?

| Very good | Good | Need more practice | Non-existent |
|-----------|------|--------------------|--------------|
| | | | |

6. How would you classify your personnel training in participatory methods and techniques?

| Very good | Good | Need more training | Inexistent |
|-----------|------|--------------------|------------|
| | | | |

7. What problems does your organization encounter when implementing community participation? (Consider phases of beginning and maintaining people's involvement) _____

8. How do you solve the problems encountered in implementing community participation? _____

9. Would you mention any internal weakness or limitation of your organization to implement fully community participation? _____

10. The Ministry for Co-ordination of Environmental Affairs (MICOA) also refers to community participation in local development projects. Does your organization have any information about the environmental regulations regarding local development projects?

| Yes | No |
|-----|----|
| | |

10.1. If yes what information exactly does your organization have? _____

10.2. How did your organization get that information? _____

10.3. What does the word “environment” mean to you?

| |
|--|
| |
| |

10.4. How does your organization link community participation to environmental issues in specific projects?

| |
|--|
| |
| |

10.5. What are the common environmental issues that you deal with in your projects?

| |
|--|
| |
|--|

10.6. How do you see the communities’ environmental awareness through your specific project areas?

| High awareness | Not very high awareness | Adequate awareness | No awareness |
|----------------|-------------------------|--------------------|--------------|
| | | | |

10.7. Do you believe that your organization could help communities to improve their environmental awareness?

| Yes | No |
|-----|----|
| | |

10.8. How do you think your organization could improve communities’ environmental awareness?

| |
|--|
| |
|--|

11. How would you classify your organization’s interaction with other local development stakeholders in implementing community participation?

| | Coordinated actions | No co-ordination | No interaction |
|-------------------|---------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Other NGOs | | | |
| Communities | | | |
| Government | | | |
| Municipality | | | |
| Political Parties | | | |
| Private sector | | | |
| Local leaders | | | |
| Other | | | |

12. Which problems does your organization commonly have with each specific stakeholder in implementing community participation? How could you mitigate these problems?

| | Problem | Mitigation |
|-------------------|---------|------------|
| Other NGOs | | |
| Communities | | |
| Government | | |
| Municipality | | |
| Political Parties | | |
| Private sector | | |
| Local leaders | | |
| Other | | |

13. Could you list some of your organizational needs for an appropriate implementation of community participation in your projects?

14. How would you measure willingness to participate in local development by other stakeholders and specific community groups?

| | Very high | High | Satisfactory | Low | No will |
|-------------------|-----------|------|--------------|-----|---------|
| Other NGOs | | | | | |
| Communities | | | | | |
| Government | | | | | |
| Municipality | | | | | |
| Political Parties | | | | | |
| Private sector | | | | | |
| Local leaders | | | | | |
| Women | | | | | |
| Men | | | | | |
| Youth | | | | | |
| Adults | | | | | |
| Literate people | | | | | |
| Illiterate people | | | | | |

15. Does your organization use any sort of incentives for community participation?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
| | |

15.1. If yes what kind of incentive?

15.2. If no why?

16. How does your organization deal with the problem of volunteer work versus paid work in terms of community participation in your projects?

17. What would you consider important achievements in local community participation in this area (some physical and historical milestones)?

18. How do you foresee the future of community participation in local development projects?

19. Would you like to add any more ideas on what we have discussed?

Thank you very much, your ideas are very valuable and it was a pleasure to talk to you. Do you mind if I come back for further clarification on the issues you mentioned?

B. QUESTIONS TO BE ASKED TO ACTIVISTS AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT WORKERS ¹

1. The government has defined a policy stressing the “principle of community participation” as a key factor for rural development in Mozambique. Do you have any information about that policy?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
| | |

1.1. If you have some information about the “principle of community participation” as part of government policy, what exactly is that information?

1.2. How clear do you think is the principle of community participation?

| | | | |
|------------|----------------|-------|-----------|
| Very clear | Not very Clear | Clear | Not Clear |
| | | | |

1.3. If you do not have any information about the “principle of community participation” as part of government policy, what do you think are the reasons for that lack of information?

2. Besides the government definition of the “principle of community participation” as a key factor in development projects, do you have any information about

¹ Also for community leaders, community committees (with a very small difference in the way of putting the questions)

community participation in general development thinking? If yes, can you explain what theories you know about community participation?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
| | |

3. What does community participation mean to you as an individual working for rural development? _____

4. Why do you think community participation is needed?

5. How would you classify your experience with participatory methodologies?

| | | | |
|-----------|------|--------------------|--------------|
| Very good | Good | Need more practice | Non-existent |
| | | | |

6. Have you ever had any training in community participation?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
| | |

7. If yes, how would you classify your training in participatory methods and techniques?

| | | | |
|-----------|------|--------------------|------------|
| Very good | Good | Need more training | Inexistent |
| | | | |

8. What problems do you encounter when working with communities? (Consider phases of beginning and maintaining peoples involvement)

9. How do you solve the problems encountered in working with communities?

10. Would you mention any personal weakness or limitation to fully implementing community participation? _____

11. The Ministry for Co-ordination of Environmental Affairs (MICOA) also refers to community participation in local development projects. Do you have any information about the environmental regulations regarding local development projects?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
| | |

11.1. If yes what information exactly do you have?

11.2. How did you get that information? _____

12. What does “environment” mean to you? _____

13. How do you link community participation to environmental issues in your practical work with communities? _____

14. What do you think are the common environmental issues in the community in which you work? _____

15. How do you see the communities' environmental awareness in the community in which you work?

| High awareness | Not very high awareness | Adequate awareness | No awareness |
|----------------|-------------------------|--------------------|--------------|
| | | | |

16. How could you personally improve communities' environmental awareness?

17. How would you classify your interaction with other local development stakeholders in implementing community participation?

| | Co-ordinated actions | No co-ordination | No interaction |
|-------------------|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Other NGOs | | | |
| Communities | | | |
| Government | | | |
| Municipality | | | |
| Political Parties | | | |
| Private sector | | | |
| Local leaders | | | |
| Other | | | |

18. Which problems do you commonly have with each specific stakeholder in implementing community participation? How could you mitigate these problems?

| | Problem | Mitigation |
|-------------------|---------|------------|
| Other NGOs | | |
| Communities | | |
| Government | | |
| Municipality | | |
| Political Parties | | |
| Private sector | | |
| Local leaders | | |
| Other | | |

19. Could you list some of your needs for an appropriate implementation of community participation in the community you work?

20. How would you measure willingness to participate in local development by other stakeholders and specific community groups?

| | Very high | High | Satisfactory | Low | No will |
|-------------------|-----------|------|--------------|-----|---------|
| Other NGOs | | | | | |
| Communities | | | | | |
| Government | | | | | |
| Municipality | | | | | |
| Political Parties | | | | | |
| Private sector | | | | | |
| Local leaders | | | | | |
| Women | | | | | |
| Men | | | | | |
| Youth | | | | | |

| | | | | | |
|-------------------|--|--|--|--|--|
| Adults | | | | | |
| Literate people | | | | | |
| Illiterate people | | | | | |

21. What do you think about the problem of volunteer work versus paid work in terms of community participation?

22. How do you really involve people in local development projects?

23. In which phases of the project cycle do you involve people in local development projects?

| | Phases of the project cycle | | | | |
|---------------|-----------------------------|-----------|----------------|------------|------------|
| | Identification | Designing | Implementation | Monitoring | Evaluation |
| Communities | | | | | |
| Government | | | | | |
| Municipality | | | | | |
| Local leaders | | | | | |

24. What types of participation do you know? _____

25. What level of participation does the NGO and project you work in apply?

| | LEVEL OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION | | | | | | | |
|----------|----------------------------------|---------|-----------|------------------------|-----------|-------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------|
| | Manipulation | Therapy | Informing | Consultation/consensus | Placation | Partnership/Association | Delegated power | Citizen control/self management |
| NGO1 | | | | | | | | |
| Project1 | | | | | | | | |

26. What are the most important achievements in local community participation in the area you work (some physical and historical milestones)?

27. How do you foresee the future of community participation in local development projects?

28. Would you like to add any more ideas on what we have discussed?

Thank you very much, your ideas are very valuable and it was a pleasure to talk to you. Do you mind if I come back for further clarification on the issues you mentioned?

C. QUESTIONS TO BE ADDED FOR GOVERNMENTAL OFFICIALS²

1. Which mechanisms do you use to disseminate policies?

2. Are there any guidelines for policy implementation?

3. Are policies widely known by the relevant interested parties?

4. What are the main constraints in enforcing the existing regulations?

5. How do you interact with NGOs?

6. Do NGOs approach you for information on the existing legislation?

² Most of the questions will be taken from the previous sections and the information from technical report review.