Citizen, State, and the Negotiation of Development: The Nacala Development Corridor and the N13 Highway Rehabilitation Programme

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the academic requirements for the degree of
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By

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For rural citizens in developing countries, the extension of infrastructural networks into previously remote areas is one of the primary ways in which the state comes into view through development. In some countries, citizens affected by infrastructural development are able to negotiate with the state over local developmental outcomes through engagement with the state and the advocacy of interested intermediaries. An examination of Mozambique’s experiences, in this thesis, however suggests that the dominance of state power within developmental processes, as well as a lack of commitment to governance of the authoritarian Mozambican state, limits the ability of Mozambican citizens to equitably engage with the state over the negotiation of local developmental outcomes.

The aim of this thesis is to analyse the development of the Nacala Development Corridor Programme and the N13 Highway Rehabilitation Project in northern Mozambique as a lens through which to more broadly interrogate the impacts of the development on local citizens and examine the relationship between citizen and state within development processes. The research contributes to theoretical debates, in which a gap exists for critical, English-language research, set within a developing nation context. The study adopts a qualitative and deductive explanatory case study design in order to evaluate the implications of the infrastructure interventions associated with the Nacala Development Corridor and the N13 Highway Rehabilitation. The study is rooted within the discipline of development studies and provides critical engagement with the theories of the developmental state and Mozambican neoliberalism. Furthermore, the study draws on Foucault’s concept of ‘governmentality,’ as well as a number of post-Foucauldian concepts in relation to state-citizen relations, in order to provide a set of analytical concepts for interpreting the interactions between citizen and state.

This study reveals that in the case of the Nacala Development Corridor and the rehabilitation of the N13 Highway, state-citizen relations in Mozambique are complex, and are constantly being reshaped by the transformational impacts of infrastructural development. As a result of these developments, citizens along the N13 have altered their relationship with a previously distant government and are increasingly looking to hold the state accountable on development issues. The rehabilitation of the N13 in particular, has dramatically increased the number and nature of local communities’ interactions with state institutions by forcing affected individuals to negotiate their continued existence in relation to the road. However, processes of negotiation over local developmental outcomes are shallow, with the state dominant in decision-making. As a result, some citizens have turned to alternative forms of participation, such as lodging complaints, in order to have their voices heard. Such methods are unevenly available to citizens within the study area, and are largely ineffective in challenging the exertion of state power within development. However, the majority of citizens within the study area are reluctant to resist the state, instead demonstrating a passive sense of ‘uncritical’ citizenship evident in the term ‘governo papa’ in describing the role of the state.
PREFACE

The work described in this thesis was carried out in the School of the Built Environment and Development Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, from July 2011 until November 2016 under the supervision of Professor Dianne Scott.

This study represents an original piece of work by the author and has not otherwise been submitted in any form for any degree or diploma at any tertiary institution. Where use has been made of the work of others this is duly acknowledged in the text.
I, ………………………………………………………………………., declare that

1. The research reported in this thesis, except where otherwise indicated, is my original research.

2. This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.

3. This thesis does not contain other persons’ data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.

4. This thesis does not contain other persons' writing, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other researchers. Where other written sources have been quoted, then:
   a. Their words have been re-written but the general information attributed to them has been referenced
   b. Where their exact words have been used, then their writing has been placed in italics and inside quotation marks, and referenced.

5. This thesis does not contain text, graphics or tables copied and pasted from the Internet, unless specifically acknowledged, and the source being detailed in the thesis and in the References sections.

Signed
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many individuals have given me immeasurable aid and comfort throughout this dissertation process. Foremost, I would like to thank my wife Elizabeth, whose constant love and support has made all my achievements possible. Second, I would like to gratefully acknowledge my supervisor, Professor Dianne Scott, who has consistently challenged me to think more critically and has helped improve the quality of my writing considerably. Furthermore, I would like to thank my family, particularly my parents and in-laws, who have encouraged and supported me throughout my studies. Finally, I would like to personally thank all of my friends, both in Durban and the United States, who have politely pretended to be interested in my work and have provided just the right amount of healthy distraction.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AADT</td>
<td>Average Annual Daily Traffic</td>
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<tr>
<td>AAP</td>
<td>African Action Plan</td>
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<tr>
<td>AC</td>
<td>Asphalt Concrete</td>
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<td>ADF</td>
<td>African Development Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>ADT</td>
<td>Average Daily Traffic</td>
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<td>AfDB</td>
<td>African Development Bank</td>
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<tr>
<td>AIDS</td>
<td>Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome</td>
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<td>ANE</td>
<td>Administração Nacional de Estradas (National Roads Administration)</td>
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<tr>
<td>AP</td>
<td>Affected Person</td>
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<tr>
<td>AU</td>
<td>African Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>BADEA</td>
<td>Arab Bank for Economic Development of Africa</td>
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<td>BOT</td>
<td>Build-Operate-Transfer</td>
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<tr>
<td>BWI</td>
<td>Bretton Woods Institution</td>
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<tr>
<td>CBO</td>
<td>Community Based Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>CCCC</td>
<td>China Communications Construction Company</td>
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<tr>
<td>CDN</td>
<td>Corredor de Desenvolvimento de Norte (Development Corridor North)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEAR</td>
<td>Central East African Railways</td>
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<tr>
<td>CFM</td>
<td>Portos e Caminhos de Ferro de Mocambique (Ports and Railways Company of Mozambique)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chico</td>
<td>China Henan International Cooperation Group</td>
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<td>CRN</td>
<td>Core Road Network</td>
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<td>CSP</td>
<td>Country Strategy Paper</td>
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<td>DANIDA</td>
<td>Danish International Development Agency</td>
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<td>DBST</td>
<td>Double Bituminous Surface Treatment</td>
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<tr>
<td>DfID</td>
<td>UK’s Department for International Development</td>
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<td>DPs</td>
<td>Development Partners</td>
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<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>Democratic Republic of the Congo</td>
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<td>EIB</td>
<td>European Investment Bank</td>
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<tr>
<td>EIRR</td>
<td>Economic Internal Rate of Return</td>
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<tr>
<td>EM</td>
<td>Ecological Modernisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>ESAP</td>
<td>Environmental and Social Assessment Procedures</td>
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<td>ESIA</td>
<td>Environmental and Social Impact Assessment</td>
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<td>ESMP</td>
<td>Environmental and Social Management Plan</td>
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<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>EUR</td>
<td>European Union Euro</td>
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<tr>
<td>FE</td>
<td>Fundo Estrada (Road Fund)</td>
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<tr>
<td>FDD</td>
<td>Fundo de Desenvolvimento Distrital (District Development Fund)</td>
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<tr>
<td>FG</td>
<td>Focus Group</td>
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<tr>
<td>FNDP</td>
<td>Fifth National Development Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>Frelimo</td>
<td>Frente de Libertação de Moçambique</td>
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<td>GAZEDA</td>
<td>Gabinete das Zonas Económicas de Desenvolvimento Acelerado (Office for Accelerated Development Economic Zones)</td>
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<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
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<td>GOM</td>
<td>Government of Mozambique</td>
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<td>GPN</td>
<td>General Procurement Notice</td>
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<td>GRZ</td>
<td>Government of Zambia</td>
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<tr>
<td>HDI</td>
<td>Human Development Index</td>
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<td>HDM</td>
<td>Highway Design and Management Software</td>
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<td>I&amp;APs</td>
<td>Interested and Affected Parties</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICB</td>
<td>International Competitive Bidding</td>
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<tr>
<td>IFIs</td>
<td>International Financial Institutions</td>
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<tr>
<td>INATTER</td>
<td>Instituto Nacional dos Transportes Terrestres (National Institute of Land Transport)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISDB</td>
<td>Islamic Development Bank</td>
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<tr>
<td>JASZ</td>
<td>Joint Assistance Strategy for Zambia</td>
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<td>JICA</td>
<td>Japan International Cooperation Agency</td>
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<tr>
<td>KEXIM</td>
<td>Export-Import Bank of Korea</td>
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<tr>
<td>M&amp;E</td>
<td>Monitoring and Evaluation</td>
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<tr>
<td>MDC</td>
<td>Maputo Development Corridor</td>
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<td>MDGs</td>
<td>Millennium Development Goals</td>
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<tr>
<td>MCC</td>
<td>Millennium Challenge Corp.</td>
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<tr>
<td>MICOA</td>
<td>Ministério da Coordenação da Acção Ambiental (Ministry for the Coordination of Environment Affairs)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<tr>
<td>MPD</td>
<td>Ministério da Planificação e Desenvolvimento (Ministry of Planning and Development)</td>
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<tr>
<td>MPWH</td>
<td>Ministério das Obras Públicas e Habitação (Ministry of Public Works and Housing)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mt</td>
<td>Million Tonnes</td>
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<tr>
<td>MTC</td>
<td>Ministério dos Transportes e Comunicação (Ministry of Transport and Communication)</td>
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<tr>
<td>MZN</td>
<td>Mozambican Metical</td>
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<tr>
<td>NAFTA</td>
<td>North American Free Trade Agreement</td>
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<tr>
<td>NATO</td>
<td>North Atlantic Treaty Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>NCB</td>
<td>National Competitive Bidding</td>
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<td>NEPAD</td>
<td>New Partnership for Africa’s Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organization</td>
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<td>NRCP</td>
<td>Nacala Road Corridor Project</td>
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<tr>
<td>NRFA</td>
<td>National Road Fund Agency</td>
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<tr>
<td>OAU</td>
<td>Organisation of African Unity</td>
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<tr>
<td>OFID</td>
<td>OPEC Fund for International Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPEC</td>
<td>Organisation of the Petroleum Exporting Countries</td>
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<tr>
<td>OSBP</td>
<td>One Stop Border Post</td>
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<tr>
<td>PAC</td>
<td>Public Accounts Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>PAP</td>
<td>Project Affected Person/People</td>
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<tr>
<td>PARP</td>
<td>Plano De Acção Para Redução da Pobreza (Action Plan for Reducing Poverty)</td>
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<tr>
<td>PBM</td>
<td>Performance Based Maintenance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PEP</td>
<td>Plano Estratégico Provincial (Provincial Strategic Plan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PID</td>
<td>Project Implementation Document</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIU</td>
<td>Project Implementation Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>Public-Private Partnership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRBS</td>
<td>Poverty Reduction Budget Support</td>
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<tr>
<td>PRISE</td>
<td>Programa Integrado do Sector de Estradas (Integrated Road Sector Program)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROMER</td>
<td>Programa de Promoção de Mercados Rurais (Rural Markets Promotion Program)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPRSP</td>
<td>Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QCSB</td>
<td>Quality-and-Cost-Based Selection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RA</td>
<td>Roads Authority</td>
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</table>
RAP  Resettlement Action Plan
RDA  Road Development Agency
REC  Regional Economic Communities
RED  Road Economic Decision (RED) Model
Renamo  Resistência Nacional Moçambicana
RFP  Request for Proposals
RISDP  Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan
RISP  Regional Integration Strategy Paper
RO  Regional Operations
ROADSIP  Road Sector Investment Programme
RSA  Republic of South Africa
RSDG  Road Sector Donor Group
RTRN  Regional Trunk Road Network
RTSA  Road Traffic and Safety Agency
SADC  Southern African Development Community
SATCC  Southern Africa Transport and Communications Commission
SC  Steering Committee
SDCN  Sociedade de Desenvolvimento de Corredor de Norte (Society for the Development of the Northern Corridor)
SDI  Spatial Development Initiative
SDPTAP  Spatial Development Planning Technical Assistance Project
SFD  Saudi Fund for Development
UA  Unit of Account
UGEA  Unidades de colheita de Gestão Executiva (Executive Management Procurement Units)
UK  United Kingdom
UN  United Nations
UNDP  United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF  United Nations Children's Fund
USA  United States of America
USD  American Dollars
VCC  Vale Columbia Center on Sustainable International Investment
VOC  Vehicle Operating Cost
WB  World Bank
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WBG</td>
<td>World Bank Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WCED</td>
<td>World Commission on Environment and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZAR</td>
<td>South African Rand</td>
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“The road goes ever on and on
Down from the door where it began.
Now far ahead the road has gone,
    And I must follow, if I can,
Pursuing it with eager feet,
    Until it joins some larger way
Where many paths and errands meet.
    And whither then? I cannot say”

- J.R.R. Tolkien
CHAPTER ONE:  
INTRODUCTION

“Obviously this project will change everything. Nothing here will ever be the same again.”
–Brickmaker near Mutuali (AP #36, 02/08/2014)

1.1. INTRODUCTION

Within the discipline of development studies, there is a general consensus that infrastructure development plays a central role in neo-liberal development policies in developing countries (Calvet & Broto, 2015; Haughton et al., 2013; Haughton & McManus, 2011; Peet & Hartwick, 2015; Straub, 2008). Referring to a broad range of facilities, services, and systems essential for the operation of society and the economy, infrastructure connects populations, physically and materially, to larger national and global economic and governance structures. States have recognised the importance of infrastructure in binding its citizenry closer to central governance systems, enabling efforts to manage targeted populations and facilitating their inclusion in national development programmes. This realisation is particularly pertinent in developing nations, where development studies literature suggests that large infrastructure deficits have historically hindered states in their efforts to assert centralised control over development processes (Calderon & Serven, 2004; Canning, 1999; Fay et al., 2005; Hoeffler, 1999; Hulten, 1996; Ingram & Fay, 2008; Simone, 2014; Straub, 2008; Straub & Terada-Hagiwara, 2011). Moreover, from the perspective of citizens in these states, a lack of infrastructure has largely framed how populations interact with and experience development and the state, by limiting access to markets, government, state services and ultimately their well-being.

In Mozambique, intensive investment in infrastructure has been a central pillar of national development strategy since independence in 1975 (Dominguez-Torres & Briceño-Garmendia, 2011). Investments stalled from 1977 and into the 1980s, when civil war challenged the Mozambican state, but have intensified since the restoration of peace and the neo-liberal re-orientation of the Mozambican economy in the early 1990s (Dominguez-Torres & Briceño-Garmendia, 2011; Mold, 2012). Characteristic of this wave of investment has been the adoption and proliferation of development corridors. These spatial development initiatives (SDIs) which bundle packages of co-dependent and mutually supportive infrastructure investments under one
programme, with the intention of radically developing the infrastructural and economic position of a targeted region (Priemus & Zonneveld, 2003; Rogerson, 2001, 2002). This corridor ideology has been embraced and championed by regional organisations within Mozambique, as well as the international financial institutions (IFIs) on which Mozambique relies for development funding (De Beer, 2001; Priemus & Zonneveld, 2003; World Bank, 2010). As a consequence, these radically transformative development schemes have dominated infrastructural initiatives in Mozambique, with a number of development corridors and other SDIs being implemented concurrently throughout the country since the early 2000s (Byiers & Vanheukelom, 2014; Kuhlmann et al., 2011; Tate, 2011).

Mozambique’s northern provinces of Niassa and Nampula are among the nation’s least developed provinces, but possess significant natural resources and economic potential (Cunguara & Hanlon, 2012; Hanlon & Smart, 2012). Moreover, the region suffers from a severe infrastructure deficit, with a poorly developed transport network impeding state macro-economic objectives and poverty reduction programmes (Cunguara & Hanlon, 2012; Dominguez-Torres & Briceño-Garmendia, 2011). The Nacala Development Corridor (NDC) programme, a multi-faceted infrastructural mega-project, seeks to address this deficit. At a national and provincial level it aims to facilitate resource extraction and exports through improved rail links to the Port of Nacala (VCC, 2011). Regionally, it plans to improve local transport networks, primarily through the rehabilitation of the N13, a pre-independence era regional trunk road and national highway, which connects Niassa Province and the Malawi border with economic and transport hubs in Nampula Province. This thesis aims to undertake an empirical analysis of these projects, the construction of the NDC and the rehabilitation of the N13, as a lens to analyse the impacts of megaproject development on local citizens and examine the relationship between citizen and state within these processes.

As a consequence of these investments, affected individuals within the corridor are now beginning to experience the effects of development, both good and bad, which have been historically slower to materialise in Mozambique’s northern provinces (Cunguara & Hanlon, 2012; Hanlon & Smart, 2012). Moreover, this concentration of development efforts in rural and previously isolated communities has increased the frequency and intensity of interactions between citizen and state in these areas. Through these processes, citizens and state within the Nacala Development Corridor and along the N13 are ‘seeing’ each other in new and more
complex encounters, affecting the nature of governance and development in northern Mozambique (Corbridge et al., 2005).

The construction of the Nacala Development Corridor and the rehabilitation of the N13 are among the most significant infrastructural development projects currently being implemented in Mozambique (ADBG, 2009; ADF, 2010, 2012; AfDB, 2013). The scale of these investments, and their significance to Mozambican development goals, make them an important case study through which to examine the relationship between citizen and state in Mozambican development. As a consequence of these projects, affected citizens are increasingly coming into contact with the state through local developmental issues. Moreover, the rural and previously isolated nature of the study area means that many citizens are encountering and reacting to both large-scale development and the Mozambican state for the first time. For this reason, the area within the Nacala Development Corridor, and in particular the communities alongside the N13, was selected as the most appropriate case study area in which to conduct research as to how infrastructural investment in Mozambique affects change at a local level while shaping how citizens ‘see’ and interact with the state around development and change (Corbridge et al., 2005).

This thesis is rooted within the discipline of development studies through its engagement with development paradigms, namely, neo-liberalism and developmentalism, which are appropriate for contextualising development processes in Mozambique. It adopts a critical, ‘governmentality’ perspective on participatory practices in infrastructure development. It questions to what degree development in Mozambique can be decentred from the state and viewed as processes of negotiation between citizen and state.

First articulated by philosopher Michel Foucault in 1978, the concept of governmentality provides a distinct critical perspective on the nature of government (Lemke, 2013). Governmentality can be viewed through two lenses, first, as an historical analysis of the logics of government by the state, and, second, as investigations into the forms of governing (Huxley, 2008). The first lens draws from Foucault’s belief that current conceptions of sovereignty were too rigid to explain the relationship between liberal government and its population (Foucault, 2009; Rose et al., 2006). The second lens reflects Foucault’s conceptions of state power, which began to view liberalism, not as a normative prescription on government, but rather as a search for the art of governing, the ‘technology of government’ (Foucault, 2009; Huxley, 2008; Rose
et al., 2006). In both senses, governmentality examines the ways in which the state acts on the actions of others to bring about specific arrangements or behaviours, as well as the ways in which subjects act upon themselves to influence particular habits or attitudes of the self (Huxley, 2008).

As a study of state power, governmentality emerged from Foucault’s investigations into the rise of neo-liberalism, which paralleled, and contributed to, the demise of developmentalism in the West (Nilsson & Wallenstein, 2013; Rose et al., 2006). As a critique of neo-liberal government, governmentality effectively bridges the gap between neoliberalism’s ‘inherent contradictions’, the triumph of economics over politics, and the destructive effects that these modalities can have on the individual (Nilsson & Wallenstein, 2013). As a result, the theoretical strength of the concept of governmentality lies in this relationship to neo-liberalism, interpreting it not just as an ideological position, but rather as an active political project and political-economic reality (Lemke, 2013).

As a perspective on state power, ‘governmentality’ moves beyond traditional discourses of sovereignty and adopts a more complex perspective on the motivations, techniques, and behaviours that structure relationships between citizens and the state (Elden, 2006; Foucault, 1991; Rose et al., 2006). As an analytical concept governmentality ‘decisively decentres’ the state as sole nexus of power (Huxley, 2008). It does this, in part, through consideration of neoliberal ‘technologies of rule’, the democratic institutions and civic associations which create and structure settings for the conduct of business between the state and its citizens (Corbridge et al., 2005; Huxley, 2008). Thus, governmentality offers a more nuanced perspective on the interaction between citizens and state by considering other sources of influence, such as intermediaries who act as a bridge between the state and its citizens, as well as alternative forms of knowledge and expertise that motivate governing agents and the governed (Corbridge et al., 2005; Hart, 2004; Huxley, 2008).

Over the past decade, governmentality has become a widely applied analytical approach within the social sciences, and has inspired new interpretations of the relationship between citizen and state (Fournier, 2012; Schiavo, 2014). Moreover, additional perspectives on governmentality have firmly embedded the perspective within development studies by the application of governmentality theory to interpret the role of the state in national development processes. Among these additional perspectives are the works of Scott (1998) and Murray-Li (2005,
2007a, 2007b) which explore the ways in which the state ‘sees’ both itself and its citizens and how these understandings inform the ways in which government understands and interacts with its citizenry in relation to development issues. Other contributions, like the works of Corbridge et al. (2005), Scott (1976, 1985, 1990, 2009) and Mattes and Shenga (2013), explore similar themes, but from the perspective of the citizenry, by examining the ways in which citizens ‘see’, engage with, and sometimes resist, state power. These perspectives allow for a nuanced analysis from which to critique the mutable intersections between citizen and state in northern Mozambique.

The case study of the implementation of the Nacala Development Corridor and the rehabilitation of the N13 Highway is presented as an opportunity to theoretically reflect upon these ideas in the context of a developing country, in which rapid economic growth and extensive rural poverty co-exist. This thesis problematises the levels of negotiation between citizen and state in relation to these large-scale development programmes. It is conjectured that the engagement of the citizenry with the state in reality, differs greatly from the policies and standards espoused by the Mozambican government, enshrined in the national Constitution of 1990 and advocated by concerned international organisations.

Through discussions with representatives of the state, intermediaries, and affected citizens within the study area, it was anticipated that different stories would emerge regarding participation and the negotiation of local developmental outcomes. Literature on infrastructural investment in developing countries suggests that often affected citizens are able to impact local developmental outcomes through engagement with state governance mechanisms and interested intermediaries (Bebbington et al., 2008a; Bebbington et al., 2008b; Bryceson et al., 2008; Mendoza et al., 2007; Pieck, 2013). Moreover, in Mozambique, the 1990 Constitution, affirms the state’s commitment to neoliberal forms of governance, explicitly declaring that policies should be formulated “in collaboration with…appropriate partners”, emphasising the state’s obligation to coordinate with affected citizens, as well as intermediaries, like civil society, on development issues (Mozambique, 2004, p. 172). However, a survey of Mozambique’s experiences indicates that an exertion of power by an authoritarian state, and a lack of commitment to shift to governance, limits the ability of Mozambican citizens to equitably engage the state within development processes (Ahlers et al., 2012; Castel-Branco, 2003, 2007; Castel-Branco et al., 2005; Cunguara & Hanlon, 2012; Funada-Classen, 2012; Hanlon, 1991; Hanlon & Smart, 2012; Jindal et al., 2012).
The proposition of this thesis is that state-citizen relationships within the study area, are characterised by non-participation, hierarchism, and paternalism, which serves to disengage citizens from national developmental initiatives, and inhibits those affected by the implementation of the Nacala Development Corridor and the rehabilitation of the N13 Highway from substantially contributing to the negotiation of local developmental outcomes. The empirical research undertaken in the study seeks to confirm the veracity of this proposition. The disconnect between citizen and state in relation to developmental decision-making, shapes how citizens within the study area interpret the changes occurring within their communities, as well as structuring how they ‘see the state’, and are in turn seen by the state, in the everyday interactions which have accompanied development.

1.2. RATIONALE

The rationale for undertaking this research are twofold. First, the study aims to contribute empirically to a field of research about which much theory has been written, yet significant gaps remain in developing countries. Existing empirical research on the intersections between citizen and state around infrastructure development is extensive, but largely concentrated within industrialised and middle income countries1 (Bolton, 2015; Groves et al., 2013; Jhagroe & Frantzeskaki, 2015; Lucas & Thompson, 2016; Ruiters & Matji, 2015; Young & McPherson, 2013). Moreover, studies in English that speak to the unique experiences of developing countries are rare, and mostly confined to infrastructure investment in Asia, and Latin America (Bebbington et al., 2008a; Chin, 2016; Douven et al., 2012; Minot et al., 2003; Mu & Van de Walle, 2011; Wahid et al., 2016). Furthermore, these studies tend to focus on environmental governance mechanisms and the role of social movements in understanding state-citizen relationships. These two foci are not considered adequate for the case study of Mozambican development presented in this thesis (Bebbington et al., 2008a; Bebbington et al., 2008b; Carter & Mol, 2007; Mu & Van de Walle, 2011; Mukherjee & Chakraborty, 2015; Sigley, 2006; Sonnenfeld & Mol, 2002).

Within Mozambique, English-language empirical research on infrastructure provision is largely technical, focusing on macro-economic impacts and largely ignoring the small

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1 Including South Africa.
developmental changes and tensions which occur in affected communities (Baloyi & Zengeni, 2015; Castel-Branco, 2003, 2007; Castel-Branco et al., 2015; Castel-Branco et al., 2005; Chissano & Minnery, 2014; Dibben, 2007; Dominguez-Torres & Briceño-Garmendia, 2011). When governance mechanisms are critiqued, as they have been in the case of the Maputo Development Corridor, it is generally from the viewpoint of state-institutions in Maputo or international donors, while the perspectives of the citizenry, and other local developmental actors, are unexplored (Ahlers et al., 2012; Akanbi, 2013; Dibben, 2007; Nevin, 2006; Orre, 2014; Rogerson, 2002). Recent notable exceptions include Koch’s (2013) experiences with participatory action research in rural Zambezia province, and Broto et al.’s (2015) exploration of participatory urban planning processes in Maputo. However, a gap exists for critical, English-language research, which examines infrastructure investment in Mozambique from a local perspective, and explores the narratives of those affected by development. This applied focus will provide a contribution to the critical understanding of infrastructure development and state-citizen relations in Mozambique, which will allow for the comparison of the findings with those from other developing nation contexts.

Secondly, this research seeks to contribute to theoretical debates within development and governmentality studies. This study hopes to add to a growing body of governmentality studies within the global south by applying a governmentality perspective within a developing nation context (Alam, 2015; Christie, 2006; Corbridge et al., 2005; Hai Thiem, 2015; İşleyen, 2016; Rogers et al., 2016; Tsang, 2015). In addition, the thesis applies Mattes and Shenga’s (2013) concept of an ‘uncritical citizenship’ in Mozambique. Mattes and Shenga (2013) argue that Mozambicans are more likely to overrate the performance of the Mozambican state, despite voicing criticism with government performance and dissatisfaction with development policy (Mattes & Shenga, 2013). Because Mattes and Shenga’s work largely relies on quantitative data, and uses responses from the Afrobarometer survey, it is argued here that a qualitative analysis provided in this study would add depth to their findings or possibly reveals alternative understandings of ‘uncritical citizenship’.

1.3. AIM AND OBJECTIVES

The aim of this thesis is to analyse the construction of the Nacala Development Corridor and the rehabilitation of the N13 Highway, in order to interrogate the impacts of the development
on local citizens and examine the relationship between citizen and state within development processes.

In order to achieve this aim, eight objectives are proposed:

1. To explore the importance of infrastructure investment and infrastructural mega-projects, like the Nacala Corridor and the rehabilitation of the N13, in Mozambique’s overall development vision.
2. To investigate how Mozambique’s development vision and agenda is interpreted and received by local communities, specifically in the rural north.
3. To examine how individuals within the study area interpret and react to the changes occurring within their communities.
4. To explore how local communities have experienced the impacts of development, specifically the construction of the Nacala Development Corridor and the Rehabilitation of the N13 Highway.
5. To examine the degree to which affected individuals along the N13 have participated in the negotiation of local development outcomes.
6. To interrogate the role of intermediaries, such as civil society organisations and traditional leadership, in shaping interactions between citizen and state along the N13.
7. To explore how local development, the construction of the Nacala Development Corridor, and the N13 highway rehabilitation have affected the ways in which citizens and local agents of the state ‘see’ each other.
8. To interrogate how citizens within the study area resist or struggle against the state through alternative forms of participation.
9. To provide a theoretical understanding of state-citizen relations in development processes in a post-conflict developing country.

1.4. STRUCTURE OF THESIS

This first chapter has introduced the subject of the thesis, presented a brief background of the study, highlighted the rationale for pursuing the topic, and has described the research aim, objectives, and questions guiding the study. The rest of the dissertation is organised into eight chapters, which are briefly described here.
Chapter Two presents the theoretical framework of this study and reviews the broader theoretical concepts that frame the research. The chapter roots the study within the discipline of development studies through a discussion of prominent development paradigms relevant to the study. Thereafter, a governmentality perspective is presented, including implications for how the research is framed within this approach. Lastly, the chapter reviews pivotal contributions to development studies made from a post-Foucauldian, governmentality perspective, which serve to provide a set of analytical tools utilised by this study.

Chapters Three and Four comprise the contextual background for the study, with the aim of familiarising the reader with the developmental context in first Mozambique and then in the study area. Chapter Three describes the socio-political context of Mozambique. It includes a discussion of Mozambique’s past and current development experiences. In addition, the chapter examines infrastructure investment in Mozambique, including a review of the institutional arrangements responsible for infrastructure provision within the country. Chapter Four describes the contextual background for the case study. It describes both the Nacala Development Corridor and the N13 Highway Rehabilitation Programme, as well as the regional context in which both projects are framed.

Chapter Five examines the methodology employed by this study. It describes the adoption of a social constructivist approach, as well as the deductive and qualitative research methodology. The Chapter outlines methods of data collection, sampling techniques, and a thematic approach to data analysis. Finally, the chapter discusses some challenges and limitations to the research process relevant to this study.

Chapters Six, Seven and Eight present the empirical results of the thesis. Chapter Six examines national infrastructure and development policy in Mozambique from the perspective of both citizen and state. In particular, it examines the role of infrastructure in Mozambique’s development vision, and explores how that vision is received and interpreted by communities within the study area. Chapter Seven explores development within the study area. It questions how affected communities have experienced the effects of the construction of the Nacala Development Corridor and the Rehabilitation of the N13 Highway. It also analyses how they have perceived and interacted with the state and other intermediaries around development issues. Lastly, Chapter Eight explores the ways in which citizens within the study area have
resorted to alternative forms of public participation as a form of resistance against state power. It analyses how and why citizens within the study area resist the state, how these forms of alternative participation affect the ways in which the Mozambican state is seen by its citizens.

Chapter Nine concludes the thesis by summarising the research process, assessing and analysing the results against the study’s research questions and serves to provide an answer to the theoretical objective of the study which is “to provide an understanding of state-citizen relations in development processes in a post-conflict developing country. Finally, the Chapter highlights empirical and theoretical contributions of the study while pointing to possibilities for further research.
CHAPTER TWO: GOVERNMENT, DEVELOPMENT, AND THE CITIZEN

“The utopian, immanent, and continually frustrated goal of the modern state is to reduce the chaotic, disorderly, constantly changing social reality beneath it to something more closely resembling the administrative grid of its observations.”

- James Scott (1998, p. 82)

2.1. INTRODUCTION

As Michel Foucault (2009) observed, although the sovereignty of a state may be absolute, this authority is best affirmed and institutionalised through ensuring the prosperity and well-being of the subject population. Portrayed by the state as a multi-dimensional project that will both cater to the interests of the private sector while improving public services for resident communities, the N13 Highway and the Nacala Development Corridor may be interpreted, from the perspective of Foucault, as projects designed to reinforce sovereignty by addressing poverty. Moreover, as the most significant development intervention occurring in the region, the projects serve as the most visible extension of the state in the lives of affected persons and communities. Analysing the ways in which these individuals interpret and interact with the rehabilitation of the N13 and the construction of the NDC provides insight into the relationship between state and citizen in the north of Mozambique.

This chapter presents the theoretical framework for this study, which draws on Foucault’s concept of ‘governmentality,’ as well as a number of post-Foucauldian perspectives on development in order to provide a set of analytical tools for interpreting the interactions between citizen and state. The chapter begins by rooting the study within the discipline of development studies. It describes predominant development discourses within the field, including developmentalism and neo-liberalism, while illustrating the concept of ‘late’ or ‘compressed’ development, which is particularly valuable for interpreting Mozambique’s developmental context. Section 2.3 introduces the works of Foucault, and his collection of ideas which form the concept of ‘governmentality’ which serves as an overarching analytical framework for this study. Governmentality can be understood as the means by which we “think about governing others and ourselves in a wide variety of contexts” (Dean, 1999, p. 209).

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2 In this context ‘citizen’ refers to an individual within a political system with the autonomy to exercise their political rights and opinions, as well as their desire to do so (Gudynas, 2009; Pieck, 2013).
an analytical approach for interpreting the state power, governmentality encompasses both the rationalities and tools governments utilise to shape human behaviour (Christie, 2006; Scott, 2011). As such, it serves as an appropriate lens through which to interpret state power and the daily interactions between citizen and state that underpin it.

Governmentality studies have produced a significant amount of research over the past four decades, complementing the original works of Foucault while advancing the field in new directions. Sections 2.4 and 2.5 draw on more recent scholarship which utilise the Foucauldian perspective of governmentality, appropriate for analysing, respectively, how the state sees its citizens and how citizens see the state in the Mozambican context. Section 2.4 explores the work of Scott (1998) and Murray-Li (2005, 2007a, 2007b) which interrogate the ways in which the state sees its citizens during development interventions. This discussion introduces a number of analytical tools which collectively speak to the ways in which the state exercises its sovereignty within development. Next, Section 2.5 explores perspectives on how citizens interpret state power and engage with government. It examines the works of Corbridge et al. (2005), Scott (1976, 1985, 1990, 2009), and Mattes and Shenga (2013), which provide analytical concepts for interpreting the ways in which citizens along the N13 ‘see’, engage with, and sometimes resist, development and the state.

Finally, the chapter concludes by providing a succinct overview of the theoretical concepts framing this study. The conclusion focuses on the commonalities which bind the concepts reviewed in this chapter, into a single, coherent framework for analysing the ways in which Mozambicans interpret the development occurring in their country and communities. Moreover, the conclusion highlights theoretical contributions by rooting the conceptual tools and discourses presented in this chapter within a larger scholarly debate.

2.2. DEVELOPMENT DISCOURSES AND PARADIGMS

2.2.1. Introduction

A number of development paradigms have been proposed within the discipline of development studies which are appropriate for contextualising development processes in Mozambique (Corbridge et al., 2005). ‘Development’ is a discursively powerful term that lacks a universally accepted definition. Broadly speaking, it refers to change, either in the state of the system or one or more of its constituent elements (Bellu, 2011). Chambers (1997) describes development
simply as ‘good change’. Thomas (2000) offers a more nuanced perspective, distinguishing development as a positive vision for society, a historical narrative of progress, as well as deliberate efforts of improvement.

This section provides an overview of the most prominent development discourses that have arisen globally over the past 60 years. Section 2.2.2. begins by introducing the concept of the ‘development state,’ an ideological perspective and development praxis that has retreated in the face of rising neo-liberalism but remains influential throughout the developing world. The current global dominance of neo-liberal government has received significant attention from development studies scholars. However, this study does not attempt a complete in-depth review of this concept. Rather, a brief sketch of the contrasting ideologies is presented, including their critiques, as well as an emphasis on the various ways they locate the role of the state in producing developmental outcomes. Finally, section 2.2.3 describes the analytical concept of ‘late’ or ‘compressed’ development, which is applied for interpreting development as an historical process, and is particularly relevant within a Mozambican context.

2.2.2. The Developmental State

Developmentalism, or the concept of the ‘developmental state,’ is one of the most influential ideologies of the 20th century (Reinert, 2010). Arising out of the post-World War II newly industrialising economies in Latin America and East Asia, developmentalism began as a belief that it was possible for countries of the global south to develop themselves, as opposed to being developed by the industrialised north (Escobar, 1995; Wallerstein, 2004). Rooted in liberal ideology and the idea of progress, developmentalism at its core supposes that the economic structures of a nation may not be inherently optimal, and may be improved with the help of an active and development-minded state (Bresser-Pereira, 2006; Reinert, 2010). The ‘developmental state’ bases its legitimacy on its ability to elevate its population out of poverty while promoting sustained economic development (Reinert, 2010; Wallerstein, 2004). The development state employs a strong and empowered bureaucracy to design and lead development interventions meant to foster the productive potential of the nation through strategic investment in vital economic assets like industry and infrastructure (Grosfoguel, 2000; Wallerstein, 1992). Theoretically, developmentalism is connected to both structuralist economics and dependency theory. Structuralism is more commonly used to represent a theory for ‘underdevelopment,’ ascribing poor performance to structural factors such as systemic
inequalities and market failures (Khan, 2014). The focus of developmentalism and the developmental state is to catch up with western standards of economic growth by actively eliminating these structural barriers (Khan, 2014; Reinert, 2010). Similarly, dependency theory envisions a core-periphery relationship between developed and developing nations and within states, a status quo that the development state seeks to redress through conscious, rational action (Grosfoguel, 2000).

During its peak, from 1945 to the 1970s, developmentalism was the dominant development discourse within the global south, particularly in the industrialising economies of Latin America and East Asia. However, from the 1970s, buffeted by criticisms of its ability to weather economic shock and the oil crisis, developmentalism began to slowly lose ground to neo-liberal thought rooted in neo-classical economics (Reinert, 2010; Wallerstein, 2004).

Neo-liberalism is a broadly interpreted concept, yet stands in opposition to developmentalism in a number of important ways. At its core, neo-liberalism proposes that developing countries abandon the notion of the development state and accept a globalised view of economic development which emphasises the productive power of worldwide free markets (Bresser-Pereira, 2006). Neo-liberalism aims to create free market conditions and promote a capitalist economic order while de-emphasising the role of the state in the economy (Pieck, 2013). Synonymous with the ‘Washington Consensus,’ a list of ten reforms outlined by economist John Williamson in 1990, neo-liberal economic policies focus on the de-regulation of the economy, trade liberalisation, privatisation and reductions in tariffs and other trade barriers (Bresser-Pereira, 2006; Harvey, 2005; Wallerstein, 2004; Williamson, 1990). Neo-liberal governmentalities de-emphasise the role of the state in economic planning while trumpeting the transformative power of private investment and free trade (Brenner & Theodore, 2002; Peck et al., 2009; Pieck, 2013). Furthermore, rooted in neo-classical and Ricardian economics which value all economic activities equally, neo-liberalism stands in contrast with developmentalism which considers some productive sectors as holding greater potential for economic transformation than others (Reinert, 2010).

Like developmentalism, neo-liberalism has also been challenged on its ability to bring about transformative change to developing nations (Ayres, 2004; Beneria et al., 2003; Harvey, 2005; Stiglitz, 2012, 2015). The macro-economic instability of the late 20th and early 21st century as well as nationalist backlashes against globalisation have led a number of states back to the
developmentalist policies that proved successful during the post-war era (Bresser-Pereira, 2006; Khan, 2014; Wallerstein, 2004). This ‘New Developmentalism’ shifts the emphasis from the market back to the state. The new developmental state regards globalisation as neither a blessing nor a curse, but instead as an intense system of competition for which the state must be reinforced in order to create the conditions for improving competitiveness (Bresser-Pereira, 2006). More deeply rooted in structuralist theories of development, the new developmentalism does not seek to replace the market with the state, but rather intends to strengthen the state in order to enable it to create ideal conditions for economic growth and foreign investment (Bresser-Pereira, 2006). The new developmental state is less protectionist than the old, but still plays an active role in nurturing industry and reducing unemployment. In sum, new developmentalism rejects the pessimism of neo-liberalism towards the capacity of the state, and empowers it to shape a more independent development vision in a globalised economy. This tension, between ‘developmentalism’ and ‘neo-liberalism,’ serves as a productive analytical frame for interpreting the role of the Mozambican state in directing its development agenda.

2.2.3. Late Developers and Compressed Development

Apter (1965) distinguishes between development and modernisation. ‘Development’, Apter remarks, results from the proliferation and integration of functional roles in a community (Apter, 1965). Modernisation, however, is a particular case of development, a paradigm that projects the development trajectory that western nations followed from agrarianism to industrialisation (Giddens, 1991; Sayer, 1991). From the perspective of modernisation theory societies progress through similar stages of development, and if one nation is underdeveloped it should look to the experiences of already developed nations for guidance (Giddens, 1990; Harvey, 1991; Lyotard, 1979). Modernisation theory has been very influential historically within development studies and the social sciences in general. Its depiction of development as an historical process that must progress in pre-defined stages has also infiltrated the mentality of the development state, as well as neoliberal institutions like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (Beck, 1996; Cohen, 1997; Grenz, 1996; Grosfoguel, 2000; Wittrock, 2000).

The body of modernisation theory is substantial, and is largely beyond the scope of this study. Nonetheless, a number of modernity discourses remain relevant, particularly within the
Mozambican state which has been greatly influenced by neoliberal financial institutions (Hanlon & Smart, 2012). For the purpose of this study, one concept in particular, that of ‘late’ or ‘compressed’ development is an appropriate concept for interpreting Mozambican development as an historical process, while contextualizing common attitudes on development within the state.

In contrast to modernisation theory, the body of literature on late developers or late developing countries (LDCs) argues that global economic conditions under which developed nations modernised no longer exist, and that ‘late developers’ can, and should, develop differently from the first industrialisers (Chaudhry, 1993; Whittaker et al., 2010). However, according to Warner et al. (2004), the concept of late development itself is still relativistic, and relies to a large degree on conventional wisdom. They argue that the idea intrinsically implies a tendency or need for late developers to ‘catch up’ with the early industrialised nations (Shin, 1996; Warner et al., 2004). There follows, by implication, a propensity for the late developers to draw reference to, and benchmark against these early developers in order to learn from, and if necessary, copy the latter’s' success (Shin, 1996). Thus, early industrialised nations set the standards for technological capability, economic organisation and institutional arrangement which late developers should aspire to and build towards. However, a key condition of success for late developers is the ability of the state to play a supportive and interventionist role in the economy and society, and maintain the reflexivity to tailor development agendas to local conditions and culture, while learning from the mistakes of early industrialisers (Warner et al., 2004).

Late developing nations have travelled different paths to industrialisation than the earliest developers. However Whittaker et al. (2010) observe that the concept of the development path is being reversed, as the original concept does not satisfactorily account for the next wave of developing nations, the vast majority of which (like Mozambique) are in the earliest stages of industrialisation. According to their work, studies of late development reflect an awareness of an increasingly accelerated and uneven pace of change in attitudes and institutions within developing countries, which they term compressed development (D'Costa, 2016; Whittaker et al., 2010). All late development is now proposed as being compressed in the sense that it is accelerated. However increasing global interconnectedness and international interdependency combine to create conditions that are fundamentally different from those of archetypical late developers (D'Costa, 2016; Whittaker et al., 2010). Although all late developing nations are, to
some extent, compressed developers, the later the development takes place the greater degree of compression (Whittaker et al., 2010).

Under compressed development the benchmarks set by the ‘early developers’ become less useful, as the ‘stages’ of development have been compressed to such an extent as to render the concept of stages problematic. According to Whittaker et al. (2010) ‘stages’ may still inform the analysis of development, but rarely reflect actual patterns of change, as traditional developmental phases or indicators of development are likely to occur simultaneously rather than sequentially, or in some instances, not at all. This compression creates an environment in which different ‘stages’ of development interact and influence each other in real time. Thus, compressed development fosters a situation that challenges the developmental state to new levels of reflexivity: to accurately interpret and adapt to new conditions, learn from mistakes, seize opportunities, and develop innovative solutions (D’Costa, 2016; Whittaker et al., 2010).

From this perspective, the failure of many states to achieve desired developmental goals and indicators is proposed to stem from a failure to harness their own reflexivity and adjust to a changing world. It is proposed that Mozambique is in a state of ‘compressed development’ and the extent to which state-actors in Mozambique reflect on their position in the global economy may have significant implications for the way in which they interpret the role of the state in development processes.

2.3. GOVERNMENT AND GOVERNMENTALITY

2.3.1. Introduction

This study draws on Foucault’s concept of ‘governmentality’ as an analytical tool for exploring the relationship between state power and development in Mozambique. Governmentality is not a general approach, rather it provides a distinct critical perspective on the nature of government (Gabay & Death, 2012; Lemke, 2013). This section describes this perspective, while outlining its relevance to this study. The section begins by explaining governmentality; its genesis in Foucault’s works, its core concepts, including its perspectives on government, and how these concepts have been developed by more contemporary scholars. Section 2.3.3 locates the

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3 A practical example of this type of compression is the disjointed nature of infrastructural service provision in many developing countries. Consider a nation like Mozambique, where the telecommunications network has advanced to such a point that comprehensive 3g mobile signal is available and affordable even in rural areas, while clean and reliable piped water is a luxury even in the capital.
concept of governmentality in development ideology, particularly its contentious relationship with neoliberalism. Section 2.3.4 briefly introduces the neo-liberal ‘technologies of rule’ of good governance and participation, which have become influential forms of governmentality within development studies. Finally, the section concludes by discussing the challenges of using governmentality as an analytical framework, while introducing additional Foucauldian perspectives used to add depth to this study’s analyses.

2.3.2. Foucault, ‘Rationalities of Rule’, and the Art of Government

Coined by philosopher Michel Foucault in 1978, the concept of governmentality represents a new direction in studies of state power, and has generated an enormous amount of scholarly attention across a broad range of disciplines (Burchell et al., 1991; Elden, 2006; Foucault, 2009; Lemke, 2013). To Foucault (1991, 2009) the central characteristic of government is the ‘conduct of conduct,’ society’s attempt to mould human activity through calculated means. In a broad sense, the concept of governmentality is a conceptual framework for understanding the techniques and procedures utilised by the state for conducting human behaviour, the ‘art of government.’

As Huxley (2008) describes, the concept of governmentality can be seen as having two aspects, as an historical analysis of the logics of government by the state, and, second, as investigations into the forms of governing, both of others and the self. The first aspect arose out of Foucault’s belief that pre-existing ways of thinking about power in terms of sovereignty were too rigid to explain the relationship between liberal government and its population (Foucault, 2009; Rose et al., 2006). The second, arose out of a development within Foucault’s perceptions of state power, which began to view liberalism, not as a substantive doctrine on how to govern, but rather as a search for the art of governing, the ‘technology of government’ (Foucault, 2009; Huxley, 2008; Rose et al., 2006). In both senses, the concept of governmentality seeks to examine the ways in which the state acts on the actions of others to bring about particular arrangements or behaviours, but also the ways in which subjects act upon themselves to influence particular habits or attitudes of the self (Huxley, 2008). Distinctively, Foucault’s thoughts on governmentality do not focus on the form of the state, but rather on the practices by which an assemblage of individuals, agencies and institutions act to shape the behaviour of populations, and on the approaches that normalise these actions (Christie, 2006). Thus, according to Rose, et al. (2006), an analysis of governmentalities is one which seeks to identify
the different styles of thought that make up governing and government, their conditions of origin, the knowledge and principles from which they borrow and generate, the practices that contribute to how they are carried out, and their relationships with other technologies of governing.

Finally, in addition to its focus on state action, the notion of governmentality emphasises the variability of and contextuality of different forms of government rationality (Campbell, 2010). As Rose (2006, p. 22) explains, “rationalities operate not so much to describe the world as to make it thinkable and practicable under a particular description.” To Foucault (1991, 2009), ‘rationalities’ are discursive, they are mutable, yet inform government behaviour. Moreover, explicit to the rationalities shaping the exercise of state power, ‘rationalities of rule’ refer to the diverse array of governmental technologies and apparatuses that render practicable, for government, how to think, how to act, and how to feel (Campbell, 2010). Campbell (2010, pp. 37-38) elaborates; ‘rationalities of rule’ operate to “propose strategies, suggest reforms, identify problems, recommend solutions and constitute a series of suppositions, instructions and assumptions which are encapsulated in discourses and knowledge that guide, advise and inform our ways of being in the world”. Consequently, ‘rationalities of rule’ are used within governmentality studies in order to speak to specific ways of thinking about how to govern within particular times and spaces (Campbell, 2010).

2.3.3. Governmentality, Neo-Liberalism, and Development

In ‘Seeing the State’, Corbridge et al. (2005) argue that development doctrines, like developmentalism and neo-liberalism, must be understood as forms of governmentality and should be subjected to rigorous critique. As a study of the forms and functions of state power, the concept of governmentality arose out of Foucault’s investigations into the rise of neo-liberalism, which paralleled, and contributed to, the demise of the developmental state in the West (Nilsson & Wallenstein, 2013; Rose et al., 2006). Although Foucault did not tie his framework to a specific set of contemporary problems, the majority of neo-Foucauldian scholars argue that governmentality should be at least partly regarded as a response to the transformations in the arts of government that were then under way in the 1970s and 1980s in Britain, the United States, and other Western states (Hart, 2004; Huxley, 2008; Nilsson & Wallenstein, 2013; Rose et al., 2006). Indeed, Lemke (2013) argues that the theoretical strength of the concept of governmentality rests in its relationship to neo-liberalism, construing it not
just as an ideological position, but rather as an active political project and political-economic reality. Traditional critiques of neo-liberalism focus on the ‘inherent contradictions’ within the system, the triumph of economics over politics, and the destructive effects that these modalities can have on the individual (Nilsson & Wallenstein, 2013). For Lemke (2013) the critical contribution of governmentality studies as a critique of neo-liberal government rests in their ability to bridge these disparate critiques. By accommodating diverse forms of knowledge, rationalities of rule and strategies of power, the concept of governmentality allows for a more comprehensive response to neo-liberal economic, social, and political transformation (Lemke, 2013).

2.3.4. Neo-liberal Technologies of Rule: Governance, Participation, and Civil Society

To Foucault (1991, 2009), states are best understood as consisting of diverse and not always coherent manifestations of government. By pointing to these various practices of government Foucault refers to the ‘technologies of rule’, like democratic institutions and civic associations, that create and structure settings for the conduct of business between the state and its citizens (Corbridge et al., 2005). These technologies of rule denote a complex of practical devices, procedures, mechanisms, and institutions through which government seeks to guide and shape the conduct of its citizens, with the purpose of achieving specific contextual objectives (Lemke, 2007). Conceptually, technologies of rule can refer to the aforementioned institutions, such as state agencies or intermediaries4 like civil society5, but can also include more subtle instruments, such as methods of evaluation, standards, routines, practices of numeration and calculation, pedagogic techniques, or professional vocabularies, to name a few (Inda, 2005; Lemke, 2007; Rose et al., 2006). This section examines three of these technologies of rule relevant to this study, namely, good governance, public participation, and civil society organisations, while critiquing the role they play as mediators between the state and its citizens.

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4 Corbridge et al. (2005), from their work in India, use the term ‘intermediaries’ to refer to individuals or entities which operate between citizen and state. Intermediaries vary by context, but may include the private sector, civil society, or even powerful individuals, like traditional leaders, who intercede between citizen and state.

5 In this context, ‘civil society’ refers to communities of individuals within society which are independent of the state and are linked by common interests and collective action (O’Connell, 1999). This may include voluntary associations, non-governmental organisations, or social groups (Salamon & Anheier, 1997). Civil society often, but not always, manifests the interests and will of the citizenry and plays an intermediary role in society between citizen and state (O’Connell, 1999).
McKee (2009) asserts that the concept of governmentality offers a critical approach to analysing state power by transcending moral judgements about the proper form of ‘good’ and ‘democratic’ government. The notion that pre-modern states were unconcerned with good government is certainly untrue (Corbridge et al., 2005; Nilsson & Wallenstein, 2013). Nonetheless, as Corbridge et al. (2005) note, there has been a strong awareness within development studies that issues of ‘governance’ have generated significantly more interest since the neoliberal turn of the 1970s and 1980s. Within the governmentality literature, two different theoretical and analytical accounts have thus far framed the concept of governance (Schiavo, 2014). One narrative defines governance as a coordination mechanism, “a new style of government that is distinct from the hierarchical control model characterized by a greater degree of cooperation and interaction between state and non-state actors in mixed public/private decision-making networks” (Mayntz, 1999, p. 3). However, the Foucauldian interpretation, which has contributed to the development of a more critical approach to studies on governance, unmasks the neo-liberal undertones of the concept which focus on the provision of government services, as well as the ability of the state to respond to various global governance structures (Jenkins, 2002; Mayntz, 1999; Rosenau, 1995; Schiavo, 2014).

Officially introduced by Rosenau and Czempiel (1992) in the aftermath of the cold war, the concept of ‘governance’ was invoked as a commentary on state power; or more specifically, as speculation on how government responsibilities function when state power collapses. According to Schiavo (2014) the interpretative framework Rosenau and Czempiel construct was framed within a context of international uncertainty as to the future role of the state in an increasingly globalised world. Rosenau and Czempiel warn that “in a world where authority is undergoing continuous relocation, both outward toward supranational entities and inward toward sub national groups, it becomes increasingly imperative to probe how governance can occur in the absence of government” (Rosenau & Czempiel, 1992, p. 2). Czempiel (1992, p. 250) elaborates on the meaning of ‘governance’ by referring to the concept of state power, “I understand governance to mean the capacity to get things done without the legal competence to command that they be done. Where governments… can distribute values and authoritatively, governance can distribute them in a way which is not authoritative but equally effective”. Thus, governance can be generally understood as “the prevailing patterns by which public power is exercised in a given social context” (Jenkins, 2002, p. 485). As such, governance is a chief concern of the state. However, according to Rosenau (1995, p. 122), governance not only “encompasses the activities of governments, but also includes the many other channels through
which ‘commands’ flow in the form of goals framed, directives issued, and policies pursued.” Thus, governance further involves not only the state, but many non-state actors such as NGOs, community organisations and the private sector, a process whereby multi-stakeholder networks engage in policy-making (Elbakidze et al., 2010; Murray-Li, 2007b; Schouten et al., 2012).

To Corbridge et al. (2005) ‘good governance’ has come to define those patterns of rule which protect the individual citizen from unrepresentative government. They note that at first, it was a concern for politics that stimulated the most recent incarnation of a good governance agenda. At the close of the Cold War in the 1980s, confident of the triumph of neoliberal capitalism, and eager to support the expansion of free markets in the developing world, an agenda for ‘good governance’ emerged out of the Bretton Woods Institutions (BWIs). This combined the neoliberal belief in the market to shape modern state-citizens with an insistence that those citizens would best prosper in healthy and active civil societies (Corbridge et al., 2005). To this end, an agenda for good governance has taken shape which implies the diffusion of power from the state, including the decentralization of government functions, as well as a public body and civil society which participates in decision making and is capable of holding the state accountable for its actions (Pieck, 2013).

At the insistence of the BWIs and western donors committed to neoliberal technologies of rule, ‘good’ governance has become a byword in development circles, with interventions and aid to developing nations frequently being tied to prescriptions designed to improve the quality (while diluting the power) of state rule (Ayres, 2004; Ferguson & Gupta, 2002; Harvey, 2005; Jenkins, 2002). However, the agendas of good governance are not fixed and constantly change based on the critical reflection of their proponents (Corbridge et al., 2005). Yet, as Jenkins (2002) argues, it is this ‘chameleon-like’ quality of the good governance agenda which makes it so attractive to the international community and governments alike. Because there is no clear definition of what the ‘good’ in good governance entails, it is feasible for authoritarian states to boast of efficient rule, while corrupt and incompetent governments can appeal to their populist tendencies (Corbridge et al., 2005). Thus, a paradigm of governance has emerged, which has formed an important, but highly nebulous, characteristic of neoliberal governmentalities.

The good governance agenda has largely consisted of the decentralisation of state power to local or non-state actors (Corbridge et al., 2005; Scott, 2011). This has primarily been
accomplished through two specific mediums of participatory governance: public participation through direct engagement with the citizenry and the inclusion of civil society (Arnstein, 1969; Newig & Fritsch, 2009; Pieck, 2013). Arnstein (1969) first applied a typology to participation as an analysis of who has power when important decisions are being formulated. However, as Corbridge et al. (2005) write, participation can mean different things to different people. Their book Seeing the State offers important commentary and critique on both the value and the shortcomings of participatory governance (Corbridge et al., 2005). They argue that participation is not a binary function, rather it describes a broad spectrum of social actions, and it is unrealistic to believe that these can be maximised in all circumstances (Corbridge et al., 2005). Although there have been many instances where participatory mechanisms have engaged citizenry in fruitful and empowering ways, participation also functions in a less transformative capacity, legitimising state power in subtle, and often unintended manners (Arnstein, 1969; Corbridge et al., 2005; Tatenhove & Leroy, 2009). The extent to which this interpretation of participatory development as an empowering process represents the experiences of the affected citizens living along the N13 is an important question of this study.

A final technology of rule that has been generally accepted as a hallmark of ‘good’ governance is an active civil society and its inclusion in decision-making processes (Pieck, 2013). The appreciation within development studies of the ability of civil society to hold the state accountable for its actions predates neoliberalism and the good governance agenda. Looking back to the golden era of the developmental state, Escobar (1995) views civil society as a ‘breeding ground’ for oppositional movements, functioning as a point of resistance to the dehumanising tendencies of developmentalism. This attraction to the concept of civil society as a counter-point to the state survived the neo-liberal turn of the 1980s and 1990s. As Putnam (1995) argues, by the mid-1990s, the belief that economic growth is promoted through people’s engagements with civic associations had become a core philosophy of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Corbridge et al. (2005) dispute a number of Putnam’s casual propositions regarding development and civil society, nonetheless they agree that the virtues of civil society are largely admired within development studies. Indeed, they postulate that the very legitimacy of participatory development and good governance often rest on the apparent or assumed strengths of a nation’s civic institutions (Corbridge et al., 2005). This point is not however made without a critique. Although championing civil society involvement in governance has become a core development philosophy, civil society in many developing
nations is in its infancy and unable to serve its role as a check to state power. Corbridge et al. (2005, p. 189) articulate this dilemma, arguing that it “is a mistake to suppose that civil societies are fully formed in ‘developing’ countries, or that they can be made the bedrock of public policy.” The extent that this statement represents Mozambican civil associations, as well as the role of civil society in participatory governance mechanisms along the N13 and in Mozambique in general are important themes explored within this study.

2.3.5. Governmentality as an Analytical Tool

This study utilises the concept of governmentality as an analytical framework for interpreting state power in Mozambique. Additional Foucauldian perspectives on development, addressed in the following section, add depth to the governmentality framework through their propositions regarding the contestation of power of government by citizens. One of the central purposes of the growing body of work on governmentality has been to refine and extend its use as an analytical tool for understanding the critical engagement of citizens with the state (Lemke, 2013). This development has been multi-disciplinary and has occurred within the context of the neo-liberal shift of the 1980s and 1990s which has required new analytical methods and theoretical tools to account for the failure of the developmental state and the radical transformations occurring within government (Nilsson & Wallenstein, 2013). Broadly, Foucault uses ‘Governmentality’ to refer to power relations. However, specifically, he utilises the term as an analytical grid for exploring and explaining relations of power between citizen and state, while his attention to the rationalities and justifications inherent in state power inform its efforts to conduct the conduct of others (Christie, 2006; Huxley, 2008; Lemke, 2013).

Analytically, a governmentality perspective requires a more precise diagnosis of the rationalities of rule (Hart, 2004; Rose et al., 2006). This includes a more nuanced investigation into state power, in particular, the forms of knowledge and expertise that motivate governing agents (Hart, 2004; Huxley, 2008). From these points, a governmentality perspective has a number of implications for how state activity and power are interpreted within this study. First, by offering a complex perspective on state power, which moves beyond traditional discourses of sovereignty, consensus or violence, governmentality requires a more in depth analysis of government and the technologies of rule. These include the motivations and assumptions of decision-makers as well as the contestations that occur not only between citizen and state, but also within and between state institutions. Second, as Hart (2004) notes, governmentality
‘decisively decentres’ the state as the sole nexus of power, allowing for the examination of other sources of influence. As a consequence, governmentality opens up the analysis to other sources of influence and development actors, such as the role that intermediaries, like civil society, play within political society.

Despite the growing body of research, the literature has described a number of critiques of governmentality studies which are relevant to this investigation. These include: a tendency in these studies to ‘render technical’ analyses of state power; an inflexible outlook towards development projects as organic processes; a theoretical isolation within governmentality literature which has contributed to a failure to link with other important bodies of contemporary theory; and a western-centric perspective which has underrepresented developing world contexts.

Donzelot and Gordon (2008) note a tendency across governmentality studies to treat governmental regimes as things which “are always analysed at their ‘technical’ level, never in terms of a political criterion or in terms of value.” As a consequence, political systems are often analysed in what Lemke (2013) considers to be ‘reductionist’ or ‘simplistic’ forms, which neglects examination into the practice of politics (Murray-Li, 2007b). Paralleling Murray-Li’s (2007b) investigations into development and state power, this trend within governmentality literature to ‘render technical’ the art of government tends to ignore nuance within state institutions, while often neglecting the contributions of non-state actors like civil society (Donzelot & Gordon, 2008; Gabay & Death, 2012; Lemke, 2013; Nilsson & Wallenstein, 2013). Adopting and applying Murray-Li’s (2005, 2007a, 2007b) contributions to the governmentality literature addresses these shortcomings allowing for a more nuanced investigation into the intersection between development and state power in Mozambique.

In addition to a static or simplistic interpretation of political behaviour, Lemke (2013) has also critiqued the way that most of governmentality literature has treated development programmes. He argues that some authors have tended to look at development interventions as closed and coherent entities, as accomplished facts rather than projects that evolve or change (Lemke, 2013; Nilsson & Wallenstein, 2013). This treatment ignores the plurality of perspectives that exists amongst stakeholders, as well as the contestation that occurs within state-institutions.

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6 A notable exception is Gabay and Death’s (2012) contribution on African civil societies and governmentality.
Murray-Li (2005, 2007a, 2007b), as well as Scott (1998), who apply a Foucauldian perspective to development interventions, provide additional analytical tools, such as the concepts of ‘trusteeship’, a ‘will to improve’, ‘exceptional schemes’, and ‘radical vs routine development’, for interpreting the role of the Mozambican state and its development agenda in this study.

Another criticism that has been levelled against Foucauldian analyses of government is the theoretical isolation common in governmentality literature (Hart, 2004; Lemke, 2013; Nilsson & Wallenstein, 2013). Few references within most governmentality studies exist to link the literature to other important bodies of contemporary theory (Lemke, 2013). As a consequence, the governmentality ‘toolbox’ lacks some of the versatility of other, more theoretically integrated analytical approaches. Murray-Li (2007b) adds depth to her analysis of Indonesian development by integrating Marxist and Gramscianist perspectives, while Scott (1998) draws on modernist and post-modernist thought to critically examine failed improvement schemes. This study reflects on and employs the conceptual frames adopted by these prominent authors, while also exploring other views on modernity and change, such as ‘compressed development’, in order to provide insights into the relationship between development and the state in Mozambique.

Finally, in addition to the nation-state being the predominant focus of studies of governmentality, there has also been a disproportionate concentration on Western narratives and Euro-Centric contexts in particular (Ferguson & Gupta, 2002; Hart, 2004; Nilsson & Wallenstein, 2013). Lemke (2013) argues that as a consequence of this focus, non-Western or illiberal societies are often ignored in governmentality literature. He notes that additional empirical work on non-Western governmentalities might add insights which inform the use of the concept of governmentality and the ways in which governmentality studies are conducted (Lemke, 2013). Some studies have been conducted in non-Western or illiberal contexts which utilise a governmentality approach, notably: Murray-Li’s (2007b) work in Indonesia; Sigley (2006), Rogers et al. (2016), and Tsang’s (2015) studies of Chinese governmentalities; Hai Tiem’s (2015) work on Vietnam, Christie (2006) in South Africa; İşleyen’s (2016) look at neoliberal governmentalities in Tunisia and and Egypt; Alam (2015) in Bangladesh, and; Corbridge et al. (2005) in India. Nonetheless, these contexts remain significantly underrepresented within the body of governmentality literature, and studies set within Africa, in particular, are rare (Gabay & Death, 2012; Lemke, 2013). Applying a governmentality
framework to interpret the role of state power in Mozambique’s development will contribute to growing diversity within contemporary studies of governmentality.

2.4. GOVERNMENTALITY, DEVELOPMENT, AND THE STATE

2.4.1. Introduction

Corbridge et al. (2005) notes that visuality is at the heart of governmentality. The historical development of the state, as interpreted by Foucault, has been a continuous process of government attempting to more accurately see and therefore gain a more perfect understanding of its citizenry (Corbridge et al., 2005; Scott, 2011). This section explores a number of analytical perspectives, useful for understanding the ways in which the state ‘sees’ both itself and its citizens. To complement Foucault’s concept of government rationality and state power, I turn to the work of two neo-Foucauldian scholars, James Scott (1998) and Tania Murray-Li (2005, 2007a, 2007b), who use governmentality principles to interpret the role of the state in national development processes. The purpose of this section is not to present a unified theory on development and the state, but rather to add additional analytical tools for interpreting the ‘motivational nuance’ that appears within state rationalities of power (Murray-Li, 2007b).

2.4.2. Scott and ‘Exceptional Schemes’

For Foucault (1991, 2009) the purpose of government centres on its desire to understand, moderate and guide the conduct of its citizens. In his writings he reflects on the specific assemblages of practices, agents and techniques through which various rationalities of power operate to produce governable subjects (Hart, 2004). In his book “Seeing like a State’ James Scott (1998) reflects further on this dynamic of state power, specifically examining the ways in which during an era of ‘high-modernism’ states arrange populations in order to render society more legible.

Foucault examines the more subtle ways in which liberal forms of government have exercised control over their citizens. Scott’s (1998) empirical analysis of state power into a number of massive, and ultimately doomed, ‘exceptional’ development schemes reveals an approach he describes as ‘authoritarian high-modernism’. According to Scott (1998), the high-modern state operates by constructing models of the world which they would like to control and develop. However, these models tend to be over-simplified and often ignore common sense and simple,
everyday knowledge, and thus are prone to failure (Murray-Li, 2005; Scott, 1998). The development interventions he describes, namely, massive social engineering programmes such as collectivisation in the Soviet Union and villagisation in Tanzania, share in common both the scale of their vision, as well as the totality of their failure (Scott, 1998). These ‘exceptional schemes’ coercively destroyed existing spatial arrangements while introducing new, ‘improved’ ones, designed to positively shape human conduct (Murray-Li, 2005). In his analysis Scott (1998) argues that these attempts to re-order society on a grand scale failed through gross simplification, by obscuring and ignoring the complex heterogeneity of society.

Scott’s (1998) views the state as the only institution which has the economic and coercive power to fundamentally re-order society. However, from a governmentality perspective, respect for the complexity of society, and the interconnectedness of human relations is central to the art of government (Burchell et al., 1991; Foucault, 2009; Murray-Li, 2005; Nilsson & Wallenstein, 2013). To Foucault, government’s primary function entails setting conditions in which the population will be liable to behave as they are expected (Murray-Li, 2005). When successful, the state is able to devise and implement projects of improvement while respecting “the integrity and autonomous dynamics of the social body” (Hannah, 2000, p. 24). From Scott’s (1998) perspective, successful development interventions (unlike his ‘exceptional schemes’) work to incorporate local knowledge, a concept he describes as ‘Mētis,’ which can best be described as the culmination of long lines of previous thought. Furthermore, rather than employing persuasion or inducement, ‘exceptional schemes’ rely on coercion and force to uproot the lives of their subject populace (Murray-Li, 2005; Scott, 1998).

The contrast between Foucault’s liberal governmentalities and Scott’s authoritarian ‘high-modernism,’ as well as the spectrum between persuasion and coercion, is appropriate for interpreting the various technologies of rule through which governments impose their agendas. Furthermore, Scott’s concept of ‘exceptional schemes’ is particularly valuable for analysing Mozambique’s ‘mega-projects,’ such as the Nacala Corridor, which, like the examples in Scott’s study, seek to reorder subject populations on a large scale.

2.4.3. The ‘Will to Improve’

In contrast to Foucault’s concept of discipline by the state, which targets specific groups through detailed supervision and reform, the concern of government is proposed rather to be
the general well-being of the population at large (Foucault, 1991, 2009; Murray-Li, 2007b). Analysing both the work of Foucault and Scott, Murray-Li (2005) objects to a number of Foucauldian generalisations regarding the state and development. Primarily, she defends the concept of large-scale development schemes, so long as they “work on and through the practices and desires of their target population,” embracing Mētis (Murray-Li, 2005). As Murray-Li (2005, 2007b) notes, at the level of an entire population it is impossible to coerce and regulate the lives each individual citizen. Instead, states operate through other means, through a discourse of improvement which seeks to educate desires, change habits, and form aspirations and beliefs (Murray-Li, 2007b).

This ‘will to improve’ is present in Foucault’s interpretation of the state. In his work it is concerned with “men in their relations, their links… wealth, resources [and] means of subsistence…; men in their relation to… customs, habits… accidents… [and] death” (Cliffe et al., 2003, p. 1). Murray-Li (2007b, p. 5) refines Foucault’s definition in more practical terms, framing a ‘will to improve’ as “the attempt [by government] to secure the welfare of the citizenry, the improvement of its condition, the increase of its wealth, longevity, health, etc.”

In synthesis, it is proposed that government, in its desire to shape the conduct of its citizens, is invested in improving the totality of their existence, through means both subtle and overt, through manipulation and development.

Many parties share in the ‘will to improve’, both within and outside government. Scott (1998), sees development largely, and to him, necessarily, as a project of the state. However, Murray-Li (2005) has a different interpretation. She views development processes as products of assemblage, a collaboration of a variety of actors who possess and utilise a variety of objectives, knowledge and techniques to bring about improvement or development (Murray-Li, 2005, 2007a). In her book ‘Will to Improve’ Murray-Li (2007b) describes these development accomplices as ‘trustees,’ a position derived from their claim to knowledge on how others should live, what they need, and what is best for them. However, the objective of ‘trusteeship’ is not to dominate populations, rather its purpose is to enhance their natural capacity for action, and to direct it along its most efficient course (Murray-Li, 2007b). Trusteeship is an expression of intent, from one source of agency, to develop the capacities of another (Cowen & Shenton, 1996; Drayton, 2000). Thus, trustees are argued to be the principal agents of development and can occupy innumerable positions contiguous to development processes. In Murray-Li’s (2007a, 2007b) works, she identifies trusteeship within agents of the
state, including officials, politicians, and bureaucrats, but also within non-state actors, such as donors, missionaries, and members of civil society. Trustees often operate at a distance, with benevolent, even utopian intentions (Murray-Li, 2007b). They operate through inducements and incentives, and resort to coercion only as a last resort. Trustees impose development by convincing citizens that it is in their best interests, expressing it as natural progression, and steering society along their recommended course of action (Murray-Li, 2007b). Trusteeship, and the claim to power of trustee’s rests on their ability to optimise these processes.

That the ‘will to improve’ is genuine within such trustees may draw scepticism, and there have been innumerable instances of bad faith, carried out under the auspices of improvement (Murray-Li, 2007b). Yet Murray-Li (2007b), informed through her own interactions with trustees in her fieldwork, takes the commitment to improvement, inherent in trusteeship, at its word. Nonetheless, trustees must balance a diverse array of interests, while existing within institutions with diverse agendas, outlooks, and goals. And, as what both Scott (1998) and Murray-Li (2005, 2007a, 2007b) find, it is often this desire to balance what may be irreconcilable interests that account for a vast number of development failures.

Murray-Li’s (2007a, 2007b) observations on the workings of a ‘will to improve’ and a sense of ‘trusteeship’ that exists within state and non-state actors is founded on her interpretation of Foucault’s essays on ‘governmentality’ and the purpose of government, as well as on her own empirical observations of development processes in rural Indonesia. These concepts add depth to the governmentality framework through their commentary on the motivations of government and the limits of state power. In particular, they dispel the notion of a unitary concept of state rule, common in modern governmentality studies, that sees government as monolithic with distinct development objectives and a single sense of purpose (Foucault, 1991, 2009; Murray-Li, 2007b). Rather, by describing the state (and non-state actors) as a collection of trustees, motivated by a will to improve, but with different interests, goals and intentions, Murray-Li provides a more nuanced understanding of government. Furthermore, this serves to add complexity to Scott’s analysis of exceptional development, by providing an additional lens through which exceptional schemes, like the Nacala Development Corridor, with its specific relations between citizen and state can be viewed.
2.5. GOVERNMENTALITY AND GOVERNANCE

2.5.1. Introduction

It is argued thus far, that neoliberal governmentalities reveal altered ways in which the state sees and interacts with their citizens (Murray-Li, 2005, 2007b; Scott, 1998). However, these changes have gone both ways, and in response to new and modern technologies of rule, citizens have begun to ‘see the state’ in ever evolving ways that have significant consequences for state-sponsored development initiatives like the rehabilitation of the N13. The previous section describes a number of dialectic and analytical tools for understanding the ways in which government understands and interacts with its citizenry, namely neoliberal technologies of rule such as governance, public participation, and the inclusion of civil society organisations, ‘trusteeship’, and a ‘will to improve’. This section continues to draw on the ideas of Foucault to explore how, from a governmentality perspective, citizens ‘see’, engage with, and sometimes struggle against the state. Section 2.5.2 begins by reviewing ‘Seeing the State’ by Corbridge et al. (2005), which provides a theoretical analysis of development processes in rural India, with the objective of understanding the ways in which poor individuals ‘makes sense’ of the state. Next, section 2.5.3 returns to Scott’s (1998) ‘Seeing Like a State’ to explore his notion of ‘radical vs. routine development’, which lends insight into the ways in which individuals affected by development interpret change. Finally, Section 2.5.4 concludes by exploring a number of analytical concepts useful for interpreting the means through which citizens resist state power. These include themes from Scott’s (1976, 1985, 1990, 2009) writings on peasant resistance, as well as the work of Mattes and Shenga (2013) and their theory of Mozambican ‘uncritical citizenship,’ which provide additional concepts for analysing how citizens along the N13 react to development and the state.

2.5.2. ‘Seeing the State’

Scott (1998), in ‘Seeing like a State,’ is primarily interested in looking at the various ways in which the state sees its citizens. By contrast, Corbridge et al. (2005, p. 7) in ‘Seeing the State’ take the perspective of the citizen to explore the myriad ways in which the state ‘comes into view’. In particular, they question the myriad ways that government institutions are seen by different groups of people within the rural poor (Corbridge et al., 2005). After an empirical investigation into state-led participatory development in rural India, the authors draw a number of intriguing conclusions about how citizens understand and interact with government.
Although a number of the observations made within ‘Seeing the State’ most directly apply to the specific cases investigated by the authors, it is argued here that they can serve as valuable tools for analysing citizen-state relationships within other development contexts.

First, they noted that encounters between citizen and state are structured by the ways in which citizens ‘see the state’ (Corbridge et al., 2005). In other words, citizens’ perceptions of government and government institutions are framed through the everyday interactions that typify the life of the rural poor, such as accessing government services, participating in local government, or being questioned by a police officer. The success or failure of these interactions strongly influence the ways in which citizens perceive the state (Corbridge et al., 2005). Furthermore, these sightings are complex, and form in relation to the sightings of their neighbours, communities, and associations (Corbridge et al., 2005). This metaphor of ‘sight’, of people seeing the state, and the state coming ‘into view’, is continued in this study, and is used as an analytical tool for interpreting how the experiences of individuals affected by state action shape their perspectives on government and development.

### 2.5.3. ‘Radical vs Routine Development’

A further concept drawn from Scott’s work, which also benefits from Murray-Li’s contributions, is the notion of radical vs. routine development, which is a valuable dialectical discourse for analysing how affected individuals interpret change (Murray-Li, 2005; Scott, 1976, 1985, 2009). Scott’s ‘exceptional schemes’ are classified as radical forms of development that aim for the total transformation of society, a form of what David Harvey (2006) calls, ‘creative destruction’. The reasons for the failure of such schemes is explored in Scott’s (1985) ‘Weapons of the Weak’ where he theorises that this type of radical development is ultimately unwanted by the populace. Drawing from the influence of Gramsci, Scott (1985) argues that because the working class gets most of its ideas on development from dominant groups, they are ultimately wary of the development of a ‘revolutionary consciousness.’ Instead, citizens negotiate their right to a decent livelihood according to their class position relative to societal elites through an implicit social contract that subtly mediates and expresses the needs of both groups (Murray-Li, 2007b; Sabogal, 2009). Thus, this analysis concludes that citizens whose lives are affected by development, are more likely to reject radical change in favour of ad hoc limited or concrete benefits (Scott, 1976, 1985).
Murray-Li (2007b) agrees with Scott’s claims that most ordinary individuals tend to be sceptical when presented with radical visions for change, particularly when such schemes are expounded by the state. She notes that this scepticism does not necessarily rule out the desirability of large scale-development interventions, so long as they work in conjunction with the customs and needs of their target population (Murray-Li, 2007b). In addition, Murray-Li notes that although contemporary projects occasionally take the form of Scott’s ‘high-modernist’ radical development schemes, more often programmes both large and small, are less grand, drawn together from an “existing repertoire, a matter of habit, accretion, and bricolage” (Murray-Li, 2007b, p. 5). Thus, in the case of most everyday development processes, radical change is not part of the agenda. This explanation of development interventions as programmes for both radical and routine change serves as a productive way of interpreting infrastructure development in Mozambique, particularly for understanding the ways in which individual citizens decipher the state’s development agenda and interact with infrastructural mega-projects.

2.5.4. Protesting the State and the Uncritical Citizen

This section explores a number of concepts that help to interpret the means through which citizens not only ‘see the state’ but also begin to ‘speak back’ to government through alternative forms of participation (Corbridge et al., 2005). The section starts by returning to Scott’s (1976, 1985, 1990, 2009) works on peasant resistance and rebellion, which describe a number of tools that citizens use to engage the state in subtle forms for protest. The section concludes by presenting the work of Mattes and Shenga (2013), which empirically examines the ways in which Mozambique’s citizens criticise and object to the actions of the state, and has led to their notion of the Mozambican ‘uncritical citizen’. Both bodies of work provide valuable analytical tools for interpreting the ways in which citizens along the N13 resist development and the state.

A crucial aspect of governmentality is the possibility of resistance (Scott, 2011). To Foucault (1991, 2009), state power and the freedom to refuse to submit to that power cannot be separated. This connection appeared in his earliest writings on governmentality, with Foucault (1978, p. 95) commenting that “where there is power, there is resistance”. In development studies, resistance can take a number of forms, with the most disruptive forms of protest often drawing the most attention (Scott, 1985, 1990, 2009). However, Scott (1985, p. 36) argues that resistance to state power is often subtle and much more pervasive, observing that “everyday
forms of resistance make no headlines”. In fact, he notes, in the case of Indonesia, the most marginalised of the poor are unlikely to participate in highly visible or openly rebellious forms of politics (Corbridge et al., 2005; Scott, 2011; Scott, 1976, 1985). Rather they engage the state quietly and behind the scenes, through efforts such as non-participation, delivering complaints, the refusal of services, and the withholding of fees. These are acts Scott (1985) collectively refers to as ‘the weapons of the weak’. In their work, Corbridge et al. (2005) affirm Scott’s position, noting that in rural India overt protest is rare, instead poor citizens struggle or ‘push back’ against the government through non-participation of participatory programmes and the discrediting of state development discourses.

Another ‘weapon of the weak’ is the levying of criticism by citizens, either publicly or privately, against the state. ‘Critical citizenship’ involves the display of healthy criticism by citizens who offer their leaders neither ‘blind trust’ nor cynical, knee-jerk distrust (Mattes & Shenga, 2013). In many authoritarian, single-party, or post-Communist states, excessive trust is not an issue. As Mishler and Rose (1997) note, citizens of states with histories of autocracy have ample reason to distrust political and social institutions. Thus, in many African states scepticism and distrust are more likely to characterise citizens’ relationship with political institutions (Lipset, 1959; Owusu, 1992). Rather, the challenge is overcoming the abiding cynicism and distrust which are the predictable legacy of authoritarianism (Mishler & Rose, 1997).

Mattes and Shenga (2013) explore this relationship of trust between state and citizen within a Mozambican context. Using data from Afrobarometer⁷, an independent survey measuring the social, political, and economic atmosphere across 35 African countries, they found that relatively low proportions of Mozambicans are consistently able to answer key questions about the performance of government and democracy in their country (Mattes & Shenga, 2013). Also, they were consistently unable to offer preferences about what type of regime Mozambique ought to have (Mattes & Shenga, 2013). Moreover, Mozambicans who were able to offer opinions to the questions posed generally gave their political institutions and leaders high levels of trust and approval, while perceiving low levels of official corruption (Mattes & Shenga, 2013). Thus, they displayed trust in leaders despite voicing criticism with government performance and dissatisfaction with official approaches to a number of different policy areas.

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⁷ www.afrobarometer.org
(Mattes & Shenga, 2013). Finally, those Mozambicans surveyed exhibited some of the lowest levels of commitment to democracy, as measured by Afrobarometer, yet at the same time, Mozambicans were some of the most likely to say their country is democratic (Mattes & Shenga, 2013). From these results Mattes and Shenga (2013) concluded that that Mozambicans uncritically overrate the performance of the Mozambican state, in contrast to the literature which predicts scepticism and distrust.

From these findings, Mattes and Shenga (2013) observed that the combination of Mozambicans’ very high levels of trust in leaders and institutions with very low levels of commitment to democracy means that they present precisely the opposite archetype: that of ‘uncritical citizenship.’ They argue that this pattern of un-criticalness amongst Mozambicans can be partially explained as a function of living in a low-information society, the primary features of which include a lack of schooling and limited access to news media (Mattes & Shenga, 2013). However, they also offer a number of alternative explanations, including: fear of voicing dissent created by sixteen years of civil war, the domination of political discourse by Frelimo (the governing party), an electoral system that removes critical cognitive linkages between citizens and the political system, and a socially embedded and culturally transmitted set of orientations shaped by indigenous tradition and two centuries of Portuguese colonial rule (Mattes & Shenga, 2013). The contrast between a critical and uncritical citizenship is an important analytical tool for interpreting the ways in which citizens first ‘see the state,’ and second, begin to ‘push back’ against state power.

2.6. CONCLUSION

This chapter presents the theoretical concepts which frame the analysis contained in this study. The overriding aim of this thesis is to analyse the construction of the Nacala Development Corridor and the rehabilitation of the N13 Highway, in order to interrogate the impacts of the development on local citizens and examine the relationship between citizen and state within development processes. It does not seek to propose a unified body of theory within which to frame this question, rather it introduces a number of related theoretical concepts which serve as analytical tools within a broad framework on the relationship between citizen and state. This framework, however, draws from the writings of Michael Foucault, particularly his notion of ‘governmentality’ which offers a nuanced perspective on government and development. By
way of conclusion, this section summarises the various concepts that have been introduced while describing their implications for this study’s analysis. The section concludes by describing the theoretical contributions of the study.

This thesis is being written within the discipline of development studies. As a consequence, ‘development’ is the focus of the study. Development can be conceptualised as a positive vision for society, a historical narrative of progress, as well as deliberate efforts of improvement on the part of the state (Thomas, 2000). Discursively, development is used within this study to refer to processes of change which are implicitly, within the context of the source, positive. When this implication is not present then such phenomenon is described as change rather than development. Furthermore, development ideologies and operating technologies of rule, the tension between ‘developmentalism’ and ‘neoliberalism’ provides a macro-theoretical framework for interpreting the role of the Mozambican state in directing its development agenda.

Analytically, the governmentality perspective has a number of implications for this study. First, governmentality requires more precise diagnosis of the rationalities of rule (Hart, 2004; Rose et al., 2006). By offering a complex perspective on state power, which moves beyond traditional discourses of sovereignty, consensus or violence, governmentality requires a more in depth analysis of government and the technologies of rule, including the motivations and assumptions of decision-makers as well as the contestations that occur not only between citizen and state, but also within and between state institutions. Moreover, as Hart (2004) notes, governmentality ‘decisively decentres’ the state as sole nexus of power, allowing for the examination of other sources of influence and development actors (Hart, 2004).

Both Scott and Murray-Li make provide critical contributions to this theory of state power, and the ways in which government views and interacts with its citizens, in particular. First, Scott’s (1998) writings on development, especially his concept of ‘exceptional schemes,’ is adopted as a concept for analysing state action in large-scale programmes like the Nacala Corridor. Despite being overly state-centric, Scott’s (1998) thoughts on local knowledge, embodied in his concept of as ‘Mētis’ help add shape to this study’s interpretations of state interaction with citizens over development and planning issues. The work of Murray-Li (2005, 2007a, 2007b) draws from and critiques Scott’s writings, and adds her own extensive field-work, to generate a more nuanced application of Foucault’s core concepts to large-scale development
programmes. By describing the state (and non-state actors) as a collection of trustees, motivated by a ‘will to improve,’ but with different interests, goals and intentions, Murray-Li provides a more nuanced understanding of government. Furthermore, these authors add complexity to Scott’s analysis of development, by providing an additional lens through which exceptional schemes, like the Nacala Corridor, and their relationship between citizen and state can be understood.

Governmentality also informs this study’s analysis of how citizens interpret see and react to the state (Corbridge et al., 2005). Neo-liberal technologies of rule, like good governance, public participation, and civil society organisations, are among the diverse practices of government, embodied within democratic institutions and civic associations, which create and structure settings for the conduct of business between the citizens and the state (Corbridge et al., 2005; Foucault, 1991, 2009). Furthermore analytical concepts connect governmentality with development. First, Corbridge et al. (2005) interpret the ways in which poor individuals ‘make sense’ of the state. They argue that encounters between citizen and state are structured by the ways in which citizens ‘see the state,’ and that citizens’ perceptions of the state are framed through the everyday interactions with government and government institutions (Corbridge et al., 2005). These sightings are complex and strongly influence the ways in which citizens perceive the state in their daily lives. This metaphor of ‘sight’, of people ‘seeing the state’, and the state coming ‘into view’, is used within this study as an analytical tool for interpreting how citizens allow their experiences with the state to shape their perspectives on government and development.

A further concept drawn from Scott’s work, which also benefits from Murray-Li’s contributions, is the notion of radical versus routine development, which is a valuable dialectical discourse for analysing how affected individuals interpret change (Murray-Li, 2005; Scott, 1976, 1985). Scott (1985) theorises that of radical development is ultimately unwanted by the populace. Instead, citizens negotiate their right to a decent livelihood as established by their class within society (Murray-Li, 2007b; Sabogal, 2009). Thus, from this perspective, citizens whose lives are affected by development are more likely to reject radical responses in favour of receiving limited or concrete benefits (Scott, 1976, 1985). This negotiation creates an additional dynamic through which citizens interpret state-led development interventions.
Finally, a crucial aspect of governmentality is the possibility of resistance (Scott, 2011). To Foucault (2009), state power, and the freedom to refuse to submit to that power, are dialectically related. In development studies, resistance can take a number of forms, with the most disruptive forms of protest often drawing the most attention (Scott, 1985, 2009). However, Scott (Scott, 1976, 1985, 1990, 2009) argues that resistance to state power is often subtle and much more pervasive, and consists of acts Scott collectively refers to as ‘the weapons of the weak’. Criticism of the state by its citizens, either publicly or privately, is an important ‘weapon of the weak’. According to Mattes and Shenga (2013) ‘critical citizenship’ requires a citizenry who display a healthy scepticism towards the state and its agents. However, Mattes and Shenga (2013) observed that Mozambican citizens’ unique combination of high levels of trust in public leaders and institutions with very low levels of commitment to democracy means that they present precisely the opposite archetype: that of ‘uncritical citizenship’. They offer the explanation of this pattern of un-criticalness amongst Mozambicans as a function of living in a low-information society, the primary features of which include a lack of schooling and limited access to news media (Mattes & Shenga, 2013).

Finally, this study makes no claims on presenting a radical new theoretical interpretation of society, rather it seeks to contribute to the debate within development and governmentality studies. In particular, by applying a governmentality perspective within a developing world context, this study hopes to add to a growing body of governmentality studies in the global south. In addition, this study seeks to test Mattes and Shenga’s (2013) theory of an “uncritical citizenship” in Mozambique. They argue that Mozambicans are more likely to overrate the performance of the Mozambican state. Moreover, although Mozambicans generally speak positively about public leaders and institutions, they voice criticism with government performance and dissatisfaction with official approaches towards development. Because Mattes and Shenga’s work largely relies on quantitative data, responses from the Afrobarometer survey, it will be valuable to see whether this study’s qualitative analysis adds depth to their findings or possibly reveals alternative explanations for their conclusions.
CHAPTER THREE:
MOZAMBIQUE: CONFLICT AND CHANGE

“Mozambique is... one of the great success stories in modern Africa”
-British Secretary of State for International Development, Hilary Benn (Hanlon & Smart, 2012, p. 4)

“Yes, there are more bicycles. Yes, there has been economic development ..... But there has not been enough development, and the majority are getting poorer.”
– Joseph Hanlon and Theresa Smart (2012, p. 8)

3.1. INTRODUCTION

Mozambique is a country displaying many contrasts and contradictions. From one perspective, Mozambique gleams, from the new skyscrapers of Maputo to the rapidly growing port of Nacala, Mozambique appears to have become one of Africa’s most successful stories of post-conflict reconstruction and economic recovery. Since the end of its devastating civil war, which concluded in 1992, neoliberal Mozambique has enjoyed impressive economic growth and is relatively stable politically. Investments in mineral resources, industry, and services, coupled with strong donor support have sustained growth rates in the country averaging around 7.5% since 1998 (Phiri, 2012). Furthermore, close relations with international financial institutions, and a reputation as an investment friendly location, have facilitated large government and foreign interventions towards modernising the country’s education, health and infrastructure systems. Indeed, Mozambique is seen as a ‘good pupil’ of the IMF and World Bank, and remains in good favour with the international aid community (Christie & Hanlon, 2001; Cunguara & Hanlon, 2012).

Yet, from another angle, when the shine of new construction has faded, or one has left the comfortable confines of the capital, Mozambique can appear to an outside observer, as a country that modernity has passed by. The country has been, and remains, one of the world’s poorest for nearly 25 years, and according to some indicators poverty seems to be worsening rather than improving (UNDP, 2013; WBG, 2016). As a consequence of Mozambique’s shift from developmentalism to a neoliberal, ‘Washington Consensus’ ideology, the private sector has been given significant incentives to flourish, and the role of the state, to intervene in the economy or promote social development, has been severely curtailed (Hanlon & Smart, 2012).
In recent years, the Mozambican state has played a more interventionist role, however these tendencies have been discouraged by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) who maintain significant influence over Mozambican development policy (Hanlon and Smart 2008). Nonetheless, Mozambique remains one of the world’s most aid-dependent countries, and the majority of its population live in absolute poverty (Christie & Hanlon, 2001; IFAD, 2012; WBG, 2016).

In order to provide a context for the empirical research undertaken in this study this chapter explores these contradictions. Moreover, it examines modernisation processes at play in Mozambique and assess the country’s constantly shifting development trajectory in order to establish an understanding of Mozambican modernity. The chapter begins by presenting a short history of Mozambique from its early history as a modern state to the end of the civil war in 1992. This brief synopsis is important for understanding the developmental challenges Mozambique faces today. In addition to this history, Section 3.2 briefly describes the country, including its geography, demographics, economy, and political structures. Next, Section 3.3 examines Mozambique’s experiences with neo-liberal development since the nations turn towards the ‘Washington Consensus’ in the early 1990s. The section presents major themes from the literature on Mozambique’s commitment to neo-liberalism while giving voice to the growing criticism surrounding the country’s fragmented, contradictory, and ineffective development goals and vision. Section 3.4 discusses a major tenet of Mozambique’s neo-liberal development policy, infrastructure development, and includes a brief overview of major infrastructural projects currently underway in the country. Finally, Section 3.5 concludes by highlighting common themes describing development and modernity in Mozambique at the time of this study.

3.2. MOÇAMBICANA: MOZAMBICAN HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY, AND PEOPLE

3.2.1. Introduction

Since its independence in 1975, Mozambique, a large Southeast African nation of over 25 million people has experienced nearly 30 years of war (Phiri, 2012). Yet in Mozambique conflict, violence, and subjugation are not modern phenomena. Rarely in the course of its long and complicated history have the people now considered to be Mozambican independently steered the destiny of their own country. This Section gives a brief outline of this history in order to provide context for understanding the Mozambique of today. In addition, the Section
includes a short overview of the country, including its political structures, geography, demographics and natural resources.

3.2.2.Origins to Independence

Mozambican history stretches back much further than its independence in 1975. According to Henriksen (1979), the aboriginal inhabitants of Mozambique were most likely distant predecessors of the Khoisan, however, like other aboriginal cultures in southern Africa, these early Mozambicans were subdued and displaced during the Bantu migrations between the second and fifth centuries AD (Henriksen, 1979; Kamalu, 2007). Mozambique’s first contact with non-African cultures is estimated to have begun by the ninth century AD, with Arab traders who exploited the Indian Ocean’s monsoon navigation cycles to establish trading settlements along the southeast African Coast (see Figure 3.1) (Funada-Classen, 2012; Newitt, 1995). In 1498, the Portuguese Navigator Vasco da Gama became the first European to sail directly from Europe to India, landing on the way in southern Mozambique. By 1505, the Portuguese had established a factory and a stockade in Sofala, thus initiating a permanent Portuguese presence in Mozambique that would last for the next 470 years (Funada-Classen, 2012; Newitt, 1995).

Prior to the late 19th century, formal Portuguese influence was confined to coastal settlements while an increasingly Africanised population of Afro-Portuguese ‘Prazos’ dominated trade in the interior through local intermediaries (Newitt, 1981). The great ‘scramble for Africa’ during the mid to late 19th century resulted in a shift to a Mozambican colonial state (Newitt, 1995). In order to block European (primarily British) designs on Portuguese territory, Portugal began in earnest to create and consolidate a centralised colonial state. In 1853, the government in Lisbon enacted a series of measures to open up and liberalise trade in Mozambique (Newitt, 1995). These measures, combined with a huge global surge in trade and the start of the industrialisation and mining boom in South Africa, began to lay the groundwork for a capitalist export-oriented Mozambican economy. Politically, a reinvigorated colonial government,

8 On his first voyage he landed twice on the Mozambican coast, at the mouth of the Qua-Qua River (now the Rio dos Bons Sinais and near the city of Quelimane), and Mozambique Island (Ilha de Moçambique) (Newitt, 1995).
9 In the fifteenth century, Sofala (located near the modern city of Beira) was Mozambique’s most prominent trade outlet, handling the flow of slaves, gold and ivory from the hinterland while its Muslim ruling class exploited the Zambezi and Mozambique’s other great rivers to spread Islam and access inland trading outposts like Tete and Sena (Kamalu, 2007; Newitt, 1995).
keenly aware of the need to demonstrate its sovereignty in Portuguese territories to other European powers, pursued an aggressive policy of conquest (Henriksen, 1979). The final partition of Africa, formalised at the Berlin Conference of 1884-5 and completed by the start of the 20th century, solidified Mozambique’s modern borders while prying away from the British considerable amounts of land in present day Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Botswana that were traditionally within Portugal’s sphere of influence (see Figure 3.1.) (Kamalu, 2007; Newitt, 1981).

Figure 3.1: Political Map of Mozambique (EduAction, 12/30/2015)
As western Europe’s least industrialised state, Portugal was in a weak position to effectively govern and exploit its colonies (Funada-Classen, 2012). However, the last two decades of Portuguese rule from the 1950s to 1975 saw an intensification of development unlike any other point in Mozambican history. In order to pre-empt potential independence movements, the Salazar regime in Lisbon poured investment into Mozambique, creating much of the infrastructure Mozambique would inherit at independence, while encouraging white Portuguese settlers to emigrate to the colony\(^\text{10}\) (Funada-Classen, 2012; Newitt, 1981).

Unlike other colonial conflicts which burst into intense and violent conflagrations, Mozambique’s war for independence was largely fought in European diplomatic halls. Although the national liberation movement was successful in destabilising the country, fighting was limited, and guerrilla fighters settled into a protracted strategy of nibbling at the country’s frontier regions throughout the 1960s and early 1970s, ending in 1974 with the collapse of the conservative regime in Lisbon and Portugal’s retreat from Mozambique (Meredith, 2011; Newitt, 1981). As the colonial regime crumbled, and the prospects for a minority-dominated state akin to neighbouring South Africa declined, Portuguese settlers fled in droves, with over a quarter of a million leaving the country at independence\(^\text{11}\) (Akwagyiram, 2013; Meredith, 2011).

3.2.3. Post 1975: Socialism, Developmentalism, and Civil War

The new independent state, created in 1975, embraced a single-party system, led by the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique) or Frelimo, which had successfully transitioned from a nationalist guerilla movement to a political party. Upon taking up the reins of government, Frelimo sought to dramatically transform Mozambican society, dismantling the colonial economic structure through rapid industrialisation and the implementation of a new Marxist-socialist economic system (Funada-Classen, 2012; Phiri, 2012). To meet this objective, the first president of Mozambique, Samora Machel, consolidated a national programme that was based on three tenets: modernisation, socialism, and nationalism (Phiri, 2012). Industry, infrastructure, and natural resources were nationalised and the state

\(^{10}\) Before independence Mozambique’s racial demography very closely mirrored that of neighbouring South Africa, which had a black majority with significant white and mixed race minorities (Newitt, 1981).

\(^{11}\) Most emigrated back to Portugal or to South Africa, often with all of their moveable property and capital in tow, depriving the new Mozambican state of much of its machinery, skilled labour, and professionals (Akwagyiram, 2013; Meredith, 2011).
played an active role in savings, investment, production, and trade. The government also nationalised health, education, and rented property and many businesses that had been abandoned by the Portuguese were absorbed by the state (Hanlon & Smart, 2012).

In the years immediately following independence the economy steadily declined as the new leadership struggled to build the new regime. However, after a few years of painful adjustment progress it became apparent that the economy had begun to show signs of growth and many of the programmes implemented by Frelimo began to reap dividends (Hanlon & Smart, 2012). Furthermore, in tandem with its economic reforms, Frelimo gained widespread popularity by pushing the expansion of health and education that began to extend support to segments of the population that had been chronically neglected under colonialism (Hanlon & Smart, 2012).

Internationally, Portugal’s antagonism towards decolonisation was supported by its North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) partners. As a result, Mozambique, like many of Africa’s newly independent states, was forced to turn to the Eastern bloc for help 12 (Christie & Hanlon, 2001; Meredith, 2011). The state also built up support in Western Europe, particularly amongst Italy and the Nordic countries (Finnegan, 1993; Hanlon, 1991; Newitt, 1995). By the late 1970s, Frelimo felt encouraged enough by the positive results of its economic programmes and the support it had been receiving domestically and abroad, for it to begin opening up its economy and encourage foreign investment while still embodying the principles of the developmental state (Finnegan, 1993; Hanlon & Smart, 2012; Nordstrom, 1997).

Regionally, however, Frelimo did not receive as warm a reception. On its border the new state faced hostile white minority governments in Rhodesia and South Africa that were not pleased to see a socialist, non-racial government succeed in Mozambique (Kamalu, 2007). When independent Mozambique agreed to impose the UN sanctions against minority-ruled Rhodesia, Ian Smith’s government responded by creating an anti-Frelimo guerrilla force, which eventually took the name Resistência Nacional Moçambicana (Mozambican National Resistance) or Renamo (Hanlon & Smart, 2012).

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12 Remarkably, due to tactful diplomacy, Frelimo was able to solicit and maintain backing from both China and the Soviet Union, despite their mutual hostility (Christie & Hanlon, 2001; Meredith, 2011).
The independence of Zimbabwe in 1980 did not bring an end to the fighting. Following Robert Mugabe’s election, Renamo was quickly handed over to South Africa, who was seen as a bastion against communism by the conservative governments in the USA and UK (Cabrita, 2001; Meredith, 2011). South Africa’s support significantly bolstered Renamo, and the war escalated to a new level of intensity and violence, with attacks reaching the outskirts of the capital, Maputo (Finnegan, 1993). The civil war did not end until the end of the Cold War\textsuperscript{13}, and the collapse of apartheid in South Africa in the early 1990s. A peace accord was finally signed between Renamo and the Mozambican government on the 4\textsuperscript{th} of October, 1992 in Rome.

As Hanlon (1996) notes, the decade-long war had had a devastating impact on Mozambique’s social and economic infrastructure. Both Renamo and government soldiers resorted to brutal tactics and targeted civilians. In their bid to delegitimise Frelimo, Renamo resorted to terror tactics, murdering travellers, raiding villages in the night, executing government officials, and destroying any vestige of the state, including schools and health clinics (M Meredith, 2011; Nordstrom, 1997). Hanlon (1996) estimates the cost of Mozambique’s civil war at one million deaths, from a population of 13 to 15 million, with five million displaced or made refugees. Aside from the loss of human life, most of the developmental gains made in the post-independence period had been rolled back\textsuperscript{14}. Damage has been estimated at over $20 billion dollars and according to the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) (1989) Mozambique’s Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was only half of what it would have been without the war. The civil war devastated the population and economy to such a degree, that even today, over 20 years after the peace agreement, the effects still linger, most visibly in the missing limbs of land mine victims, but also in the poor state of the country’s infrastructure network, a subject discussed in the Section 3.4.

\textbf{3.2.4. Political Structures and Arrangements}

The end of the Mozambican Civil War in 1992 was followed by a rapid UN-monitored demobilisation of combatants and then democratic elections in 1994, which Frelimo won convincingly (Hanlon & Smart, 2012). The form and function of the Mozambican state is set out by the 1990 \textit{Constitution of the Republic of Mozambique}, which, following revision in

\textsuperscript{13} The Cold War refers to a state of political and military tension that existed after World War II between the western powers in Europe and North America and eastern powers led by the Soviet Union (Meredith, 2011).

\textsuperscript{14} According to Hanlon (1996), of the 800 new health clinics created by the new government, over 500 were destroyed or closed by Renamo, while 60\% of all primary schools in the country were ruined.
2004, established the current framework of a semi-presidential representative democratic republic (Mozambique, 2004). Under the Constitution, the President of Mozambique\textsuperscript{15} is both head of state and head of government (Mozambique, 2004). The President, directly elected for five-year terms, is responsible for establishing a government, appointing a prime minister\textsuperscript{16} to coordinate the Council of Ministers, and for exercising executive authority (Mozambique, 2004). Legislative authority rests both within the government and the Assembly of the Republic (Mozambique, 2004). The Assembly currently has 250 members and is elected for five-year terms through proportional representation (Mozambique, 2004). Although the Constitution establishes a multi-party system, Frelimo has controlled both the Assembly and the Presidency since the first elections held under the new constitution in 1994\textsuperscript{17} (Carr, 2016).

Below national government, Mozambique has 11 administrative provinces, which are further divided into 158 Distritos\textsuperscript{18} (Districts), 413 Postos (Administrative Posts), Localidades (Localities), and Povoacoes\textsuperscript{19} (Aggregated Villages) (CLGF, 2015). The administrators and bureaucrats in each of these offices are not elected, but are instead appointed by their administrative head through consultation with party (Frelimo) officials\textsuperscript{20} (CLGF, 2015). The Constitution of 1990 also established a system of local government (Mozambique, 2004). The Constitution defines two forms of locally elected authority: Municipal councils in cities and towns, and village councils in rural areas (Mozambique, 2004). There are currently 53 locally-elected Municipalities covering Mozambique’s major cities and towns. Municipal mayors are directly elected, while members of the Municipal Assembly are elected based on proportional representation, both for five-year terms (CLGF, 2015; Mozambique, 2004). Two consequences of this system are noteworthy. First, because most Mozambicans do not live in cities, only a portion of the population is represented by locally-elected government (CLGF, 2015). Second,

\textsuperscript{15} Currently, Filipe Nyusi, the fourth President of Mozambique and the former Minister of Defence (2008-2014).
\textsuperscript{16} Currently, Carlos Agostinho do Rosário, a career Frelimo functionary and former Governor of Zambezia Province.
\textsuperscript{17} Frelimo has never failed to secure a 50% majority during presidential elections or within the Assembly (Carr, 2016).
\textsuperscript{18} Every Mozambican lives within either a Distrito (District) or a Municipality. A Distrito is usually made up of a number of Postos (Administrative Posts), Localidades (Localities), however, they are distinct areas and do not encompass an entire district. So for citizens who do not live in a Posto or Localidade, the closest administrative office will be in the district capital (Palembe and Rusere, 17/10/2012).
\textsuperscript{19} These are a relic of the socialist period and are increasingly rare. At the time of the research there were no Povoacoes within the study area (Palembe and Rusere, 17/10/2012).
\textsuperscript{20} The President appoints Provincial Governors, who in turn appoints the Chefe do Distrito (District Chiefs) within their province, and so on down the chain of command. The lowest level of appointed administrative official is the Secretario whose responsibility is at the village or neighbourhood (Bairro) level. They do not have an office and usually work under the directive of the nearest Chefe do Posto (Post Chief) (Palembe and Rusere, 17/10/2012).
because administrative positions are filled by the ruling party, most citizens are directly represented by appointed Frelimo officials at the Posto or Localidade-level, regardless of the political sympathies of the constituency.21

Parallel to this formal arrangement for local government is an officially-recognised but poorly defined system of traditional leadership. Banned at independence in 197522, the authority of traditional leadership was restored by state decree in 2000 under the term ‘community authorities’23 (Buur & Kyed, 2006; Kyed & Buur, 2006). The landscape of traditional leadership in Mozambique is complex, but briefly, a number of distinctions characterise this system of parallel local governance. First, unlike in some neighbouring Southern African states, traditional authorities in Mozambique are tied to a particular locality (i.e. a village, neighbourhood, or market24), rather than to a specific tribe or group25 (Meneses, 2005). Second, not a recognised component of government, traditional authorities serve an intermediary role between citizen and state (Kyed & Buur, 2006). Under the 2000 Decree, they are expected to perform a double role as representatives of their communities before outside entities, while also serving as assistants of the state (Buur & Kyed, 2006; CLGF, 2015). Legally, the role that traditional leadership are meant to play as assistants to the state is much more clearly defined (Buur & Kyed, 2006). The role of traditional authorities as representatives of their communities is taken for granted, with the state assuming that by virtue of their position as traditional leaders, they de facto represent the interests of their communities, and derive their natural legitimacy from such representation (Buur & Kyed, 2006). As such, traditional leadership occupies a nebulous position within Mozambican local political society.

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21 A curious exception to this rule occurred within the study area. The Posto of Natikiri falls within the borders of the Municipality of Nampula Cidade. At the time of the study, the municipality was not controlled by Frelimo, but rather the Movimento Democrático de Moçambique (Democratic Movement of Mozambique) (MDM) who had won a majority in the previous election. Because a Municipality is independent of the Administrative system, the MDM mayor of Nampula Cidade was able to appoint an MDM Chefe do Posto in Natikiri, a position normally filled by Frelimo (Cebola, 13/11/2014).

22 Frelimo has had an often antagonist relationship with traditional leadership. After being banned at independence, traditional authorities often expressed sympathy for Renamo, emerging as a centre of resistance to the state (Finnegan, 1993; Hanlon, 1991).

23 In addition to traditional leaders, this official category includes the Secretarios de Bairro who at independence in 1975 was created by Frelimo to replace the functions of traditional authorities (Kyed & Buur, 2006).

24 This is a legacy of Mozambique’s socialist period when ethnic and tribal differences were stifled by the state (Newitt, 1995). Within the study area the three most common positions of traditional leadership are the Chefe do Mercado (Market Chief), the Chefe do Bairro (Neighbourhood or Village Chief), and the Regulo (A holdover from the Portuguese system of rule) (Palembe and Rusere, 17/10/2012).

25 This is a legacy of the Portuguese system of administration which ruled largely through traditional authorities (Henriksen, 1979; Newitt, 1995).
Finally, under the 1990 Constitution, the Mozambican state affirms its commitment to neoliberal technologies of rule, such as public participation, good governance, and the inclusion of intermediaries (e.g. civil society organisations) in decision-making processes (Mozambique, 2004). The Constitution explicitly declares that policies should be formulated “in collaboration with…appropriate partners”, emphasising the state’s obligation to coordinate with affected citizens, as well as other actors like civil society and the private sector, on development issues (Mozambique, 2004, p. 172).

3.2.5. Physical Geography

The ability for guerrilla movements to flourish, both in the War for Independence and the Civil War, was largely due to Mozambique’s immense size and overwhelmingly rural character. The country is divided into three geographical regions (see Figure 3.2). The south extends from the South African border in the south to the Save River in the north, and consists of the capital city of Maputo, and the provinces of Maputo, Gaza, and Inhambane. The largest city in the central region is Beira in the province of Sofala. Other provinces in the central region include Manica, Zambezia and Tete. Finally the northern region, in which this research is focused, consists of Niassa, Nampula and Cabo Delgado provinces.

The physical geography of Mozambique is defined by its coastline. Stretching more than 2,400 kilometres along the Indian Ocean this coastline has been the entry point for the forces that shaped early Mozambique, from the Arab traders who brought Islam, Swahili, and the slave trade to the north, to the Portuguese explorers, and later colonists, who occupied the seaboard before filtering inland (Hanlon & Smart, 2012). This physical connection with water is reflected by the great rivers which feed some of the country’s most productive farmland, but regularly cause devastation and death by flooding (Christie & Hanlon, 2001). As a consequence, the overwhelming majority of the Mozambican population resides at low altitudes and a short distance from the sea.

26 Mozambique occupies an area of 801 590 square kilometres, an area roughly three times the size of the United Kingdom and nearly three quarters of the size of South Africa (CIA, 2013).
27 Even today the coast still influences modern Mozambique, drawing tourists who flock to the countries beaches, providing a livelihood for countless fishermen, and exposing the land to the violent cyclones which frequently tear through the region.
28 Particularly the Limpopo, Save, Zambezi, and Buzi.
29 A consequence of Mozambique’s unique history is that it is a country largely devoid of hinterland. Nonetheless, it still possesses some rough terrain. In the north, limestone karsts, small mountains jutting out of the surrounding
The climate of Mozambique is largely tropical, with small variations due to elevation or distance from the coast. Most of the country experiences two major seasons: a dry and relatively cool winter, during which rain is rare and drought inevitable in some parts of the country, and a wet and hot summer, during which the rain can fall in torrents, causing localised flooding and making transport difficult in rural areas (Webersik & Wilson, 2009). Mozambique is also particularly vulnerable to cyclones generated in the Indian Ocean, which can descend from the northeast between December and March, which often cause significant damage and heavy plains, break the horizon in Nampula and Niassa. While, the highlands around Lichinga are cool and high enough to support a timber industry.
flooding. Furthermore, the cyclone and rainy seasons overlap, exaggerating the risk of severe flooding in low lying areas\textsuperscript{30}.

3.2.6. Mozambique’s People

Mozambique’s population of over 24,000,000 (est. 2013) has recovered from three decades of war and is growing rapidly\textsuperscript{31} (CIA, 2013). The majority of Mozambique’s population is made up of Bantu-speaking cultures, although sizeable and growing Portuguese and South Asian minorities exist, particularly in large cities (Henriksen, 1979). Following independence, Portuguese was retained by the new government as a lingua franca, and it remains the language of business and government. Nonetheless, several Bantu languages are still widely spoken, including eMakhuwa (Makua), which is the second most commonly spoken language in the country, after Portuguese, particularly in provinces of Nampula and Niassa.

The quality of life for the Mozambican people has improved since the end of the civil war, however many people remain desperately poor and lack access to basic services like clean water, schools, and health clinics (Dibben, 2006). The Human Development Index (HDI), which is a composite statistic of life expectancy, education, and income, compiled by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), ranked Mozambique 185 out of 187 countries in to 2013\textsuperscript{32} (UNDP, 2013). Moreover, according to a number of statistics that assess poverty, such as child mortality, malnutrition, and rural cash incomes, the lot of many Mozambicans has become harder as poverty seemingly deepens, a topic of discussion in the next section (Hanlon & Smart, 2012; WBG, 2016). Within Mozambique itself poverty is not evenly distributed. According to the Vale Columbia Centre on Sustainable International Investment (VCC) (2011), the capital, Maputo, is generally much wealthier than the rest of the country, while Zambezia, the most populous province, is the poorest, with over 70\% of its population estimated to be living in poverty (VCC, 2011). City dwellers in general are more

\textsuperscript{30} Floods that can affect up to a half a million people are semi-annual occurrences in Mozambique. The 2000 floods, the worst in a generation, displaced over two million people while claiming 700 lives and causing hundreds of millions of dollars in damage (The International Research Institute for Climate and Society (IRI) 2007).

\textsuperscript{31} According to the Factbook (2013), Mozambique’s growth rate ranks 33\textsuperscript{rd} in the world while its birth rate is 11\textsuperscript{th}. As these statistics indicate, child mortality in Mozambique is still shockingly high. At 159.2 per thousand births it is well over the African average of 137.4 (CIA 2013).

\textsuperscript{32} Only the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Niger ranked worse. Furthermore, Mozambican has fallen a spot in the rankings since 2012.
likely to be living above the poverty line, while as of 2009, nearly 57% of Mozambique’s rural population are considered poor (VCC, 2011).

In addition to low levels of human development, the people of Mozambique are also subject to a range of devastating diseases typically associated with rural poverty. Both malaria and diarrhoea contribute significantly to child mortality rates, which in turn significantly impacts the efficiency of the labour pool (UNICEF, 2013). Cholera outbreaks are also not uncommon during flooding, and severe incidents have claimed over a thousand deaths (WHO, 2013). Finally, the percentage of adults living with HIV/AIDS is 10.8%, well above the Sub-Saharan African average of 4.6% but still lower than neighbouring South Africa and Swaziland (UNICEF, 2015).

3.2.7. Agriculture and Natural Resources

Despite major industrialising efforts during Mozambique’s socialist period (1975-84), the country’s economy remains predominantly agricultural, with over 80% of the work force being engaged in agricultural production in some form (Hanlon & Smart, 2012). Most of the agriculture in Mozambique is subsistence based, however there has been some success in promoting cash crops for export. The country’s major agricultural exports during colonial times largely focussed on providing the goods Portugal could not produce for itself, such as sugar, copra, sisal, cashew nuts, fish and prawns. Since independence, the country has introduced or increased the focus on a number of new products, particularly cotton, tea, and tobacco. However, despite the tremendous importance of agriculture in poverty reduction, agricultural productivity has actually decreased in the 2000s, stagnating production (Hanlon & Smart, 2012).

Despite its agricultural potential, Mozambique’s mineral wealth has received the most attention in recent years. Mozambique has confirmed deposits of phosphates, natural gas, and substantial

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33 This may be even higher, as a 2016 study by the World Bank suggested that 60% of the Mozambican population lives in absolute poverty (living on less than $1.90 a day) (WBG, 2016).
34 At the time of the study local officials mentioned ongoing incidents of Cholera in the north, even during the dry season (Site Visit, 01/08/2014).
35 According to Resnick, et al. (2012), one of Mozambique’s major comparative advantages in the region is land abundance. Only 12% of Mozambique’s 36 million hectares of arable land is under cultivation, and although much of this would need to be cleared for farming, it possesses favourable agro-ecological conditions (Resnick et al., 2012)
hydropower potential (VCC, 2011). There are substantial mineral-sands in the north that contain titanium, ilmenite, zircon, and other rare-earth metals (Norad, 2016). Mozambique is also the second ranked producer of aluminium after South Africa, due to the Mozal smelter in Maputo that smelts imported raw alumina and exports the finished product (Hanlon & Smart, 2012). However, the coal sector in particular has attracted the most attention as Mozambique has what is considered to be the largest untapped coal reserve in the world (VCC, 2011). These reserves, in excess of 23,000 metric tons, lie largely in Tete Province, and are estimated to hold a power generation capacity of 12.5 gigawatts (VCC, 2011). Infrastructure development associated with the exploitation of the Tete coal reserves is at the heart of this research and is discussed in greater detail in Chapter Four.

3.3. BICYCLES AND DEVELOPMENT

3.3.1. Introduction

The title of this section refers to the question asked by Joseph Hanlon and Teresa Smart in their critical 2008 book “Do Bicycles Equal Development in Mozambique?” In this study, Hanlon and Smart (2012), who have both written extensively on Mozambique, use bicycle ownership as an indicator for the type of development that has taken place in Mozambique over the past twenty years. They observed that since the country’s neoliberal turn during and after the civil war, goods and trade have increased, GDP has risen steadily, and Mozambique remains an attractive destination for investment and aid. Yet despite this, the majority of the population remains poor, and by some measures is getting poorer, despite the high levels of macro-level growth in the country (AfDB et al., 2015; Giesbert & Schindler, 2012; UNDP, 2013). They conclude that ‘good change’ has taken place in Mozambique, yes “there are more bicycles. There are more children in school….. But on an economic level, the changes have not been as great as they should have been. Surely more people should be better-off” (Hanlon & Smart, 2012, p. 84).

Mozambique is frequently used to justify the success of the ‘Washington-Consensus’ model of neoliberalism- a set of broadly free market economic principles that are maintained by global international financial institutions like the World Bank and the IMF- in Africa. However, Hanlon and Smart (2012) describe this path of development as promoting a state of aid dependence and subservience in Mozambique, characterised by the government playing a passive role and waiting for development to happen. This contradiction, between the
‘successes’ of neoliberalism and its failures, are the focus of this section. Section 3.3.2 explores Mozambique’s development history since the end of the civil war in 1994. Furthermore, Section 3.3.3 focuses on major themes from the literature, including critical perspectives on neoliberal Mozambique.

3.3.2 Neoliberal Mozambique

The Mozambican Civil War devastated the nation’s economy and people. As the war progressed and intensified during the early 1980s, the Mozambican economy had reached a point of total collapse. The government had lost direct control of much of the country and the war had spread to all ten of Mozambique’s provinces (Sumich, 2010). Even the capital was not safe, as RENAMO was able to mount attacks on its outskirts. In desperation, the government came to an agreement with the Bretton Woods Institutions (BWIs) and in 1984, Mozambique joined the World Bank and IMF, beginning a shift from the state-planning and socialism of the post-independence period, to a reconfiguration of the economy along neoliberal lines (Phiri, 2012). This paved the way for a series of infamous ‘structural adjustment’ programmes which sought the liberation of the economy from government misrule (Corbridge et al., 2005).

A shift to a more open economy had already begun in the late 1970s in Mozambique, but had been halted by the war. However, by the mid to late 1980s the role of the market had become firmly entrenched as western donors demanded, and Frelimo reluctantly agreed to, an end to the developmental state; a complete withdrawal of government from industry, banking and, commerce, and the privatisation of healthcare and education (Hanlon & Smart, 2012). Any deviation from this new path was strictly discouraged, and Mozambican acquiescence was frequently enforced by periodic donor ‘strikes’ (Hanlon, 1996). In the early 1990s, Mozambique was the poorest country in the world36, yet opening the door to the BWIs did not immediately relieve the pressure on Mozambique’s faltering economy (Cunguara & Hanlon, 2012). During the 1980s and early 1990s NGOs flocked to the country and new sources of aid began to flow into the economy. However, in order to more quickly integrate the Mozambican economy into the globalised capitalist system, the BWIs imposed a regimen of structural

36 During the period of 1996-1997, the mean consumption per capita was below the absolute national poverty line. In other words, if the total consumption had been equally distributed among Mozambicans, all citizens would have lived in absolute poverty (Arndt et al. 2006).
adjustment, then popular at the time, which included a number of policies designed to cut government expenditure and encourage free market investment (Hanlon, 1996). The effects were immediate and damaging as the economy continued to slide and conditions for many Mozambicans deteriorated (Hanlon & Smart, 2012).

Hanlon (1996) is very critical of this period of structural adjustment. Although it was meant to be a period of transition, during which the groundwork of a new economic order could be laid, he argues that the policies were unnecessarily harsh (Hanlon, 1996). Moreover, others argue that the emphasis of the BWIs on macroeconomic stability was misguided, instead, investments in health and education, designed to promote social stability and confidence, would have been a surer path towards creating investment confidence (Collier et al., 2003).

Nonetheless, by the mid-1990s, the economy began once again to show signs of life, and the easing of structural adjustment in 1996 initiated a period of spectacular growth rates that have continued over the past two decades. Under the present neoliberal model of development, the role of government and donors is to provide human capital and infrastructure, while the private sector is responsible for economic development and ending poverty (Cunguara & Hanlon, 2012). Since 1998, billions of dollars in foreign direct investment (FDI) have flowed into the Mozambican economy (Hanlon & Smart, 2012; Norad, 2016). A number of mega-projects, like the Moal aluminium smelter and Sasol oil refinery in Maputo, natural gas extraction in Inhambane and Pemba, and the Moatize coal fields in Tete, have fuelled growth while demonstrating Mozambique’s reliability as a safe place to invest. Furthermore, investments in infrastructure have begun to rebuild the country’s shattered transport network in order to encourage further investment (see Section 3.4).

For rural Mozambicans, the rehabilitation of a number of export-focused businesses, including the neglected sugar industry, as well as tobacco, cotton and cashew growing schemes have created jobs and boosted incomes for many farmers (Buur et al., 2012). Furthermore, the relaxation of trade restrictions and price controls have allowed new goods to flood in,

37 These included cutting services and the wages of government employees, the privatisation of any remaining state-controlled businesses, ending price controls and subsidies, the devaluation of the currency, and deregulation across the board (Hanlon & Smart, 2012)

38 Between 2000 and 2008 GDP growth averaged 7.5%, reaching an all-time high of 11.9% in 2001 (Phiri 2012). Furthermore, GDP growth in 2014 and 2015 have been projected at 8.5% and 8.2% respectively (AfDB et al., 2015)
improving the choices for consumers, and lowering prices on a number of key commodities (Hanlon & Smart, 2012). Additionally, despite a lack of donor coordination, investments in health care have improved the quality of service, upgrading existing facilities while making modest gains in extending services to rural areas (Martinez, 2006). Similarly, the rapid expansion of education facilities has significantly improved access to education for most Mozambicans, and has tripled the number of children in school since the end of the war (Hanlon & Smart, 2012; Norad, 2016). Thus, despite the pain of an initial period of structural adjustment, Mozambique’s neoliberal turn has produced a range of positive outcomes, and has contributed significantly to the transformations that have taken place across the country since the end of the civil war.

3.3.3 Challenges and Criticisms

Despite the consistently impressive growth rates, economic development in Mozambique has not been universally transformative, and a number of voices critical of neoliberalism have called for a return to a more active developmental state (Ahlers et al., 2012; Buur et al., 2012; Castel-Branco et al., 2015; Giesbert & Schindler, 2012). First, one criticism reflected in the literature, is that the bulk of development taking place in Mozambique has only affected the urban population, while the vast majority of the rural population continues to live on less than $1 a day and lacks access to basic services such as clean water, schools, and health facilities (Arndt et al., 2016; Castel-Branco et al., 2015; Cunguara & Hanlon, 2012; Giesbert & Schindler, 2012; Hanlon & Smart, 2012; Phiri, 2012; UNDP, 2000). Geisbert and Schindler (2012) found that, although there has been poverty reduction since the end of the war, the number of poor people has been stagnant or increased up to 2012. Rural areas, in their opinion, are still largely characterised by unfavourable economic conditions and offer few opportunities to the rural poor (Giesbert & Schindler, 2012; Lambert & MacNeil, 2015). Similarly, Cunguara and Hanlon (2012) argue that macroeconomic investments have not trickled down to rural people, the vast majority of whom are employed in agriculture. They found that under current market structures, few prospects exist for smallholder farmers in Mozambique. Finally, Phiri (2012) argues that free market reforms have caused food security issues in rural areas. They found that because food is increasingly available only through market mechanisms, the poor are now more vulnerable to price fluctuations (Phiri, 2012). Consequently, progress against
hunger alleviation has come to a standstill, especially in rural areas\(^3\) (Lambert & MacNeil, 2015).

Other criticisms of Mozambique development relate to the types of investments being made, notably the industrial and infrastructural mega-projects that have characterised Mozambican neoliberalism (Adeleye et al., 2016; Hansen et al., 2016). Both Hanlon (2012; 2012) and Castel-Branco (2007; 2005) have been highly critical of the Mozal aluminium smelter, which alone accounts for more than 10% of the GDP. Amidst other criticisms regarding the project’s socioeconomic impacts, it is argued that the Mozal smelter provides little real benefit to Mozambique, despite it being frequently lauded as a positive example of foreign investment (Castel-Branco, 2003, 2007; Castel-Branco et al., 2015; Castel-Branco et al., 2005; Hanlon & Smart, 2012). Finally, some contention has been raised regarding the overwhelmingly extractive nature of mega-project investments, particularly the Moatize coalfields\(^4\) and their ability to contribute to local development\(^5\) (Hanlon & Smart, 2012; Hansen et al., 2016; Norad, 2016).

### 3.4. INFRASTRUCTURE

#### 3.4.1 Introduction

Despite the disparate visions for Mozambique’s future, infrastructure\(^6\) development has been a common goal in the country’s socio-economic history. In Mozambique, intensive investment in transport links during the last decades of colonial rule left Frelimo with a mostly functional transport network, along with major assets such as the Cahora Bassa Dam. However, the civil war destroyed much of Mozambique’s infrastructure, cutting electricity and water supplies while shattering road and rail links. The country that Frelimo set out to govern after 1994 was a country divided: between Frelimo and Renamo, rich and poor, north and south (Funada-Classen, 2012). Consequently, much of the development effort exerted over the past two

\(^3\)According to Phiri (2012) around 25% of the Mozambican population suffers from acute seasonal food insecurity, and chronic malnutrition in children has grown to 44%.

\(^4\)The Moatize Coalfields, as they relate to the case study, are discussed further in Chapter Four.

\(^5\)For more information on the contested connection between mining and development, see (Pegg 2005, Bebbington, Hinojosa et al. 2008, Graulau 2008)

\(^6\)Infrastructure refers to a range of facilities, services, and installations essential for the functioning of society and the economy. These include transport networks (roads and railways), ports (sea and air), and public works (such as telecommunications, electricity, and water provision) (Farooki, 2012). Furthermore, a distinction is also made between soft infrastructure (such as institutions or regulations) and hard infrastructure (fixed capital) (Mold, 2012).
decades has been towards bridging these physical and social divides and creating the infrastructural links needed to integrate the north and the south.

This section describes infrastructure development in Mozambique. Section 3.4.2 begins by presenting an overview of infrastructure investment in Mozambique. It describes the impact of the civil war on Mozambique’s infrastructure network and illustrates the difficulties Mozambique has faced in rehabilitating its transport network. Section 3.4.3 describes the institutional arrangements that guide infrastructure development in Mozambique. Next, Section 3.4.4 briefly summarises progress made in rehabilitating Mozambique’s since the end of the Civil War in the mid 1990’s. Finally, section 3.4.5 includes a short description of major infrastructure projects recently completed or currently underway in Mozambique, including regional spatial development initiatives (SDI).

3.4.2. Infrastructure Development in Mozambique

Sub-Saharan Africa has historically lagged behind other low-income developing countries in infrastructure provision (World Bank, 2010). Many of its nations face innumerable hurdles, including poor governance, challenging topography43, lack of investment, inadequate technical expertise, and some of the lowest population densities in the world, all of which combine to make the provision of infrastructure expensive (Farooki, 2012). Each of these barriers apply to some degree to Mozambique, which in addition to a historical neglect of its infrastructure network, has also endured nearly 30 years of armed conflict and social unrest.

Mozambique’s history has been punctuated by two major periods of infrastructure expansion. First, from 1947 to Independence in 1975, during which Portugal tried to bind Mozambique more closely to the motherland in the face of growing pressure to decolonise (Newitt, 1981). And, second, from 1995 to the present44. According to Newitt (1995), the bulk of

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43 As noted in a previous section, Mozambique is cut by a series of rivers that flow from the hinterlands to the sea, forming obstacles that have always slowed communications. According to Newitt (1995), as late as 1960 it was easier to travel from the north of Mozambique to the capital, Lourenco Marques (Maputo) in the south, by sea or through Nyasaland (Malawi) and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe and Zambia) than by travelling through Portuguese territory. No road bridge had been built across the Zambezi until 1973, and road vehicles either took the ferry at Tete, crossed by rail on the Zambezi bridge at Sena, or drove through the Rhodesias, crossing the Zambesi at Chirundu (Newitt, 1995). This lack of roads greatly increased the isolation felt of the regions distant to the capital, fuelling resistance to colonial rule, and ensuring that once armed conflict did begin, extinguishing such resistance would require an effort beyond the capabilities of the Portuguese authorities.

44 Discussed in Section 3.4.4.
Mozambique’s existing infrastructure still dates from this first period and the Salazar regime’s series of aggressive six-year development plans. During the 1960s, much of Mozambique’s port, rail, and hydropower infrastructure was built, and for the first time a coherent transport network began to emerge to link various parts of the country. However, the economic rationale for these investments was the provision of services for South Africa, or the export of raw materials to Portugal, and many of the benefits to Mozambique remained incidental (Hanlon & Smart, 2012; Newitt, 1995). Furthermore, despite an increased emphasis on road building, the colonial regime failed to develop a modern road system\footnote{According to Newitt (1995), as late as 1964 the entire country only contained 11,584 kilometres of national highways, less than 1,600 of which had a tarmac surface.}.

Independence and peace brought the prospect for future transport expansion and some efforts were made to extend basic services to rural areas (Finnegan, 1993). However, this hope was shattered by the outbreak of civil war, a conflict that would devastate nearly every dimension of Mozambique’s infrastructure network. During the course of the war the majority of the fighting occurred in the countryside and hence rural areas bore the bulk of the damage (Hanlon & Smart, 2012). In an attempt to discredit the government, Renamo targeted anything associated with national development, including schools, health clinics, bridges, and utilities (Finnegan, 1993). Rail and highway links to South Africa and Zimbabwe were singled out for destruction, precipitating the Zimbabwe government’s decision to deploy their military to protect the Beira and Tete corridors (Newitt, 1995). Furthermore, Mozambique’s already limited road network was severely damaged, either through direct fighting or neglect, with few tarmac surfaces surviving the conflict intact (Hoeffler, 1999). All told, by the end of the war in 1992, Mozambique’s infrastructure was in worse shape than it had been at the end of the colonial period, the effects of which are still visible today (Arnold, 2008; Domínguez-Torres & Briceño-Garmendia, 2011; Funada-Classen, 2012).

### 3.4.3. Institutional Arrangements

A number of international and regional commitments shape the modern Mozambican state’s approach to transport infrastructure provision. First, as a member of the African Union and a founding member of the Southern African Development Community\footnote{The Southern African Development Community, or SADC, is a regional body of 14 southern African nations; it was conceived in 1992 with the purpose of transforming the region into a single integrated economic market, characterised by the free movement of goods, capital and labour.} (SADC), Mozambique...
has shown a commitment to regional integration and free trade (Dibben, 2006). In 1999, Mozambique ratified the SADC trade protocol, which aimed to establish a free trade area in Southern Africa, creating an integrated market of over 200 million consumers. Additionally, Mozambique has signed the SADC Protocol on Transport, Communications, and Meteorology which prescribes that members should progressively introduce measures to liberalise regional market access. As Dibben (2006) notes, this agreement has committed Mozambique to expanding regional integration and free trade through improved cross-border infrastructure links. Mozambique has also signed a number of bilateral road transport agreements with its neighbours, establishing joint committees for monitoring cross-border transport and trade (Dibben, 2006). In addition to working with SADC countries, Mozambique is also a member of the Commonwealth Trade Union Federation and has agreed to look at responses to the African Union’s New Economic Partnership for African Development (NEPAD).

The SADC nations have negotiated a number of legally binding regional agreements, or “Protocols,” that define the terms and mechanisms for achieving integration. Two of the key Protocols governing regional integration and Spatial Development Initiatives (SDI) within SADC are the Protocol on Trade and the Protocol on Transport, Communications and Meteorology (TCM) (Rogerson, 2002; SADC, 1996a, 1996b). The first regulates cross-border trade, while the second articulates a vision for infrastructure development in the region that would incorporate an efficient, integrated, and responsive transport and communication network that would serve as a catalyst for social development and economic growth (De Beer, 2001).

SADC’s SDI methodology was developed in South Africa in 1996 as an integrated planning tool aimed at promoting investment in regions of the country that were underdeveloped but had potential for growth (Rogerson, 2001). According to Byiers and Vanheukelom (2014), the initial South African SDI approach, tested through the Maputo Development Corridor, was aimed at defining a package of measures to attract investors into a bundle of economically sustainable projects in regions with potential for economic growth. This SDI policy generally embraces a process in which the public sector furnishes conditions (such as infrastructure) conducive to private sector investment, either through direct government spending or build-operate-transfer (BOT) public-private partnerships (PPPs) (Hanlon & Smart, 2012). This vision is formulated in the 2003 SADC Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP)
which serves as a road map for priority areas for spatial development with a number of SDIs earmarked for support over the next three years (Byiers & Vanheukelom, 2014).

In addition to Mozambique’s obligations via the SADC protocols, the African Union’s New Partnership for Africa’s Development or NEPAD’s, African Action Plan (AAP) 2010-2015 includes a Spatial Development Programme, an integrated spatial approach to promote investment facilitation in regional settings. Objectives of the programme include trade facilitation, promoting regional economic cooperation, streamlining infrastructure use, encouraging economic diversification and competitiveness, and stimulating employment (Byiers & Vanheukelom, 2014). An additional goal is to encourage private sector investment in corridor areas while promoting public private partnerships (PPPs) where feasible. Finally, Mozambique, Malawi and Zambia have joined in a separate tri-lateral agreement on Spatial Development. This agreement identifies Development Corridors through which social and economic activity can be enhanced to improve the livelihood of the communities in the zones of influence. The Nacala Corridor is largely a result of this initiative (AfDB, 2009).

At a national level the responsibility for the provision of transport infrastructure is largely split between two government ministries, the Ministério dos Transportes e Comunicação (Ministry of Transport and Communication) and the Ministério das Obras Públicas e Habitação (Ministry of Public Works and Housing). The Ministry of Transport and Communication (MTC) is responsible for the development of transport networks, transport planning, and international coordination. Within the MTC, the Head of International Relations coordinates with the Diretor Nacional da Indústria (National Director of Industry) with regard to Mozambique’s commitments under NEPAD, as well as its links with other SADC countries (Dibben, 2006). The MTC also houses the Portos e Caminhos de Ferro de Mocambique (Ports and Railways Company of Mozambique) which is the organisational body responsible for developing ports and railways in Mozambique (Dibben, 2007). The Ports and Railways Company of Mozambique (CFM) is state-owned, however it has been going through a prolonged period of privatisation, a process that has so far manifested in the concessioning of port operations at Maputo and Nacala. The MTC also plays host to the Spatial Development Planning Technical Assistance Project (SDPTAP), a World Bank sponsored advisory group. The objective of the SDPTAP is to improve the calibre of national social and economic development, as well as the professional capacity of the MTC planning unit (Barros, 04/12/2013).
In order to streamline the provision of transport infrastructure, and manage the large amounts of development assistance flowing into the country, Mozambique passed several institutional reforms during the late 1990s and early 2000s (Dominguez-Torres & Briceño-Garmendia, 2011). A key product of these reforms was the Administracao National de Estradas (ANE), or National Road Administration, founded in 1999, responsible for administering and maintaining national and regional roads, managing new road construction projects, and for the financing of roads through a specially created Road Fund (Dibben, 2006). The Administration is an autonomous body within the Ministry of Public Works and Housing (MPWH), reporting to a board of directors made up of representatives from both the public and private sectors (Dibben, 2007). The aforementioned Road Fund, or Fundo Estrada (FE), was established alongside the ANE, with the mandate of providing centralised funding for routine road maintenance. Like the ANE, the FE is an autonomous body, with its own management and board of directors, and is subjected to independent financial and technical audits (Dibben, 2006; Dominguez-Torres & Briceño-Garmendia, 2011).

Mozambique spends a little over 10% of its annual GDP on infrastructure development, a figure consistent with many other resource-rich African states (Dominguez-Torres & Briceño-Garmendia, 2011). The two largest sources of funding for infrastructure development in Mozambique are international donors and the public sector, with each source providing about $230 million per year (Dominguez-Torres & Briceño-Garmendia, 2011). The role of the private sector has so far been limited, with its level of investment falling far short of public sources.

The transport sector in Mozambique is unique for the large Official Development Assistance (ODA) it receives relative to other African countries (Dominguez-Torres & Briceño-Garmendia, 2011). Much of Mozambique’s ODA originates from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) nations, however the country does receive significant infrastructure funding and other support from non-OECD nations, particularly

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47 The Fund is generally well endowed, and is largely supported through revenues coming from a fuel levy, estimated to be among the highest in southern Africa, and road-user charges (Dominguez-Torres & Briceño-Garmendia, 2011).

48 It is important to note that a significant portion of public funds originated from international donors in the form of budget support.

49 Public-private partnerships for transport infrastructure provision are relatively uncommon in Mozambique, with the only large-scale example being the Maputo Corridor. There have been some small scale successes in utility provisioning; for a discussion of public-private water distribution in Maputo, see (Ahlers, Guida et al. 2012).

50 Much has been made of China’s growing presence in Southern Africa, yet, to date, its impact in Mozambique has been limited. However Chinese contractors have become increasingly competitive in bidding for infrastructure maintenance and provision tenders and are becoming a common sight on new transport projects, including the rehabilitation of the N13 (Hodzi et al., 2012; Kiala, 2010; Mold, 2012; Villoria, 2009).
Lusophone Brazil, which has built tremendous soft power in Mozambique over the past decade and is actively involved with the Nacala Corridor (Benkenstein, 2011; Osei-Hwedie, 2011; White, 2010)

3.4.4. Progress, Transformation, and Challenges

Mozambique critically lacks in infrastructure, however significant progress has made since the end of the civil war to rehabilitate, upgrade, and expand the country’s shattered transport network. First, the creation of the ANE has had a significantly positive impact on the quality of Mozambique’s road network (Dibben, 2006, 2007; Dominguez-Torres & Briceño-Garmendia, 2011). In 1996, following the civil war, half the road network in the entire country was considered to be either in bad condition or totally impassable (Hanlon & Smart, 2012). By 2001, before the effects of the newly created Road Fund were being felt, the government admitted it could only afford to maintain less than half of the country’s roads. However, by 2006 improvements had become evident, with 75% of the country’s roads being rated as of good or reasonable quality (Hanlon & Smart, 2012). The size of the road network had also risen to 29,000km, 20,000km of which was being actively maintained by the ANE through the Road Fund.

Mozambique’s rail network was almost completely destroyed during the civil war, but through an aggressive process of privatisation and foreign investment it has rebounded to service most of Mozambique’s major industrial areas. Major lines are concentrated in the South and include those connecting Maputo with South Africa, Swaziland and Zimbabwe. (Hanlon & Smart, 2012) Two central lines link the port of Beira to the Moatize coal mines in Tete and to Zimbabwe (Dominguez-Torres & Briceño-Garmendia, 2011). The lone passenger line operating in Mozambique is in the north and connects the port of Nacala to Cuamba via Nampula (Dominguez-Torres & Briceño-Garmendia, 2011). The line also carries freight to Lichinga in Niassa Province. The upgrading and rehabilitation of this rail line, in order to carry Moatize coal to Nacala, is being carried out as part of the Nacala Corridor Programme and is

51 Major projects have included: the Armando Emilio Guebuza Bridge, inaugurated in 2009 which carries the EN1 over the Zambezi River at Caia; the rehabilitation of the EN1 highway, completed in 2013, which has greatly facilitated north-south road travel, and; the Maputo Ring Road, which despite repeated delays, will greatly relieve traffic congestion in Maputo and Matola, and facilitate transit between South Africa and popular beach destinations in Inhambane and Gaza Provinces (Dibben, 2006, 2007; Dominguez-Torres & Briceño-Garmendia, 2011; Frey, 2016a, 2016b).
expected to divert significant traffic from Beira (VCC, 2011). Like the rail lines, the ports have largely been privatised through the creation of the CFM. Primary among the ports are those in Maputo, Beira and Nacala, while Pemba, Quelimane, and Inhambane function as secondary ports largely catering to specific industries like natural gas (Hanlon & Smart, 2012).

Other infrastructural services have not progressed as rapidly as the transport sector. According to UNICEF (2013) only 47% of the population uses an improved drinking water source and only 29% in rural areas. Access to clean water has improved significantly in urban areas, but progress in rural areas has been sluggish52. The electricity grid has expanded rapidly, and a number of new cities and towns are now linked to the Cahora Bassa Dam. However, the amount of sales has not significantly increased as many of those who have recently gained access to electricity remain too poor to afford it (Hanlon & Smart, 2012). One of the most transformative changes has been the extension of mobile telephone networks53. As of 2011 a full one third of the population owned a mobile phone, a figure that continues to rise54 (UNICEF, 2013).

Unfortunately, this progress has come at a significant cost. First, the infrastructure sector is notoriously vulnerable to corruption and Mozambique is not immune (Hoeffler, 1999; Ingram & Fay, 2008; Straub, 2008; World Bank, 2010). According to Mendoza, Perz et al., (2007) up to 5-20% of infrastructure construction costs are lost to bribe payments, and as much as 20-30% of electricity is stolen by consumers in collusion with staff. They estimate that if 5% of investment and maintenance costs in infrastructure are lost to corruption, the financial burden alone may add up to about US $18 billion a year in developing countries (Mendoza et al., 2007). In addition to corruption, administrative inefficiency and levels of service delivery further add to the cost of infrastructure provision, almost doubling the price of trade and transport in Mozambique, in comparison to well-managed networks like in neighbouring South Africa (Dominguez-Torres & Briceño-Garmendia, 2011; Meeuws, 2004).

52 Hanlon and Smart (2012) predict that Mozambique will not meet the MDG for halving the share of people without access to safe water and sanitation.
53 Mozambique has three cell network providers, who have rapidly extended coverage throughout most of the country (Site Visit, 07/29/2014).
54 Internet access however remains a luxury for much of the country, with less than 5% of the population accessing the web in 2011 (UNICEF, 2013).
3.4.5. Current Infrastructural Trends: SDIs and Development Corridors

Over the past two decades, cross-border Spatial Development Initiatives, in the form of development or economic corridors, have been at the forefront of Mozambique and SADC’s regional integration efforts. Within SADC the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP) highlights development corridors as a key policy tool for the region, with the proposal that the RISDP be implemented “as far as possible, in the context of spatial development initiatives such as development corridors, growth triangles, growth centres and trans-frontier conservation areas (SADC, 2003”). Furthermore, former Mozambican President Guebuza of Mozambique, during his tenure as SADC Chairman highlighted corridors as “vehicles for SADC Regional Integration that need to be harnessed due to the role they play in consolidating social dimensions of development and the regional integration process” (SADC, 2012).

Typically, development corridors consist of a concentrated bundle of investments spread along a generally linear line connecting two urban nodes. Corridors can focus on investments in industrial capacity, transport infrastructure, social services, utilities, telecommunications, conservation initiatives, or they can be multi-sectorial and combine a wide-range of investments tailored to meet a specific need (Priemus & Zonneveld, 2003). After initial successes in adopting corridor planning in South Africa, the concept has rapidly been adopted by states and international financial intuitions, and has proliferated across the developing world (Kuhlmann et al., 2011). Including the Nacala Corridor, there are at present eleven regional transport-oriented development corridors in addition to five other Spatial Development Initiatives underway within SADC, nearly half of which include a Mozambican component (De Beer, 2001).

55 These include: Maputo Development Corridor (RSA and Mozambique); Nacala Development Corridor (Malawi, Zambia and Mozambique); Beira Development Corridor (Zimbabwe and Mozambique); Lobito Development Corridor (Angola, Zambia and Democratic Republic of Congo); Walvis Bay Development Corridor (Namibia and Botswana) Trans Caprivi Corridor (Namibia and Zambia); Mtwara Development Corridor (Tanzania, Malawi and Zambia); Swaziland Tourism and Biodiversity Corridor (RSA, Swaziland & Mozambique); Tazara Development Corridor (Zambia and Tanzania); Malange Development Corridor (Angola and Democratic Republic of Congo); and the Namibe Development Corridor (Angola, Namibia and Zambia) (Beer 2001).

56 These include: Zambezi Valley SDI (Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Malawi); Coast to Coast SDI (Namibia, Botswana, RSA, Swaziland and Mozambique); Gariep SDI (RSA and Namibia); Lubumbo SDI (Mozambique, Swaziland and RSA); and the Okavango Upper Zambezi SDI (Zimbabwe, Botswana, Angola, Namibia and Zambia) (Beer 2001).
These SDIs have been modelled on the first initiative of its kind in the region, the Maputo Development Corridor (MDC), which was meant to augment and revitalise the historic trade route between the former Transvaal in South Africa and the Port of Maputo in Mozambique. In order to meet this need, the MDC was launched with a concentration of transport infrastructure interventions. The physical infrastructure upgrades of the MDC comprise roads, including the newly rebuilt N4 highway, as well as railroads, port facilities and upgraded border posts. Soft infrastructure components include a new transportation framework, as well as investments into the capacity of transport organisations and the border control agencies of both countries (Rogerson, 2001).

At its completion the MDC was viewed as a major accomplishment within the region, and its design has gone on to greatly influence SADC’s approach to spatial development and the provision of transport infrastructure. The Maputo Corridor Company, the MDC’s operational body, was held up as a ground-breaking advance in African regional trade facilitation (Nevin, 2006). In addition, the corridor introduced a number of new innovations in infrastructure provision, including Mozambique’s first experience in a transport-centric Public-Private Partnership (PPP), the tolling and operations concession on the N4 Maputo Toll Road, as well as a shift in the ownership base of the Southern African construction sector to previously disadvantaged groups (Rogerson, 2001).

Yet, the results of the MDC initiative have been mixed. Initially, the corridor generated enormous amounts of commercial and industrial investment. By the beginning of 2004, total investments amounted to $4 billion, including $2.1 billion for the Mozal aluminium smelter and $230 million N4 toll road on the expansion and upgrading of Maputo harbour (Cunguara & Hanlon, 2012; Hanlon & Smart, 2012; Nevin, 2006). South Africa’s synthetic fuel manufacturer, Sasol, has also used MDC infrastructure upgrades to invest around $1.2 billion in Mozambique’s Pande gas field development, connected to the Sasol Secunda plant in South Africa by an 860km pipeline that has been integrated into the MDC network (Cunguara & Hanlon, 2012). However, criticisms have arisen regarding the corridor model’s feasibility for

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57 Crossing Gauteng and Mpumalanga provinces in South Africa and Maputo Province in Southern Mozambique the MDC was designed to provide a streamlined and efficient transport linkage would serve the mining and industrial resources located in Gauteng, as a shorter link to the sea, and provide Mozambique with much needed foreign exchange (Hanlon & Smart, 2012; World Bank, 1999).
generating local development and reducing poverty\(^{58}\). Tate (2011) argues that overall the MDC has failed at creating local employment, adding insecurity and uncertainty to the lives of the local people along its route. Additionally, it’s inability to accommodate the informal economy, which accounts for up to 80% of business activity on the corridor route, has increased the amount of goods and people crossing the border illegally and contributed to crime (Tate, 2011). These criticisms mirror those levied against other Mozambican mega-projects, like the Mozal aluminium smelter, which are frequently lauded as positive examples of foreign investment\(^{59}\), but provide little real benefit to the Mozambican people (Castel-Branco, 2003, 2007; Castel-Branco et al., 2015; Castel-Branco et al., 2005; Cunguara & Hanlon, 2012; Hanlon & Smart, 2012). For example, Cunguara and Hanlon (2012) argue that mega-project investments, which largely focus on business and industry have not trickled down to rural people, the vast majority of whom are employed in agriculture\(^{60}\).

The lessons of the MDC have influenced the corridors programme and spatial planning in Southern Africa. Its design, investment structure and regional frameworks have been adopted in most subsequent SADC projects, and its shortcomings have been noted by policy-makers at a regional level (Tate, 2011). The Nacala Development Corridor shares many similarities with the Maputo Development Corridor, including its focus on cross border transport connections linking the hinterland to the coast (Rogerson, 2001; VCC, 2011). However, unlike the MDC, which was constructed in some of Southern Africa’s most industrial and economically sophisticated regions, the NDC largely traverses poor, neglected, and largely agricultural regions (VCC, 2011).

3.5. CONCLUSION

The Mozambican context contains elements of history, geography, and politics which are critical for understanding Mozambican development, as well as the development of the Nacala Development Corridor and the rehabilitation of the N13 Highway. Within the past 40 years

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\(^{58}\) The project has also been criticised in South Africa. As Rogerson (2001) notes, with certain exceptions (like Mpumalanga), there has been a disappointing level of response to the new regional opportunities raised by the MDC. The corridor has stimulated growth and employment, but its effects have been strictly localised, largely limited to Mpumalanga Province (De Beer, 2001; De Beer et al., 1998; Nevin, 2006; Rogerson, 2002).

\(^{59}\) The Mozal smelter alone accounts for more than 10% of Mozambique’s GDP (Castel-Branco, 2007; Castel-Branco et al., 2005)

\(^{60}\) Rogerson (2001) notes that in future corridor projects a greater emphasis must be placed on local development initiatives, preferably small and medium enterprises, rather than on the large and flashy mega-projects.
Mozambique has been a Portuguese colony, pursued an experiment in socialism and developmentalism, been devastated by civil war, suffered through painful structural adjustment, and finally emerged into a neoliberal period of growth and lingering poverty. This history has contributed to creating a nation of contrasts, where new high-rise buildings stare down on to shabby streets and the perpetually poor. It has created a nation where the stages of development have been compressed, challenging the relevancy of Western models in the face of Mozambique’s significant developmental challenges.

In addition to these contrasts, Mozambique is a nation that remains divided in a number of important aspects. Geographically, despite improvements to its national infrastructure network, there remains a discernible divide between the south, including the capital of Maputo, and the north, where much of the country’s natural resources lie. Politically, despite the end of the Civil War in 1992, significant political tensions remain, which, at the time of this study, had once-again flared into violent conflict (BBC, 2013). These divides affect each other, and have contributed to regions of the country, chiefly the northern and central provinces, increasingly disaffected over the distribution of development, and resentful of the centralisation of state power in Maputo (Sumich, 2010).

One constant, however, throughout Mozambique’s modern history, and its neoliberal era in particular, has been intensive infrastructural investment on behalf of the state. A large, diverse, and disunited nation still recovering from a devastating civil war; addressing Mozambique’s infrastructure deficit is considered to be a major developmental hurdle (Dibben, 2006, 2007). Towards this end, significant internal reforms in conjunction with robust international, regional, and national institutional arrangements have provided modern mechanisms for infrastructural planning and implementation, while the neoliberal Mozambican state has been successful at accessing international and private sources of funding towards infrastructure (Domínguez-Torres & Briceño-Garmendia, 2011). Moreover, the recent focus on SDIs and infrastructural mega-projects has generated significant economic growth and attracted additional investments in extractive industries (Kuhlmann et al., 2011; Norad, 2016; Tate, 2011). However, these projects have drawn significant criticism over their ability to effectively address poverty, as over the past decade living conditions for most Mozambicans have not reflected the levels of economic growth occurring in the country (Castel-Branco, 2003, 2007; Castel-Branco et al., 2015; Castel-Branco et al., 2005; Canguara & Hanlon, 2012; Hanlon & Smart, 2012; Norad, 2016; WBG, 2016).
This chapter has explored Mozambique’s history with development and infrastructure investment, providing context for the study’s aim and objectives. Chapter Four continues the background description for this research through an examination of the case study, the Nacala Development Corridor and the N13 Highway Rehabilitation Programme.
CHAPTER FOUR:  
THE NACALA CORRIDOR

“I am convinced that the future of Zambezia depends on the development of its agriculture, and that although doubtless valuable mineral resources exist, they will only form a weak second line in the movement which will sweep this district forward on the road which leads to prosperity”


4.1. INTRODUCTION

Between July 2002 and May 2003, in Muidumbe, a rural district in northern Mozambique, nearly 60 people were estimated to have been killed or wounded by lions in a spate of attacks that shook the area (Israel, 2009). Although lions are not unknown within the district, this volume of attacks, the level of their brutality, and the nature of their victims, was not considered natural. Members of the community interpreted the violence to have been a product of the occult, and in the following weeks 24 people were lynched, and many more ostracised or threatened on the suspicion of fabricating lions through witchcraft (Israel, 2009). Paolo Israel (2009), who investigated the incident, interprets events differently. Rather than the supernatural, he observed a community strained by crisis and neglected by the progress shaping Mozambique, taking advantage of its distance from central authority to settle old scores and resist the encroachment of state power and market forces (Israel, 2009).

No part of Mozambique is further from Maputo, further from the modernising influences exerted by the central government than the far north, the provinces of Cabo Delgado, Niassa, and Nampula. This is the region that nursed the independence movement, and sheltered it during its infancy. It is also the part of the country that most eagerly embraced the socialism of Frelimo, showing a fondness for the past, and resenting the country’s neoliberal turn, resentment that can boil over into violent episodes, like the witch killings depicted above (Israel, 2009). Since the end of socialism, the period of the dominances of the developmental state, and the civil war in 1992, the north has largely been neglected by the central government. Distance from the centre of power, disinterest on the part of policymakers and donors, and a variety of other developmental challenges have combined to create a region that, outside of certain development hotpots, has been largely left unchanged since the 1970s. However, the
mineral boom in the north and the focus on infrastructural megaprojects in the region has ushered in a number of social, political, and economic changes. These changes are the focus of this dissertation, and more specifically, this chapter.

This thesis examines the impacts on local communities of two interconnected infrastructural mega-projects: the Nacala Development Corridor (NDC), a large-scale multi-dimensional infrastructure network which bisects northern Mozambique, and; the rehabilitation of the N13 Highway, a component part of the NDC. This Chapter provides background context for the research through a brief description of these two related projects. First, Section 4.2 provides an overview of the Nacala Development Corridor, including its rationale, phases, and components, as well as describing the actors involved. Section 4.3 focuses on the N13 Highway Rehabilitation Programme. The Section describes the context for the project, including the socio-economic background of its setting, Niassa and Nampula Provinces. The Section also an in-depth overview of the N13: its condition before the project, the rationale for its rehabilitation, the phases of its construction, and the actors involved with the project. Finally, Section 4.4 highlights summarises the contextual background of the case study, and highlights important themes relevant to the research.

4.2. THE NACALA DEVELOPMENT CORRIDOR

4.2.1. Introduction

The distance from Lusaka, the capital of Zambia, to the port of Nacala in Mozambique is about 1700 kilometres (1050 miles), a formidable distance, but easily traversed in two days via a modern infrastructure network. However, with the current condition of transport connections in the region, the link between Lusaka and Nacala is tenuous and travel over land between the two cities is difficult at best and nearly impossible during the worst conditions\(^{61}\) (Newitt, 1995). This is the setting for the Nacala Development Corridor (NDC), a multi-sectorial transport corridor, planned jointly by the governments of Mozambique Malawi and Zambia, and designed to upgrade the historic transport route linking the port of Nacala to the economically productive hinterlands\(^{62}\).

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\(^{61}\) The road connections along the Nacala Corridor in Zambia and Malawi are mainly neglected tarred surfaces, however, the N13 which connects the Port of Nacala to the Malawi-Mozambican border is in abysmal condition, and prone to severe erosion and flooding during the rainy season (Site Visit, 30/07/2014).

\(^{62}\) Historically, Lusaka, and Zambia in general, has linkages to the south, towards its neighbours Zimbabwe and South Africa, and its trade and logistics reflect this orientation, with the bulk of Zambian exports flowing through
In order to provide a context for the case study, this section examines the NDC in detail. Section 4.2.2 begins by outlining the project’s institutional framework, including a discussion of major actors and stakeholders. Section 4.2.3 describes the various dimensions of the corridor, including the various infrastructural upgrades bundled in the project. Next, Section 4.2.4 examines the frequently understated role of Tete Province’s coal reserves in driving infrastructure investment in the region, and the NDC in particular. The section concludes by introducing the Nacala Road Corridor Project, a trans-border highway rehabilitation project linking the Zambian capital of Lusaka to sea at Nacala, of which the N13 has been the first phase.

4.2.2. The NDC: Institutional Arrangements

The Nacala Development Corridor (NDC) is a partly abstract concept. On paper, the corridor is the beginning of a comprehensive and integrated transport network stretching from Lusaka, Zambia to the port of Nacala in Mozambique (see Figure 4.1). However, on the ground the NDC consists of a range of infrastructural and economic development investments, financed by different institutions, managed by different actors, and fulfilling a variety of economic goals and imperatives. Thus, the NDC does not refer to a monolithic entity, but rather a spatial vision of improved cross-border transport links and regional integration, and the projects that have been implemented, or are being implemented, to achieve this vision.

The NDC was first conceived in 2000, when Mozambique and Malawi signed the Nacala Development Corridor Agreement, a bilateral agreement establishing a common understanding for a cross-border operational framework and pledging to upgrade infrastructure, with a focus on rail links (VCC, 2011). In 2003, Zambia joined and signed a tripartite agreement with the two countries, completing the institutional arrangement existing today. Further development of the corridor was solidified by the completion of an additional tri-lateral agreement on Spatial Development signed by Mozambique, Malawi and Zambia in 2008, independent of the, but supported by SADC and South Africa (AfDB, 2009). Under the Protocol on Transport, Communications and Meteorology (TCM) the Nacala Corridor has been designated as one of the priority projects of the SADC Region. It is consistent with the NEPAD and International
Financial Institutions’ (IFIs) strategy for Regional Economic Communities (RECs) on multinational infrastructure projects which aim to remove barriers to the free movement of persons, goods and support regional co-operation and integration (AfDB, 2009; SADC, 1996b).

Figure 4.1: The Nacala Development Corridor (EduAction, 12/30/2015)

The Nacala Development corridor begins at Lusaka, Zambia and stretches east, crossing southern Malawi and northern Mozambique before terminating at the Mozambican port of Nacala on the Indian Ocean. The three partner countries, Mozambique, Malawi, and Zambia, all have a major stake in the growth of the corridor and have allocated it high priority within their own development frameworks.63 (VCC, 2011). For the Zambian government the corridor provides an alternative export route64 and a quicker path to the sea (VCC, 2011). Additionally, the port of Nacala should provide Zambia’s mining sector with more direct access to

63 The areas the corridor passes through are largely characterised by high unemployment rates, high rates of HIV/AIDS, a lack of basic health facilities, low levels of literacy, and a need for economic stimuli (ADF, 2010; AfDB, 2009). Moreover, according to the AfDB (2009) the areas possess great potential for agriculture (including forestry and fisheries), mining, tourism, and industrial development, a potential the Bank claims has been hampered by the inadequacies of existing transport networks.

64 Compared to the traditional north-south axis that channels most of the country’s goods through Durban, South Africa (VCC, 2011).
burgeoning commodity markets in Asia (ADF, 2010). In Malawi, high transport costs for Malawian imports and exports dramatically increase commodity and production costs in the country. Improved transport links are expected to significantly reduce these costs and increase Malawi’s economic competitiveness (Hanlon & Smart, 2012). Furthermore, Malawi has also used the corridor framework to funnel investments into their own domestic road and rail network (Kuhlmann et al., 2011).

For Mozambique, the bridging of the infrastructure deficit, particularly to increase national and regional connectivity, corresponds to national development plans to address high poverty levels and to accelerate economic growth via infrastructural mega-project development (VCC, 2011). The project is viewed as a vehicle for revitalise the agriculturally productive, but previously underserved, northern provinces, while stimulating local economic growth and facilitating service delivery (AfDB, 2009). The corridor feeds into what has been designated as an economic priority zone, the increasingly industrialised region around the city of Nampula and the port of Nacala (AfDB, 2009). Furthermore, the corridor also includes plans for revitalised and expanded rail links to the extensive coal reserves of Tete Province, providing coal exports with an alternative route to the sea (VCC, 2011).

4.2.3. Infrastructure and the Corridor

The Nacala Development Corridor is best understood, not as a single entity, but rather as a package of several different development interventions designed to achieve different but interrelated goals. Overwhelmingly, the interventions have focused on expanding and upgrading the region’s infrastructure, particularly its transport network. This sub-section discusses the specific infrastructure projects inaugurated under the NDC framework, including upgrades to regional rail networks, port and airport construction and rehabilitation, and the expansion of utilities and telecommunication networks (VCC, 2011). Road and highway rehabilitation is discussed in section 4.2.5.

The NDC is home to Mozambique’s only passenger rail route to survive the civil war. A daily train connects the city of Nampula in Nampula Province with the town of Cuamba in Niassa Province, near the Malawian border (see Plate 5.1). Although the schedule can be erratic and breakdowns are frequent, the route remains popular due to the poor condition of the N13 which
runs parallel to the tracks and is frequently impassable during the rainy season. From Cuamba freight service continues either north to the provincial capital of Lichinga or west, across the border to Blantyre, Malawi where connections to Zambia and throughout Malawi are available via the Nkaya-Chipata lines (VCC, 2011). Passenger service also resumes in Malawi between Blantyre and the Mozambican border (AfDB, 2013).

Plate 4.1: The only passenger rail service in Mozambique, Nampula-Cuamba (Author, 28/03/2012).

Existing lines in the corridor are in a generally poor condition and operate with difficulty. Due to track deterioration trains must operate at below operational capacities and speed in order to avoid the risk of derailment or damage (VCC, 2011). According to the Vale Columbia Centre (2011) potential throughput on the Nacala line is 1 million tons per annum, but the average throughput is 250,000 tons per annum, mostly because of the poor condition of the tracks. Furthermore, 70% of the cargo travelling on the line belongs to Malawi and passenger traffic travelling within Malawi (between Blantyre and Nayuchi) is subsidised by the government (VCC, 2011).

65 The roughly 350km journey can take from 10-12 hours (Site Visit, 01/08/2014).
The original 2000 Nacala Development Corridor Agreement signed by Mozambique and Malawi laid the framework for the majority of rail upgrades occurring within the NDC. The agreement created the Sociedade de Desenvolvimento de Corredor de Norte\textsuperscript{66} (SDCN), the consortium which holds 51% of the Corredor de Desenvolvimento de Norte\textsuperscript{67} (CDN), the Mozambican Nacala Port and Railway Concessionaire, as well as the Malawian Railway concession, the Central East African Railways (CEAR) (VCC, 2011). The Portos e Caminhos de Ferro de Mocambique\textsuperscript{68} (CFM), the state-owned Ports and Railways Company of Mozambique holds the other 49% of the SDCN, which holds sole concession for both the Nacala Port and Nacala railways in both Mozambique and Malawi (VCC, 2011). However, although SCDN officially owns a continuous concession across both countries and despite the tripartite agreement establishing a cross-border operation framework, there remain several disagreements on customs, sovereignty, and border issues between the two countries\textsuperscript{69}.

Currently the SDCN is investing US$2 billion in upgrading 906km of rail within the corridor (VCC, 2011). Rehabilitation of existing rail lines, such as the Malawi to Nacala link (which includes the Nampula-Cuamba passenger route) is expected to dramatically increase line capacity and was completed in 2015 (VCC, 2011). SDCN is also planning the construction of a new railway link from Moatize and the coal mines of Tete Province to the Malawian border (Batwell, 2013).

In addition to improved rail links, the port of Nacala itself is experiencing an ongoing overhaul as part of the package of corridor investments. Nacala is Mozambique’s third largest port, behind Maputo and Beira (Hanlon & Smart, 2012). Operations at Nacala port are on concession to an American company and ownership of the port facilities mirrors that of the NDC’s rail network with SDCN holding 51% of the shares and CFM holding the remaining 49% (Hanlon & Smart, 2012). Nacala is a natural deep-water port that can handle vessels of virtually unlimited depth\textsuperscript{70}. Traffic at the port of Nacala has steadily increased in recent decades, while that at other Mozambican ports, including Beira, has stagnated (Hanlon & Smart, 2012; VCC, 2011).

\textsuperscript{66}The Society for Development of the Northern Corridor
\textsuperscript{67}The Northern Development Corridor
\textsuperscript{68}Mozambique Ports and Railways
\textsuperscript{69}As a consequence the concession remains effectively divided between the Mozambican CDN and the Malawian CEAR, with crews, cars, and services being changed at the border, limiting the functionality of the rail corridor (VCC, 2011).
\textsuperscript{70}Nacala is the deepest port on the east African coast and does not require regular dredging (AfDB, 2009).
As it stands, the port is equipped with a number of rehabilitated cranes (of up to 20 ton capacity), as well as a 30 ton floating crane and lighters (VCC, 2011). Several warehouses were rehabilitated following cyclone damage in the late 1990s and new facilities continue to be built by the private sector (Hanlon & Smart, 2012; Unknown, 2013). The port is currently utilised largely for international trade to and from Mozambique, as the poor road and rail connections to Malawi have limited that country’s ability to utilise Nacala on a large scale (VCC, 2011).

Major changes for Nacala under the NDC framework include modernisation and expansion of port facilities to facilitate increased cargo traffic, the construction of bulk handling facilities for commodities such as grain, and improvements and expansion of the quays and container terminal (Barradas, 2007; Unknown, 2013). Furthermore, the government of Mozambique is also expanding and upgrading the Nacala airport to allow it to handle international flights in order to facilitate investment and stimulate tourism in the region (Tate, 2011). The most significant development occurring in the Nacala area however is the construction of a new port and coal terminal in nearby Nacala-Velha by the Brazilian multinational mining corporation Vale (VCC, 2011).

Electricity demand along the Mozambican stretch of the Nacala Corridor is the lowest in the country (Hanlon & Smart, 2012). This is largely due to the limitations of the region’s power distribution network and the poverty of its residents. In Nampula and Niassa Province sporadic transmission lines connect major centres to the nation’s aging grid, linked to the Cahorra Bassa Hydroelectric Dam in Tete Province (VCC, 2011). However, most regions lack access to electricity, including many district capitals. The goal of the Mozambican state is to achieve a 20% electrification rate by 2020, a low figure that is probably still unrealistic along the NDC (Hanlon & Smart, 2012). The central project being developed under the corridor framework to affect energy supply in the area is the proposed Malawi-Mozambique Interconnector Project which will connect the region to ESKOM, South Africa’s public electricity utility, and by far

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71 Vale’s role in infrastructure provision in the region is discussed in greater detail in the following sub-section.
72 Power demand along the Nacala Corridor was only 59mw in 2008. This is a small fraction of Mozambique’s national demand of 1,300mw, or compared to 40,000mw in South Africa (VCC 2011).
73 In Malawi only 6% of the population along the corridor is connected to the national electricity grid, and what demand there is, is provided through run-of-river hydropower projects on the Shire River, which alone account for 98.5% of the electricity produced in the entire country (VCC, 2011).
74 The principal towns along the corridor such as Ribáuê, Malema, and Cuamba have only recently been connected to the national grid during the past seven years.
southern Africa’s largest and most sophisticated electricity generator (VCC, 2011). The proposed interconnector should diversify energy supply along the corridor, reducing outages and lowering costs for consumers (COMESA, 2013). An additional benefit includes increased provision of energy to the mining sector, which is currently hampered by inadequate electricity supply (COMESA, 2013).

Like other utilities\(^{75}\), internet and telecommunications connections are of a patchwork nature along the corridor. The area between Nampula and Nacala has extensive mobile coverage\(^{76}\), including 3g data speeds, however between Nampula and the Malawi border signals are restricted to major towns and their environs (Site Visit, 21/07/2014). Coverage is more comprehensive in Malawi, with 93% of the population living in reach of a mobile signal\(^{77}\) (VCC, 2011). Internet access is low in both countries, particularly along the NDC, with less than 1% of the population of Mozambique and Malawi online (VCC, 2011). Furthermore, service quality throughout both countries is generally poor as the only links to submarine cables are in Maputo. Proposals to connect to the Eassy and Seacom cables at Nacala are in discussion, and would significantly improve the quality of internet service in northern Mozambique, Malawi, and Zambia (Hanlon & Smart, 2012).

4.2.4. Coal

Mozambique is considered to possess the world’s largest untapped coal reserves, with resources estimated around 23,000 million tonnes (Mt) (VCC, 2011). These reserves are located near the town of Moatize, in Tete, one of Mozambique’s poorest and most remote provinces. Transport challenges have to date kept these reserves from being exploited on a suitable scale, with current coal exports being shipped on the out-dated, and inadequate, Sena rail line\(^{78}\) to Beira (Smith, 2012). Thus, one of the major hurdles towards a more comprehensive exploitation of Tete’s mineral wealth is the establishment of an efficient reliable rail link from Moatize to the sea.

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\(^{75}\) Other utilities like water and sewerage are mostly non-existent.

\(^{76}\) Mozambique is served by three mobile communications operators with a combined six to seven million subscribers (VCC, 2011)

\(^{77}\) Malawi’s 93% coverage ranks among the highest on the continent, however, the rate of subscribers in Malawi is much lower than in Mozambique (5% vs 26%) as high subscription costs keep mobile services out of reach of most of the population. (VCC 2011).

\(^{78}\) The Sena line, which runs 575km from Tete to the port of Beira is currently only capable of handling 2 million tonnes of coal per year (VCC, 2011).
Although the corridor project is multi-dimensional, and will include infrastructural upgrades unrelated to the mining boom currently underway in Tete, the raison d'être for the corridor remains to provide mining corporations with an alternative export route to the sea. In September 2010, Vale, a Brazilian multinational metals and mining corporation (the world’s second largest) acquired a majority stake (51%) of the private investors’ share of the SDCN, the consortium which controls the Mozambican Nacala Port and Railway concession (VCC, 2011). Furthermore, in April of 2011, Vale signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the Malawian Government over use of Malawi’s rail system as part of the construction of a planned link from Mozambique’s Tete Province, through Malawi, to the existing Nacala line (VCC, 2011). The end result of these investments will be the completion of a complete rail link connecting Tete’s massive coal reserves, of which Vale controls a major stake79, to the port of Nacala.

As of 2012, Vale had invested US$2.5 billion into their Moatize mine, including a coking and thermal coal operation that has begun to deliver its coal exports to Beira, and had approved additional investments of US$2 billion for the expansion of existing operations (Smith, 2012; White, 2010). As the majority shareholder of SCDN, Vale is investing a further US$2bn in developing the Nacala rail link. Upgrades include the construction of a new railway link from Moatize to the border of Malawi, rehabilitation of the railway link in Malawi and the existing railway link from the Malawi border to Nacala, and improvements to the line from the Mozambican border to Nacala (VCC, 2011). Vale is also funding the construction of a new, specially-built coal terminal at Nacala-Velha and track connecting it to the main Nacala rail line (Batwell, 2013). The result of these upgrades is proposed to create an expected export capacity of 18Mt per annum by 2015, a nine-fold increase over current capacity. All told, CFM plans to invest $US12bn in rail and port projects between 2012 and 2017 in order to establish a transport network capable of exporting 120Mt of coal annually (Smith, 2012).

The impending bonanza of coal revenues is expected to drive the region’s economy for decades to come. Although mining investments are producing very large upgrades to Mozambique’s transport network, whether this will result in long-term benefits for the country is far from

79 Vale, is the largest player and has by far committed the most resources towards its Tete operations, however a number of other major international mining corporations have invested in the area and have begun developing mines in the region, including Rio Tinto and Beacon Hill Resources (Smith, 2012).
guaranteed. As Batwell (2013) notes, both Vale and Rio Tinto have been criticised in the past for their treatment of local communities within their area of operations. In a country with as weak governmental capacity as Mozambique, the affected people will be even more vulnerable (Bebbington et al., 2008b). With the enormous influence that Vale in particular, holds, as the sole concession holder on the Nacala line, it remains to be seen whether the Mozambican government will be able to effectively regulate mining and infrastructure development activities (Smith, 2012).

A further critique of rail infrastructure mega-projects questions the ability of rail line investment to generate local development. In order to stimulate local markets and insure that a portion of the benefits reach local communities the Mozambique government has required that a certain percentage of local labour is involved in construction activities (Batwell, 2013). According to Batwell (2013), at the peak of the construction phase (2014-2016) 15,000 people are anticipated to be employed, laying up to four kilometres of track per day, and bringing a much needed cash income to their communities. However, although they generate a number of short-term benefits, such jobs are usually labour-intensive and result in little skills transfer. Finally, some economists and engineers argue that Moatize is not an appropriate anchor for the Nacala corridor, and such massive investments on behalf of mining corporations will force out low-cost access to the line for farmers (VCC, 2011). In order to prevent this they recommend a diversification of investments (in order to break the Vale monopoly) and subsidised access for local farmers (VCC, 2011).

4.2.5 The Nacala Road Corridor Project (NRCP)

Although the exploitation of Mozambique’s mineral resources might be the driving factor behind infrastructure investments in the Nacala Corridor, it has been argued that the transformation of the region’s road and highway network has the potential to have the most powerful and lasting impact towards generating rural development (Kuhlmann et al., 2011; Tate, 2011). The institutional vehicle for the rehabilitation of the region’s roads is the Nacala Road Corridor Project (NRCP), which is a product of collaboration between the AfDB and SADC. The goal of the NRCP is to support economic growth and foster regional integration through the provision of a reliable, efficient and seamless road transport infrastructure (AfDB,

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The rehabilitation of the segments of the roads in the corridor have been decentralised with different executing bodies supervising in their respective countries; the ANE in Mozambique, the Roads Authority (RA) in Malawi, and the Roads Development Agency (RDA) in Zambia. In 2010 NEPAD approved a grant amount of approximately USD 1.5 million, which is part of a total of just over USD 2 million for the entire road corridor project, with blanket contributions coming from the Japanese International Cooperation Agency (JICA), and the governments of Malawi, Mozambique and Zambia. However, despite this broad pool of funds each phase of construction retains its own funding apparatus, decoupled from other sections, and including the participation of donors committed to only their portion of the NRCP.

The entire Corridor from the Nacala Port to Lusaka covers some 1700 km. The Corridor is designated as Route 20 of the SADC Regional Trunk Road Network (RTRN), beginning at Nacala Port on the coast in Mozambique. From Nacala the road runs westwards through Nampula and Cuumba to Mandimba at the border with Malawi and continues into Malawi through Mangochi, Liwonde, Lilongwe and Mchinji at the border with Zambia to Lusaka through Chipata (AfDB, 2013; VCC, 2011). Ultimately, the Trunk Road continues westwards into Angola before culminating at the Atlantic Ocean, however that stretch of highway has not been included in the NRCP. In its current, and final, iteration, the NRCP, covers the rehabilitation of about 1,033 km of roads in Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique, as well as the construction of two one-stop border posts, and the institutional improvements to streamline cross border interactions (See Figure 4.2) (AfDB, 2013).

The pre-existing roads that make up the NRCP currently serve low volumes of traffic and are of widely variable levels of quality (AfDB, 2009, 2013). Connections in Malawi and Zambia are generally tar and in tolerable condition, though are deteriorating due to inadequate maintenance (ADF, 2010). In Mozambique however, with the exception of the road between Nampula and Nacala which is already tarred and of good quality, the national roads included in the Nacala Road Corridor are in extremely poor condition, particularly the N13 which is discussed in the Section 4.3 (AfDB, 2009). These variations in quality prevent the Road Corridor from functioning, and serve as a major barrier for inland traffic. When complete, the Nacala Road Corridor will compliment concurrent upgrades to rail, sea, and air infrastructure, and will provide Malawi and eastern Zambia with an improved link to the Nacala port,
delivering a shorter and cheaper alternative route for the countries’ exports and imports as compared to the existing routes to the ports of Beira, Durban and Dar es Salaam (AfDB, 2009).

The road upgrades associated with the NRCP will be completed over four phases. This research focuses on Phase one, a 348km highway rehabilitation project in Mozambique spanning from Nampula to Cuamba along National Road 13 (N13) (see Figure 4.2). Phase one is managed by the ANE, and is co-financed by the AfDB, JICA, the Export-Import Bank of Korea (KEXIM), and the Government of Mozambique (AfDB, 2009). Three construction contractors are responsible for the work between Nampula and Cuamba, one Chinese firm and two Portuguese, and physical works completed in 2016 (AfDB, 2009). Furthermore, in 2012 phase one was extended to include the rehabilitation of approximately an additional 70km past Cuamba to the town of Muita, however work on this section did not begin until late 2015, too late to be included within the scope of this study’s fieldwork.\(^81\) (ADF, 2012).

Phase two involves the rehabilitation of a bitumen surfaced road from Laungwa to Mwami in Zambia that was tarred in the late 1960s and is in need of upgrading (see Figure 4.2) (ADF, 2010). The project comprises 360km of roadwork through south eastern Zambia and when completed will provide a streamlined road link from Lusaka to the Malawian border.\(^82\) Major funders include the European Union (EU) and the European Investment Bank (EIB)\(^83\) and the executing agency is Zambia’s Roads Development Agency (RDA) (AfDB, 2013). The project was approved in 2010 and civil works are expected to be completed in 2017 (ADF, 2010)\(^84\).

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\(^81\) Phase one also includes the construction of a 13km bypass in Lilongwe, Malawi (AfDB, 2009). Work in Malawi is administered by that country’s Roads Authority (RA) while the ANE is administering the Muita extension (ADF, 2012).

\(^82\) The 232km between Luangwa and Lusaka is not being affected as the road has deemed to be in a suitable condition (ADF, 2010).

\(^83\) Funding was provided through a loan facilitated by the ADF (ADF, 2010).

\(^84\) It was during the consultation and planning process for phase two that roadwork for phase one was extendd past Cuamba to Muita (ADF, 2010).
Figure 4.2: Phases of the Nacala Road Corridor Project (EduAction, 12/30/2015).
The third phase of the NRCP completes the work of phase one by upgrading the connection between Muita and the Malawian border. Also being upgraded is the Mandimba to Lichinga\textsuperscript{85} highway, which in its current state is nearly impassable during the rainy season (see Figure 4.2). Furthermore, phase three will also include the construction of a one-stop border post (at the Mandimba-Chiponde border stop), as well weigh bridges and roadside stations for truck traffic, and a plethora of small, local access roads. Phase three consists of approximately 160km of road works, was approved in 2012, and is expected to be completed in 2017 (ADF, 2012). Primary funding has been received via a loan and grant from the African Development Fund (ADF) and the project is being supervised by the ANE (ADF, 2012). When completed the phase three road links are expected to serve a population of over 500,000 people, and are intended to unlock the economic potential of the region while facilitating service delivery and development (VCC, 2011).

Finally, the fourth, and to this point, concluding phase of the NRCP, will see the rehabilitation of around 125km of road in Malawi. The project has two sections, one starting from Nsipe to Mangochi (55km) and another from Mangochi to Four Ways (70km) (see Figure 4.2) (AfDB, 2013). The road will be of national highway standard and will provide a crucial link from the southern cities of Zomba and Blantyre to the main corridor route at Mangochi. The project was approved in 2013 and construction began in early 2014 (AfDB, 2013). The executing body, Malawi’s Roads Authority (RA) received funding via a grant and loan from the AfDB, and expects to have completed roadwork by mid-2016.

All told the NCRP will rehabilitate or construct over 1000 kilometres of road across Zambia, Malawi, and Mozambique, completely overhauling the region’s transport network (VCC, 2011). This research focuses on development and change along the Nacala corridor through a critical examination of one section of the NRCP, namely, phase one, the rehabilitation of Mozambique’s N13 highway between Nampula and Cuamba. The following section presents an in-depth description of the N13, while describing the developmental context for its setting in Nampula and Niassa Provinces.

\textsuperscript{85} Despite being the capital of Niassa Province, Lichinga is undoubtedly one of Mozambique’s most remote and inaccessible cities. Access by road from nearly anywhere in Mozambique is extremely difficult, and most goods arrive via a spur rail link off the main Nacala line.
4.3. THE N13 HIGHWAY REHABILITATION PROGRAMME

4.3.1. Introduction

Unlike Muidumbe, mentioned at the start of this chapter, lions no longer roam the N13\textsuperscript{86}. However, crossing some of Mozambique’s most rural and remote districts, the N13 was, until recently, an unimproved dirt surface, dusty during the dry season and nearly impassable in the wet season. Difficult to cross and poorly maintained, the track is was most places just a single lane. Traffic was rare; the occasional truck being the only sight on a road that even the chapas (mini-bus taxis) avoid (see Plate 4.2). It was a road that, until the NRCP, had changed little since the colonial era.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{n13.jpg}
\caption{The N13, between Cuamba and Malema (Author, 28/03/2012)}
\end{figure}

This section presents additional context for the research by examining the second dimension of the case study, and the setting for the fieldwork, the N13 Highway and the rehabilitation works that commenced there in late 2010. Section 4.3.2 begins by providing a brief overview of Niassa and Nampula Provinces. Next, Section 4.3.3 discusses the route of the N13; the towns, villages, and rivers along its path, as well as the people who live alongside it. Finally,

\textsuperscript{86} Though elephants are known to migrate through the area (VCC, 2011).
Section 4.3.4 focuses on the recent efforts to rehabilitate the road to the national highway standard; including details on the construction, the project’s institutional arrangements, as well as the plans and mechanisms for monitoring and evaluation.

4.3.2 Northern Context: Niassa and Nampula Provinces

Niassa and Nampula, two of the three provinces that can collectively be said to comprise the north of Mozambique, are among Mozambique’s poorest and most remote regions (see Figure 4.3 for location of provinces). The war of independence was mostly fought in the north of the country, giving it a unique place in Mozambique’s national ethos, however the region remains a political backwater, neglected by the government in Maputo and distrusted by the Frelimo elite who fear the rise of strong provincial leaders with independent power bases (Hanlon & Smart, 2012).

Three major ethnic groups live in Nampula and Niassa, and within the vicinity of the Nacala Corridor (see Figure 4.3). These are the Makua, who occupy the coastal regions of Nampula westward to Cuamba. Second, are the Lomwe, whose language is mutually intelligible with Makua and live north of the highway in northern Nampula and southern Niassa. Third are the Yao who occupy the Mozambican side of Lake Malawi all the way down to Mandimba and can be found scattered throughout Niassa Province (Newitt, 1995). Nampula, as Mozambique’s third largest city, and the unofficial capital of the north, is much more ethnically diverse. The city also possesses a fairly large Portuguese and Afro-Portuguese population, in addition to a large and prosperous Muslim Indian community (Pereira-Bastos, 2005). Furthermore, with increased Chinese investment in Mozambique, Nampula has also acquired a noticeable and growing number of ethnic Chinese who have become an important part of the city’s economic life (Horta, 2007).

87 The third is Calbo Delgado Province.
88 Until recently, Alfonso Dlakama, the titular head of Renamo maintained his residence in Nampula City (BBC, 2013).
89 At an estimated 4 million people, the Makua are Mozambique’s largest group (Newitt, 1995)
Northern Mozambique has shown impressive signs of economic growth and development over the past two decades (Cunguara & Hanlon, 2012). In addition to the port of Nacala, the region boasts a large range of exploitable resources, including heavy metals, natural gas, timber and other forestry commodities, valuable fisheries, and a UNESCO World Heritage Site at Ilha de Moçambique (CIA, 2013). Furthermore, the city of Nampula\textsuperscript{90} which is the capital of Nampula Province has become an important business and economic hub in its own right (Sumich, 2010).

Outside of the two majors towns of Nampula and Nacala, the north is dominated by agriculture and suffers from a lack of public services (Hanlon & Smart, 2012). This is particularly true in Niassa Province which is the largest of Mozambique’s provinces by size, but with just 870,000 inhabitants, has the smallest population (ADF, 2012). Agriculture is the main activity for most rural households in Niassa, who occupy 12.3 million hectares of arable land, more than two thirds of which is considered excellent for agriculture\textsuperscript{91} (ADF, 2012). Major crops grown in

\textsuperscript{90} Nampula Cidade (City) has a population of around half a million people (CIA, 2013).

\textsuperscript{91} However, a lingering presence of Tsetse fly in the region limits potential for animal husbandry (ADF, 2012).
Niassa include maize, beans, tobacco, millet, onions, fruit, and peas, while Nampula province is a centre for cotton, sugar cane, cashew, and cassava production\textsuperscript{92} (ADF, 2012).

Development indicators in the two provinces are mixed, despite signs of economic growth. For example, while the poverty rate has fluctuated or worsened in parts of the country over the past two decades, it has consistently declined in the northern regions over the same period (Hanlon & Smart, 2012; Norad, 2016; VCC, 2011). Indeed, rural northern regions of the country showed the largest decreases in poverty, and Niassa boasts the lowest poverty rate in the country, even lower than Maputo (Arndt et al., 2016). However, although relatively less poor, as of 2009, 61.2\% and 68.1\% of the people in Niassa and Nampula Provinces still lived in absolute poverty and 78\% of households live on a per capita income of less than US$1 per day (ADBG, 2009). Food scarcity\textsuperscript{93} and child malnutrition are widespread\textsuperscript{94}, and although Nampula and Nacala are experiencing economic growth, outside of these cities few opportunities exist for wage labour. There are primary schools\textsuperscript{95}, however few opportunities for secondary education, and access to primary healthcare is low\textsuperscript{96} (ADBG, 2009). Additionally, basic services like electricity\textsuperscript{97} and sanitation\textsuperscript{98} are lacking in the larger towns and are non-existent in rural areas. Finally, although water is not particularly scarce in the province\textsuperscript{99}, clean water is, and water-borne diseases and diarrhoea are common (ADBG, 2009).

Thus, although the provinces of Nampula and Niassa have shown signs of economic development in certain sectors related to resource exploitation and infrastructure over the past two decades, poverty remains pervasive. Furthermore, the region’s distance from the centre of power in Maputo, and decades of neglect by the central government during the colonial and post-colonial period, have posed extra challenges for service delivery. As a consequence, for

\textsuperscript{92}The provinces of Nampula and Niassa possess such high agricultural potential that certain areas have developed national reputations based on the excellence of their local products, for example, districts of; Malema for its onions, Mutivasse for its sugarcane, and Lalaua for its cotton (Site Visit, 27/07/2014).

\textsuperscript{93}The ESIA for Phase I found that most rural households along the N13 do not produce enough food to meet their needs throughout the year (ADBG 2009)

\textsuperscript{94}Along the Nacala Corridor 57\% of children under five are stunted while a further 23\% are underweight. This is in comparison to the national averages of 46\% and 19\% respectively (VCC, 2011).

\textsuperscript{95}However primary school completion rates along the corridor only sit at 8\%, almost half the national average of 15\% (VCC, 2011).

\textsuperscript{96}However, due to the rural nature of the region the HIV/AIDS infection rate among women 15-49 is only 4\%, significantly lower than the national average of 13\% (VCC, 2011).

\textsuperscript{97}Access to the power grid along the Nacala Corridor is only 6\%, much less than the national average of 14\% (VCC, 2011).

\textsuperscript{98}Access to sanitation along the Nacala Corridor is 15\%, compared to the national average of 20\% (VCC, 2011).

\textsuperscript{99}43\% of residents along the Nacala Corridor have access to an improved water source, greater than the 41\% national average (VCC, 2011).
the people of Nampula and Niassa Provinces, the standard of living remains relatively low across a wide range of quality of life indicators, both compared to international standards and within Mozambique itself (VCC, 2011).

With regards to infrastructure, the connections and services in the north of Mozambique significantly lag behind the rest of the country. Beyond the N1, the country’s main north-south artery which connects Nampula with Maputo, there are few paved roads in either Nampula or Niassa (see Figure 4.4). These two provinces contain the lowest proportion (33-35%) of the population who live within 2km of an all-weather road (VCC, 2011). Niassa in particularly is largely devoid of transport links. By area it is Mozambique’s largest province, yet contains one all-weather road, the N14, which was planned to connect the provincial capital Lichinga with the coast at Pemba in Cabo Delgado.

Figure 4.4: Northern Roads and the N13 (EduAction, 12/30/2015).

100 Due to a lack of English-language documentary material covering northern Mozambique this section draws upon empirical evidence to add depth to the background descriptions of the study area.
101 Unfortunately, the project was never completed and the road ends far short of its destination, rendering it largely useless
4.3.3 The N13 Highway

The N13 (also known as the EN8 under the old highway designation system) typifies the poor state of road infrastructure in the north\textsuperscript{102}. Aside from the N1, the N13 is the most important road in the north. Figure 4.4 shows that the N13 splits off of the N1 in Nampula City and travels west, parallel to the rail line), and linking several of Nampula Province’s district seats. The N13 crosses into Niassa at the Lurio River before entering Cuamba, a district capital and the second largest city in Niassa. From Cuamba the N13 strikes a more northerly course, crossing through the border town of Mandimba before ending at the provincial capital of Lichinga\textsuperscript{103}.

The N13 itself is in a very poor condition, and for the most part is not able to adequately serve the communities through which it passes. The road was built during the colonial period when the majority of its bridges were also built. The surface is dirt, consisting of inadequately grated clay and sand, which is highly vulnerable to rutting, potholes and erosion (Site visit, 28/03/2012). There is no drainage system along the road, and during the rainy season running water opens large chasms in the surface, posing a major hazard to motorists, and allowing large pools to collect in low-lying areas (see Plate 4.3). The N13 is in such a poor condition that few cars use it, particularly during the rainy season. Moreover, public transport, in the form of minibus taxis known as chapas, only use the N13 for local routes, particularly the less degraded stretch between Ribáuè and Nampula.

Evidence from site visits (03/2012, 10/2013, 07/2014) indicated that the countryside that the road passes through is largely rural and sparsely populated. During the sampling exercise (28/03/2012) the researcher observed that the population tends to be concentrated along the existing road, and beyond a kilometre or so distance from the corridor the population density declines significantly. Between Cuamba and Lichinga there are no major towns of note, excluding Mandimba which largely exists to serve the border crossing to Malawi (Site visit, 01/08/2014). Between Cuamba and Nampula, the population appeared to be denser than along the Niassa portion of the highway (about one household every half kilometre and a small village.

\textsuperscript{102} Due to a lack of English-language documentary material covering Northern Mozambique this section utilises empirical evidence in order to add depth to background descriptions of the study area.

\textsuperscript{103} The N13 directly provides the only road connection for six different district capitals, as well as the provincial capital Lichinga.
(around 30 total) every 10-15 kilometres) (Site visit, 28/03/2012). Moreover, between Nampula and Cuamba the number of local people using the road visibly grows (Site Visit, 03/29/2012).

The communities through which the EN8, now the N13 passes, are generally very poor. When asked to describe their communities and livelihoods, the most common descriptor was ‘difficult’, and although individuals were undoubtedly proud of their communities, most respondents focused on their hardships (Mutuali, 01/08/2014). Outside of the district capitals of Malema, Ribáuè and Rapale, and smaller market towns like Lurio or Mutivasse there is little economic activity and most rural participants reported struggling to survive on subsistence agriculture104 (Marusso, 31/07/2014; Muessi, 01/08/2014; Nioce, 02/08/2014; Zimbabwe, 21/07/2014). The exceptions to this are the points where the rail line and road meet, at which sprawling markets have been established, vacant most of the time, but lively every other day when the train passes through (see Plate 4.1) (Site visit, 28/03/2012). Housing along the N13

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104 The most commonly grown items are cassava, maize, and beans, supplemented by small plots of cash crops like tobacco or cotton (VCC, 2011).
is generally wattle and daub or mud brick with thatch roofs, with a few cinder block houses in the larger villages\footnote{Excluding Nampula itself, Cuamba, Ribáuè, Namiconha, and Iapala are the only towns along the highway to have been electrified, and only recently (ADBG 2009).} (see Plate 4.4).

Plate 4.4: Typical homestead along the N13, near Cuamba (Author, 28/03/2012)

The most common use for the road locally is for transportation, though that takes many forms. For those who live in rural areas the N13 serves a connection to urban areas like Nampula or Cuamba. For many, this is an invaluable connection to employment and economic opportunity in the more economically vibrant areas like Nacala or Maputo (Mutuali, 01/08/2014). In addition to finding work, others use the N13 in order to transport their goods to and from regional markets. In communities like Metacusse, which does not contain a market, produce is transported to a neighbouring town so that it can be sold (Metacusse, 02/08/2014). Furthermore, those who are able, transport their goods further, to regional centers like Ribáuè, Nampula, or Cuamba, where they sell for higher prices than they would receive in smaller markets (Namiconha, 19/07/2014; Nacata, 01/80/2014; Mutivasse #2, 17/07/2014). Wholesalers also utilize the road, buying and collect produce directly from the farmers before transporting it to Nampula, as well as local shopkeepers who buy commercial goods in the towns in order to re-sell it within their communities (Rapale #4, 17/07/2014). The truck traffic
from this trade, as well as through-traffic from Malawi and Lichinga, exacerbates the rutting and fissures that open up in the road during the rainy season (see Plate 4.5). Finally, the road also serves as a marketplace itself, with a number of participants reporting that they sell products along the roadside to passing motorists in order to supplement their livelihoods (Marusso, 31/07/2014; Rapale #1, 17/07/2014).

Plate 4.5: An accident on the N13 due to rutting caused by erosion (Author, 28/03/2012).

The N13 also serves as the main access point for the limited range of social services available in the area. This includes reaching government offices, which are predominantly located along the main highway, as well as medical services in the form of local clinics in the district capitals and the central hospital in Nampula (Marusso, 31/07/2014). Except for the train, which closely parallels the road in most instances, the main forms of transport are chapas (mini-bus taxis), which ran infrequently in the past due to the poor condition of the road surface, but constitute the only form of public transport along the N13 (Namiconha, 19/07/2014; Rapale #1, 17/07/2014). Outside of the major towns, only a few individuals within the study area own private cars (Site Visit, 28/07/2014). However some more well-resourced farmers are able to collectively coordinate truck transport for their products (Ribáuè #1, 19/07/2014). Those who cannot afford to hire truck transport either sell locally or personally travel with small quantities on the train or in the chapas (Natikiri #2, 16/07/2014; Nioce, 02/08/2014). Motorbikes are increasingly common as cheaper imports have driven prices down, putting them within the
reach of more prosperous households. Most households also own at least one bicycle, which along with motorbikes, are used to transport goods in modest quantities to regional markets (Namiconha #2, 16/07/2014, Site Visit, 01/08/2014).

Moreover, in an area with no public sidewalks, the road is most frequently traversed on foot, by the individuals who live alongside it (Site Visit, 17/07/2014). The majority of communities in the study area are bisected by the N13 (Site Visit, 17/07/2014). As a result, individuals frequently cross it and walk alongside it throughout their daily lives (Site Visit, 17/07/2014). Furthermore, many respondents reported, either from an absence of transport or lack of money, using the road to walk significant distances (Nacata, 01/08/2014). Finally, with few open community spaces, the road is also used by community members as a meeting space, playground, and football field, with children and animals posing as frequent hazards to motorists (Site visit, 28/03/2012).

4.3.4 Rehabilitation

In its current state the N13 is a major inhibitor of local development, regional transport and trade (VCC, 2011). Although the road is supplemented by the parallel rail line, rail service is also insufficient or unreliable and as a result the region remains one of Mozambique’s most backward and inaccessible (AfDB, 2009). As a consequence the rehabilitation of the N13 was designated as the first phase of the Nacala Road Corridor Project, and a priority project within SADC. As part of the rehabilitation approximately three hundred and fifty kilometres of the N13 is being upgraded to an improved bitumen surface between Nampula and Cuamba (see Plate 4.6).

The rehabilitated road will be of national highway and Southern Africa Transport and Communications Commission (SATCC) standards with a recommended speed of 80 kilometres per hour. The specifications of the new surface are a Double Bitumenous Surface Treatment (DBST) on 150mm crushed stone base, on 200mm cement stabilized sub-base, laid down on two natural gravel selected layers of 200mm and 250 mm each (see Plate 4.7) (AfDB, 2009). An asphalt surface was determined to be unfeasible or less cost-effective by project planners (ADBG, 2009). Furthermore, the road will be expanded to a seven meter wide carriage.

106 In 2012 the phase 1 rehabilitation of the N13 was extended an additional 70 kilometers or so past Cuamba to the town of Muita, however work had not begun until 2015, too late to be included within the scope of this study.
way with three meter shoulders in rural areas and 2.5 meters in urban and village settings (see Plate 4.8) (ADBG, 2009). Additional construction works will be required to clear areas, open and excavate materials sites, and establish construction camps and storage dumps (ADBG, 2009). In order to improve drainage and resist flooding the road will be elevated in low lying areas and provisions will be made for longitudinal and cross drainage (such as culverts, drains, and bridges) (see Plate 4.9). However, many of the existing bridges are expected to be integrated into the new road without major alterations (ADBG, 2009).

Plate 4.6: Finished road surface, near Chica (Author, 28/07/2014)

Plate 4.7: Road surface with concrete base, before crushed stone has been added (Author, 28/07/2014)
The rehabilitation of the N13 is being funded through an African Development Fund (ADF) loan of UA102.72 million. Furthermore, the Japanese International Cooperation Agency
(JICA)\textsuperscript{107} and the Export-Import Bank of Korea (KEXIM) are also jointly financing the work with contributions of UA40.89 million and UA13.63 million respectively (AfDB, 2009; Osei-Hwedie, 2011). The project has had a lifecycle of around six years. The project was approved in 2009, initiating the tendering process, as well as planning and preparation work. Fund disbursement and construction work began in late 2010 (AfDB, 2009). Works are slightly behind schedule, with initial targets of a 2013 completion being unfeasible. A final disbursement of funds was scheduled for September of 2014, while final construction work was expected to be completed in early 2015, with a revised goal of the road being completed by June of that year (AfDB, 2009). This goal has been partially met, with sections of the road opening to traffic throughout 2014 and 2015 (Site visit, 07/2014). However, work continues in a number of places, particularly in between Malema and Cuamba, delaying the completion of the project until late 2016 (Site visit, 08/2014).

According to the AfDB (2009) rehabilitation work is being overseen by a steering committee consisting of members of the SADC secretariat as well as Mozambican and Malawian officials. However, actual responsibility for implementation rests with the National Roads Administration (ANE) which is the sole executing body for the N13 project in Mozambique (VCC, 2011). In order to supervise the project the ANE has assigned a civil engineer as project coordinator, responsible for overall monitoring of project components and serving as a liaison with other corridor related interventions (ADBG, 2009). Actual rehabilitation work has been contracted out to three separate construction firms through a tendering process conducted by the ANE. Each firm is responsible for a specific section of highway. Gabriel Couto, a Portuguese company, is responsible for the roadwork between Cuamba and Malema, while two separate Chinese firms, China Communications Construction Company (CCCC) and China Henan International Cooperation Group (Chico) operate out of Ribâuè and Rapale respectively (AfDB, 2009).

With regards to the mitigation of environmental and social impacts of the road construction the ANE reports to MICOA and the Ministry of Environmental Affairs, and is responsible for ensuring compliance to national standards (AfDB, 2009; VCC, 2011). Likewise, the ANE is solely responsible for the monitoring and evaluation of rehabilitation work, issuing monthly progress reports to the African Development Bank (AfDB), which include physical, financial,

\textsuperscript{107} JICA is Japan’s main channel for ODA disbursements to developing countries.
social, and environmental indicators achieved (ADBG, 2009). Furthermore, the Bank also dispatches bi-yearly field supervision missions, to identify major issues and bottlenecks, while advising on solutions (AfDB, 2009). The manner in which the environmental and social impacts of the N13 are managed by the state is central to several of the questions posed by this research and is the focus of later chapters.

4.4. CONCLUSION

The aim of this study is to interrogate the impacts of the Nacala Development Corridor and the N13 Highway Rehabilitation on local citizens living alongside the N13. The previous chapter provided the socio-economic context for Mozambican development. This chapter focuses on the study area, describing the two projects, the NDC and the N13, which are at the focus of the case study. By providing details on several of the key issues surrounding these projects, the guiding philosophy behind its development, the actors involved, as well as a general description of the project in Mozambique, it has set the context for the information collected in the field which is presented, analysed and interpreted in subsequent chapters.

The chapter begins by describing the Nacala Development Corridor (NDC), a multi-dimension spatial development initiative in northern Mozambique. The NDC, bundles together a number of infrastructure investments designed to facilitate mineral extraction in Tete Province, as well as stimulating local development. These investments include rail rehabilitation, improvements to utilities, and a number of upgrades to the Port of Nacala, including a new coal terminal at Nacala-Velha. Also included in the NDC is the Nacala Road Corridor Project (NRCP), a regional, multi-phase road rehabilitation programme designed to improve the SADC trunk road that connects Lusaka, Zambia to Nacala, via Malawi and Mozambique. When completed, the NRCP will have rehabilitated or constructed over 1000 kilometres of road across the three countries, overhauling the region’s transport network while channelling regional trade along a more direct route to the sea (VCC, 2011).

The second half of the chapter details the first phase of the NRCP, the N13 Highway Rehabilitation Programme. A vital, but highly degraded highway, the N13 bisects northern Mozambique, connecting Niassa province’s capital, Lichinga, with Nampula province’s capital, Nampula City. Dating from Mozambique’s colonial area the N13 crosses some of the
nation’s most rural, poor, and remote districts, and in its un-rehabilitated form served as a major hindrance to economic development and transport (VCC, 2011). Under the NRCP approximately three hundred and fifty kilometres of the N13 is being upgraded to an improved bitumen surface between Nampula and Cuamba. The project is being funded through an African Development Fund (ADF) loan of UA102.72 million, with contributions from the Japanese International Cooperation Agency (JICA) and the Export-Import Bank of Korea (KEXIM). Finally, the work is being overseen by the Mozambican National Roads Administration (ANE) which is solely responsible for the monitoring and evaluation of rehabilitation work. The actual rehabilitation work has been contracted out to three separate construction firms operating independently within assigned zones (AfDB, 2009). At the time of the fieldwork, roadworks were ongoing, and the project was completed in late 2016. Next, Chapter Five outlines the methodological framework and data collection techniques utilised in this study, while describing the unique challenges and opportunities encountered within the study area.
CHAPTER FIVE: METHODOLOGY

“Most of us here are just peasants. Why talk to us? What do we know?”
– Subsistence Farmer in Lurio (31/07/2014)

5.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes the methodology that has been utilised for this research. Kitchin and Tate (2000, p. 6) define a methodology as “a coherent set of rules and procedures which can be used to investigate a phenomenon or situation within a framework dictated by epistemological and ontological ideas”. Thus, the purpose of this chapter is to describe the research process, while articulating the reasons certain methods were used in relation to the research objectives, research objectives and the theory within which the project has been framed.

The aim of this thesis is to analyse the construction of the Nacala Development Corridor and the rehabilitation of the N13 Highway, in order to interrogate the impacts of the development on local citizens and examine the relationship between citizen and state within development processes. To explore the research objectives derived from this aim this study adopts a qualitative approach, drawing on interviews108 (86), focus groups109 (27), observation, and primary document analysis, which are analysed using thematic analysis, in order to collect information and draw out major themes.

The study area encompassed the area that forms phase one110 of the N13 Highway Rehabilitation Programme, part of the larger Nacala Development Corridor, extending from the city of Nampula in Nampula Province to the city of Cuamba in Niassa Province. Research was conducted in communities situated alongside the N13, in order to examine the immediate impacts of the highway rehabilitation, as well as any effects that might be felt from the development of the Corridor. The fieldwork took place across two pilot studies (March 2012 and October 2012) and an extended fieldwork period within the study area (July and August

108 See Appendix I for a list of interview respondents.
109 See Appendix I for a list of focus group respondents.
110 See Chapter Four for a description of NDC and the various phases of the NRCP
2014). In addition, key-stakeholder interviews (7) were conducted in Maputo\(^{111}\) and Durban, South Africa (2012-2014).

The methodology of this study has been designed in a way which enables the research questions that are rooted in the aforementioned objectives to be addressed. Furthermore, the methodology has been shaped by the Mozambican context, in which reliable English-language data is rare, necessitating significant primary data collection. The epistemological link between methodological approach, context, and research objectives will become explicit as the research processes utilised are described within this chapter.

The chapter begins with Section 5.2 outlining the research design of the study, including an overview of the deductive and qualitative processes utilised. Section 5.3 examines the processes necessary for gaining access to the study area. Next, Section 5.4 details the information gathering methods followed, including an overview of both primary and secondary sources, while Section 5.5 outlines the sampling regimen. Section 5.6 discusses data analysis, focusing on thematic analysis. The following section, 5.7, explores a number of challenges encountered during the study. The final section, 5.8, concludes the chapter while providing a bridge to the following data chapters.

5.2. THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIVIST PARADIGM AND IMPLICATIONS FOR THE RESEARCH DESIGN

The research process for this thesis falls within the realm of qualitative research and uses deductive reasoning set within an interpretive and constructivist paradigm as its strategy for generating data (Miles & Huberman, 1994). This paradigm has partially emerged as part of the ‘interpretive turn’ in social sciences which has rejected positivist assumptions of objectivity and absolutism while embracing hermeneutics and reflexivity (Mottier, 2005). The adoption of a constructivist approach has influenced the research design by emphasising the need to interpret the constructions of reality of respondents while acknowledging the co-creation of knowledge produced during the interview process (Mottier, 2005). From a social constructivist viewpoint, the exchange of information is not one-sided. Instead, researchers and their research subjects are dialectically related in learning from each other (Holt & Willard-Holt, 2000;\(^{111}\) The researcher made eight separate visits to Maputo during the course of the study.)
This means that the learning experience is subjective, and requires that the researcher’s culture, values, and background be acknowledged in the interplay between learners and tasks in the shaping of meaning. This assumption of co-created knowledge is central to a constructivist approach.

The ontology of a constructivist approach is of a socially constructed reality centred on thematic trends. The ontological assumptions of a constructivist approach are that reality is both local and specific - in other words reality is unique per group and individual and is actively being constructed and influenced by the research process (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). A constructivist approach favours qualitative methodologies (Mottier, 2005). According to Merriam (2009), qualitative researchers are interested in understanding the way people interpret their world and their experiences within it. This study is qualitative because it follows an approach orientated around the gathering of data from oral sources- placing emphasis on the search for themes to interpret the meaning that people have constructed in their lives (Kitchin & Tate, 2000). Furthermore, the study is deductive because the research process begins with a theoretically formed proposition about citizen’s understandings and interpretations of development- allowing the data to support or contradict theory.

Finally, this research has also been a reflexive process. Broadly speaking, “reflexivity” entails turning back on oneself – a critical process of self-reference that, in its most transparent guise, expresses the researchers’ awareness of their necessary connection to the research situation and hence their impacts upon it (Davies, 1999; Moseley & Laris, 2008). Moreover, within the research process itself, reflexivity refers to the ways in which the individual researcher as well as the process of doing research affects the products of research across all phases, from the initial selection of the topic and case study, to the final data itself (Moseley & Laris, 2008). This research has been reflexive in two senses: first, in the way in which the researcher has interrogated his own methodological approaches while in the field in order to understand what factors influenced both his behaviour and thinking at the time, the thoughts and responses of the respondents, as well as the process of knowledge co-production that existed between researcher, subject, and translator. Secondly, the research process has been reflexive in that it has constantly used a theoretical framework to inform the researcher’s interpretation of Mozambique in addition to the complex changes taking place there.
5.3. GAINING ACCESS TO THE STUDY AREA

This study was conducted in communities along the N13 Highway, within the Nacala Development Corridor, in order to examine the immediate impacts of the highway rehabilitation, as well as any effects that might be felt from the development of the Corridor. This area of northern Mozambique has a complex cultural and political environment, which at the time of this study posed unique challenges to fieldwork. Methodological literature concerning fieldwork in Mozambique is limited. Moreover, that which does exist largely focuses on the disconnection between local communities and foreign researchers (Hanlon, 1991; West, 2007) while largely ignoring the difficulties associated with working in a post-conflict environment (Nelson, 2013). According to Koch (2013), in situations with strong state control or socialist histories researchers must be particularly reflexive while demonstrating increased patience. Moreover, they must learn to build trust and rapport in order to gain a deeper understanding of the unique challenges present in such enclosed spaces (Koch, 2013). From the experience of this study, those challenges include the highly hierarchical and closed nature of Mozambican government and bureaucracy, as well as an at-times unstable security situation that can complicate the research process.

As Chapter Two described, in Mozambique there are exist two layers of leadership which exert power at a local level. First there are state officials, from the national and provincial government, all the way down to the Secretario (or Village Secretary, the lowest level of state official). These individuals represent the state, and form a chain of command from the national government to the village. Second, there is a parallel system of traditional leadership, Chefes (chiefs), in charge of villages (de Bairro) or markets (de Mercado). In addition to Regulos who hold a traditional, but frequently undefined, position of importance within a community112 (Pratchett, 04/11/2013). In order to conduct an interview or focus group in a specific area the entire chain of state officials first needed to be contacted, credentials presented, and permission requested to conduct research in their jurisdiction requested. Furthermore, traditional leaders also needed to be approached, and when possible included in the process.

Navigating this bureaucratic web was greatly assisted by the mapping of an administrative hierarchy chart before the fieldwork, so as to provide the necessary steps to take before each

112 See Chapter Two for a more in-depth description of both leadership structures.
focus group could be held\textsuperscript{113}. Much of this was done during the scoping exercise, where consultations with stakeholders in Nampula, namely the local American Peace Corps Professionals Palembe (17/10/2012) and Rusere (17/10/2012) who helped to map out a local and regional hierarchy. Finally, the researcher was greatly assisted by the credentials provided both by Eduardo Mondlane University and the National Road Administration (ANE) which facilitated access to respondents all along the N13\textsuperscript{114}.

To illustrate the point, in order to conduct a focus group in the Communidade\textsuperscript{115} (community) of Nacuca the researcher first had to appear at the Provincial office in Nampula. After getting permission from the Provincial authorities we were able to approach the district office, which in Nacuca’s case is Nampula-Rapale, the seat of which is the town of Rapale. The Chefe do Distrito (District Chief) for Nampula-Rapale was very helpful and helped arrange to focus groups within Rapale itself. However for Nacuca he referred me to the Posto level (a tier of administration in between the district and village), which in this case was Mutivasse. Once in Mutivasse we met with the assistant Chefe do Posto (the Chefe was not available), with whom we scheduled the Nacuca focus group for the following day. Upon arriving in Nacuca the next morning we were greeted by an official delegation which included the Chefe do Posto, the Secretario for Nacuca, as well as the Chefe do Bairro, each of whom needed to inspect and stamp our credentials before the focus group could take place\textsuperscript{116}. However, in expectation of our arrival they had already prepared a public space and assembled a group of community members, preparations that allowed us to begin the focus group almost immediately afterwards (see Plate 6.1.).

\textsuperscript{113} See Appendix II.
\textsuperscript{114} See Appendix III.
\textsuperscript{115} Communidade and Localidade are the smallest official administrative units in Mozambique.
\textsuperscript{116} In one community (Mutuali), the researchers were also conducted by local officials to the local Frelimo party headquarters in order to present our credentials for approval.
Although the jurisdiction of many focus groups overlapped and these steps could be skipped (for example, eight were held in Nampula-Rapale District and we only needed to approach the district office once), these steps were essentially repeated for each of the 27 focus groups\textsuperscript{117}. Local officials, at the district or posto level, were very helpful, either through providing the necessary contacts for us, or even contacting their subordinates for us, saving us the trouble of tracking down the myriad of officials ourselves. Nonetheless, the requisite footwork necessary for each focus group interview constituted a major drain on time and resources.

An additional complication related to Mozambique’s pervasive bureaucracy is that the researcher had to rely upon local officials to organise focus groups. This was unavoidable, as District or Posto chiefs insisted, either out of politeness or as a method of control, on arranging the groups themselves. Even in instances when a chief could not be present to arrange groups for us personally, they either phoned ahead to make arrangements or assigned us a member of their staff to travel with us and liaise with local officials or traditional leaders. Furthermore, the local chief or secretario frequently participated in the groups personally. Often we could avoid this by interviewing the individual separately, but nonetheless, in nearly half the focus

\textsuperscript{117} See Appendix I for a list of focus groups.
groups an official of some level was present as a participant\textsuperscript{118}. In some instances the presence of the chief influenced the tone of the focus group, as the interpreter Cebola (13/11/2014) explains:

Like for example in Chica, the *Chefe* tried to influence the way people answered the questions. There was someone who said ‘everything is bad here’ but when the *Chefe* answered the question he changed. The *Chefe* said ‘you have to say everything is nice here, we're getting better in Chica’. So first he said everything is bad, but after the *Chefe* answered he said ‘oh no, it's good actually’. So, sometimes yes, the *Chefe* tried to influence the way people answered the questions.

This type of influence was particularly challenging because local officials infrequently departed from the official line. As Cebola (13/11/2014) elaborates:

Most of the time the opinions of the *Chefes* were politically influenced. And obviously the way that they spoke to us was different from what exactly was happening there. They glorified the government; they glorified Frelimo, and most of the time they spoke to us in a way that would be good for them as *Chefes*, and politicians. So I think that they were not realistic most of the time. They were not realistic because Frelimo gave them their position.

Although this type of interference did happen, it was not typical within the focus group interviews and was only prevalent among individuals that were closest to the chief through patronage. Because most respondents did not have this relationship with the chief they were infrequently influenced by the official position. Thus, in general, individual respondents spoke freely and were not hesitant to be critical about the changes taking place in their communities. Even when an official was present it was not uncommon to receive different responses on key questions, even if they conflicted with the Chiefs opinion.

Finally, one of the main challenges to the conducting of this study within the Mozambican context concerns the security issues that at the time of the main fieldwork (July and August

\textsuperscript{118} An official participated in 11 out of the 27 focus groups, and in several more cases they sat and observed but did not participate.
still lingered in the country. Throughout 2014, low-guerrilla activity by the opposition group RENAMO led to a number of attacks on motorists and officials like soldiers and policemen (Hanlon, 2013). Although most of these incidents were confined to the Sofala Province in the centre of the country, in 2013 there were a number of fatal attacks in Nampula Province, including in Rapale district (AIM, 2013). Furthermore, on-going security threats in Sofala Province along the N1 highway that travels the length of the country, from Maputo to the north, necessitated that traffic travel via military convoy for a 100km stretch north of the Pungue River in Machanga District (see Figure 3.2). At the time of the fieldwork for this study, the number of attacks had decreased, however tension along the N1 was still high, and the researcher had to travel (13/07/2014) in convoy through Machanga District while heading to the study area resulting in a delay and additional costs. Although the researchers were never threatened or personally felt unsafe, these complications caused a significant amount of anxiety. Moreover, ongoing security challenges in Sofala influenced the researcher’s decision to fly back to Maputo at the end of the visit, rather than risk travelling with a military convoy again. Finally, despite the fact that the fighting was not happening then in the north it was never far from people’s minds, and a call for peace was frequently made by respondents.

5.4. DATA COLLECTION

5.4.1. Introduction

This research gathered a variety of data sources in order to obtain information on development in Mozambique and to identify themes associated with development and citizen-state interaction within the N13 Highway Rehabilitation Project. This chapter discusses these sources in detail. First, section 5.4.2 reviews the primary and secondary sources collected. Next, section 5.4.3 discusses the different phases of research in which data was collected. Section 5.4.4 presents the interviews conducted, organised by the type of stakeholder targeted. Finally, section 5.4.5 examines non-participatory observation, an additional technique of data collection utilised for this study.

5.4.2. Primary and Secondary Sources

This research utilises a variety of data sources in order to obtain information on development and the environment in Mozambique and to identify themes associated with development and citizen-state interaction within the N13 Highway Rehabilitation Project. Both secondary and
primary data sources have been used. Primary data sources refer to information that is generated by the research, whilst secondary data sources refer to analyses that are produced by someone other than the researcher (Kitchin & Tate, 2000). Primary sources utilised for this study include oral evidence from open-ended interviews with people living along the construction corridor; semi-structured ‘market focus-groups’ with affected community members; semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders and actors; and field notes from participant observation (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). In addition, primary documentary data includes analysis from sources such as policy documents, legislation, technical reports, and environmental impact assessments.

Finally, the secondary data collected includes peer-reviewed and published journal articles, and books related to development, infrastructure development, governance and governmentality in Mozambique (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). From a constructivist perspective these sources of data are just as valuable as ‘first-hand’ data or experiences (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999). Rather than trying to interpret literal meaning, a constructivist interpretation believes that “a document carries meaning independent of what its authors’ intentions were” (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999, p. 153). A broad range of secondary texts were analysed and interpreted over the course of this study. A systematic approach was adopted towards collecting and analysing relevant documents. A list of applicable peer-reviewed journals was identified and searched using a number of keywords. Results of this search were refined to exclude pieces written before 2009 as well as those that were not peer reviewed.

5.4.3. Phases of Research

This section describes the three phases of data collection undertaken for this research. These included a pilot phase, a round of interviews (administering the first interview schedule) with key-stakeholders and expert informants in both Mozambique and South Africa, and a final phase of data collection within the local study area that involved focus group, key-stakeholder, and affected persons interviews. Each of these phases was also supplemented by participant observation and the compilation of field notes.

The first phase of research consisted of two exploratory pilot studies conducted to the field site in March and October of 2012. During the first visit interviews were not conducted, rather the trip was used to inspect the site and assess the feasibility of the project as a subject for this
research. Moreover, during this phase contacts were established with key stake-holders, and a rudimentary count of households situated along the Cuamba - Nampula Road was conducted as part of the sampling procedure (see Plate 5.2.)119. A follow-up pilot visit in October of 2012 included the conducting of interviews with a number of key-stakeholder interviews in Ribáuè, Nampula City, the Port of Nacala, and Isla de Moçambique.

Phase two consisted of a series of interviews with key-stakeholders and expert informants conducted between 2012 and 2014 in Maputo, Mozambique and Durban, South Africa. Interviews were held over eight different visits to Maputo. Furthermore, during this time connections were made with O Centro de Análise de Políticas (The Center for Policy Analysis) at Universidade Eduardo Mondlane (Eduardo Mondlane University) in order to obtain credentials for fieldwork in the north. Also, in October 2013 the researcher also participated in the Faculdade de Letras e Ciências Sociais (Faculty of Letters and Social Science’s) annual research seminar.

Plate 5.2: Researcher navigates the old N13 during the pilot study (Author, 28/03/2012)

119 See Section 5.5 on Sampling for more detail.
The final research phase was conducted along the N13 during July and August of 2014 in Nampula and Niassa Provinces, Mozambique. This third phase consisted of interviews with various stakeholders and local community members along the N13. All interviews were conducted either in Portuguese or eMakua with the help of a translator, as well as with the assistance of a research assistant who facilitated group discussions, took photographs, and recorded GPS coordinates.

5.4.4. Interviews

The interviewing technique used across all three phases was the administration of a one-on-one semi-structured, open-ended interview schedule. Individual schedules were developed in advance for each category of stakeholder and tested throughout the pilot phase. During the pilot study interviews were kept less structured in order to allow for themes to emerge, while during the last two phases the interview schedule was more rigorously adhered to. This allowed for the development of additional questions and the refinement of the interview schedules.

According to Bjorholt and Farstad (2012) semi-structured interviews follow a framework of themes, but do not constrain the respondent to a particular topic. This allows greater flexibility in questioning, and respondents are allowed greater scope for “elaboration and general discussion rather than just being presented with a set of fixed questions or questions demanding only fixed responses” (Robinson, 1998, p. 413). This gave respondents the opportunity to address issues that they considered important and allowed for themes to emerge that may not have been identified during the pilot phase. Moreover, by providing respondents with the freedom to contribute to the contents of the discussion, the researcher was able to maintain a greater degree of informality. This proved essential when interacting with affected persons within the study area\textsuperscript{120}.

The majority of questions were open-ended in that respondents’ responses were not constrained to categories provided by the interviewer, and respondents were free to give whatever answers they wished (Kitchin & Tate, 2000). Moreover, from a constructivist perspective, meaning, developed through a conversation or interview, is seen as the product of co-production between the interviewer and the interviewee. So, although responses gathered through interviews were

\textsuperscript{120} See Section 5.7. Challenges.
to some degree the product of the parties present\textsuperscript{121}, the open-ended nature of questions allowed
respondents the freedom to craft their own replies, without being limited by narrow or leading
questions. eMakua and Portuguese are the two dominant languages in the area, with eMakua
being more prevalent in rural areas. Due to the time constraints involved with learning two
languages the researcher employed a translator and research assistant, Tavares Cebola, during
the duration of the study. Moreover, Cebola was also responsible for translating and
transcribing all non-English research materials following phase three’s field visit. Challenges
involved with translation are discussed in greater detail in Section 5.7.2.

The methodology evolved during the research. At first, the initial focus groups were more
structured, with a more rigid adherence to the interview schedule. These provided interviews
that addressed each question satisfactorily, yet stifled conversation between participants.
However, after the first two focus groups the researcher critically evaluated these interviewing
techniques with the study’s translator. From these discussions a gradual shift was implemented
towards loosening the structure of the interviews and adopting a more informal style with the
goal of stimulating greater group discussion. As the translator recounts:

I think that the way we did the interviews, helped us to eliminate some of the structure,
because the way it was set up on the paper, A, B, C, made it difficult for them to answer.
But the way we actually did the interviews was more natural, and made it easier for
them to answer. To make it more like a conversation, they talked more freely. That was
one of the adjustments we made as we went along (Cebola 13/11/2014).

Ultimately, it was these exchanges between participants in the focus groups, rather than with
the researcher, that yielded the most candid views and valuable insights.

Finally, during most phases of interviews names were taken unless the respondent specifically
asked to for anonymity. However, throughout the study pseudonyms are used in order to protect
their confidentiality. The one exception to this rule was the affected person interviews
conducted during phase three. In order to maintain the anonymity of these respondents, their
names were never taken and instead participants were assigned a number for easier reference
during the analysis chapters. During phase one and phase two interviews were conducted solely

\textsuperscript{121} See Section 5.7.2 for details on translation, and the role of the translator in the research process.
by the researchers. However, during phase three interviews were conducted with the assistance of a translator and research assistant. This section continues by discussing, in detail, each interview schedule by stakeholder. These include: pilot interviews, key stakeholders, provincial and district level stakeholders, local officials and other local stakeholders, focus groups along the N13 Highway, informal interviews with individuals along the N13 Highway, and a concluding interview with the translator and research assistant.

i. Pilot interviews

The first phase of research consisted of two exploratory pilot studies conducted to the field site in March and then October of 2012. During the first visit interviews were not conducted, however, during the visit of October 2012 a number of key-stakeholder interviews were conducted in Ribáué, Nampula City, the Port of Nacala, and Isla de Moçambique. These interviews were informal in style and approach therefore a comprehensive schedule of questions was not compiled. Instead, a few general questions were devised to direct the flow of conversation. Interviews were informal and recorded through the use of field notes. The two pilot studies were useful for shaping the methodological direction the research was to take, while also helping to develop questions for the second and third phase of data collection. In particular, they drew attention to a range of development challenges and socio-economic issues in the area. In order to frame the project within the greater context of development and environmental governance in Mozambique, the decision was taken to expand the study from an investigation into the N13 Highway Rehabilitation Project and to examine it within the greater context of the Nacala Development Corridor.

ii. Key stakeholder interviews

A series of interviews with key-stakeholders and expert informants conducted between November 2013 and November 2014 in Maputo, Mozambique and Durban, South Africa formed part of phase two of the research. Interviews were designed to be an hour-long and were conducted with relevant policy-makers, academics, members of civil society, and international financial institutions. These interviews were designed to be more in-depth and probing in order to draw out themes relevant to the study’s research objectives and unlike the exploratory phase, were conducted after, and informed by, an extensive literature review
process. The interview schedule was prepared in advance and included sections designed to explore the respondent’s background, their interpretation of development and change in Mozambique, their knowledge of the Nacala Corridor and the N13, and finally their interpretation of development and the state.

These key stakeholder interviews were conducted with professionals and public officials and were more formal than those conducted during the initial scoping phase. Moreover, each interview was recorded with an audio recorder. Finally, all interviews were conducted in English by the researcher. The single exception to this was the interview of the GAZEDA representative (02/07/2014) which was conducted in Portuguese by Cebola using the interview schedule, and later translated and transcribed.

iii. Provincial and district level stakeholders

During the final phase of the study, between July and August of 2014, a series of interviews was conducted with provincial and district level stakeholders in Nampula and Niassa Provinces, Mozambique. The interview schedule was geared towards provincial or district level key-stakeholders and expert witnesses based in the study area, such as ANE technicians, district officials, and provincial functionaries. Questions were similar to those posed to key stakeholders in Maputo, but were also designed to explore impressions of change and development in Mozambique, as perceived from the north of the country. Interviews were formal, audio recorded, and designed to last around an hour. Moreover, all interviews using this schedule were conducted by the researcher in Portuguese through the assistance of a translator and later translated and transcribed by Cebola in Maputo. Finally, participants were compensated for their time through the gift of a University of KwaZulu-Natal T-shirt.

iv. Local officials and other local stakeholders

Furthermore, also held during phase three were a series of interviews with local officials and other local stakeholders along the N13, conducted during July and August of 2014. The interview schedule used was structured similarly to that used for provincial and district level stakeholders.

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122 See Appendix IV.
123 See Appendix IV.
124 See Appendix IV.
stakeholders; however it focused on key stakeholders at a more local level. These included local chiefs, government officials at the Localidade, Posto, and Bairro level, and members of local associations and community organisations (see Plate 5.3.). Questions were designed to gather the local impression of development and environmental governance in the local area. Topics included the respondent’s background, their interpretation of development change in both Mozambique and their community, connections with the N13, potential impacts of the project, and interactions between citizen and state.

Interviews with local officials were more informal than with provincial and district level stakeholders. Furthermore, they were audio recorded and designed to last around 45 minutes. Finally, all interviews using this schedule were conducted by the researcher in either Portuguese or eMakua through the assistance of a translator. Interviews were translated in transcription afterwards in Maputo. Finally, participants were also compensated for their time through the gift of a University of KwaZulu-Natal T-shirt.
v. Focus group interviews along the N13 Highway

Also conducted during phase three were a series of focus group interviews held in local communities during July and August, 2014. Defined by Krueger (1994, 6) as “a carefully planned discussion designed to obtain perceptions on a defined area of interest in a permissive, non-threatening environment,” focus group interviews are a qualitative methodology consisting of small structured groups with purposefully sampled participants, normally led by a moderator (Bowling, 1997). They are set up in order to explore specific topics, and individuals’ views and experiences through group interaction. As with other qualitative methods in which meaning emerges from the participants, focus groups have an element of flexibility and adaptability not found in one on one interviews (Krueger, 1994). Moreover, their open-ended nature offers the benefit of allowing insight into the world of the participant through the eyes and words of the participants themselves (Bowling, 1997). Moreover, the communal nature allows for another layer of knowledge co-production, not just between the respondent and researcher, but also among the respondents themselves.

Although focus groups may appear easier than other qualitative methods they are quite demanding to organise, conduct, moderate, and analyse successfully (Litosseliti, 2007). Moreover, there is a general consensus among social scientists that focus groups should not be used as the sole form of data collection for a study (Litosseliti, 2007; Morgan, 1997). However, in conjunction with the six sets of respondents interviewed on a one-to-one basis as outlined in this section, the researcher determined that focus group interviews were the best way to gather the impressions of local people on the plethora of changes occurring in their communities. Moreover, discussions with local stakeholders during the pilot visit recommended this methodology rather than focusing on household interviews along the road.

Although, as previously noted, the selection of respondents was largely outside the control of the researcher, the local chiefs were asked to gather a cross-section of individuals from the local community, and in many instances groups were already formed when the researcher arrived to the interview site. The setting and discussions were informal, set within the village or market, either on chairs or the ground (see Plate 5.4.). Furthermore, the focus group interviews were designed to last approximately an hour, and were semi-structured in order to allow for flexibility to pursue other topics of interest that might arise. Finally, the interview
schedule included questions designed to gather information on demographics, perceptions of change and development, awareness of the N13 Highway Rehabilitation Project and the Nacala Corridor, respondents’ level of understanding regarding participation, and possible impacts of the project.

All focus groups were conducted by the research in either eMakua or Portuguese via translator. Furthermore, each focus group was audio recorded, and then translated and transcribed in Maputo. In addition, field notes were taken during the interviews by the researcher and research assistant and compiled each night. Strict confidentiality was maintained, and at no point were respondents asked their names or was their identity recorded. For the sake of distinguishing between participants throughout the transcript voices are simply referred to by the location of the interview, the gender of the respondent, and a random letter (A,B,C,…) assigned to them. Finally, participants were compensated for their time with a small gift presented at the end of the interview.

Plate 5.4: Preparing a site for a focus group. When chairs were not available we used cloth (Author, 17/07/2014)

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125 See Appendix IV.
Lastly, these focus groups consisted of the richest data collected over the course of this study. Within this thesis it was not possible to list every relevant example when citing particular focus groups. Rather, they have been cited in a way so as to demonstrate examples, using the interviews in which the results were most strongly expressed.

vi. **Informal interviews with affected persons along the N13 Highway**

The final interview schedule utilised during phase three consisted of short interviews with affected persons along the side of the N13 conducted during July and August, 2014. Respondents included: traders selling products on the side of the road, individuals either walking or biking on the road, and community members whose homes were alongside or adjacent to either the old road or the newly constructed road. Questions from this phase focused directly on the way that local people interpret the changes brought by the N13 project, including impacts from road-works. The interviews with affected persons, were short, usually lasting only five to ten minutes, and were conducted very informally in order to put the respondent at ease. However, although interviews were designed to be brief, there was flexibility to allow for further questioning if the respondent seemed willing. Finally, all interviews were conducted by the researcher in eMakua with the help of the translator Cebola and were later translated and transcribed in Maputo.

vii. **Translator Interview**

The final interview conducted for this study was a one-to-one semi-structured interview with the translator and research assistant from phase three, Cebola (13/11/2014). The interview was one-to-one, semi-structured and planned to last approximately an hour. The interview schedule was designed to explore the respondent’s impressions of the phase three interviews, the study’s methodological approach, issues of translation and language, positionality, as well as the respondent’s thoughts on development and change in Mozambique and along the N13 Highway. The interview was conducted in English and transcribed by the researcher.

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126 See Appendix XII- Interview Schedule 5- Informal interviews with individuals along the N13 Highway.
127 See Appendix XIII- Interview Schedule 6- Translator Interview.
5.4.5. Observation

In addition to interviews and focus group interviews conducted during the study’s third phase, non-participatory observation was also utilised as a method of data collection. Targets for observation included impacts of the N13 rehabilitation, the developmental impacts of larger changes occurring in the region (e.g. increased investment in Nacala, greater flow of imports and commercial goods, and the effects of Renamo activity and political destabilisation in the centre of the country), interactions between participants, and the interactions between participants and authority figures. Observations were recorded either as photographic evidence or as notes in the researcher’s field journal. According to Kitchin et al., (2000) non-participatory observation is a strong method of data collection because of its directness and independence. As a means of supplementing the other forms of data collection, these observations are valuable for providing context while conforming or contrasting with the observations of the participants. These observations were collected through the course of each day on site and compiled in field notes.

5.5. SAMPLING

5.5.1. Introduction

The purpose of this section is to introduce the sampling regimen utilised during this study. In order to understand how citizen and state negotiate development in Mozambique, this study adopts an explanatory case study design in order to evaluate the implications of the infrastructure interventions associated with the Nacala Development Corridor Programme and the N13 Highway Rehabilitation project. In particular, it examines the impacts of the development of these projects on local citizens who live or work alongside the N13.

This case has been selected for a number of reasons, including: the importance of infrastructure “mega-projects” like the Nacala Development Corridor and the N13 in Mozambique’s development strategy; the location of the project in a remote area underserviced by infrastructure; the high-profile nature of the project which ensured a wide-range of knowledgeable stakeholders in Maputo; its extended time frame which allows for several periods of data collection; the involvement of a diverse range of actors owing to the projects connection to resource extraction in Tete Province; its coverage of both rural and urban environments; the growing importance of China as an actor in infrastructure provision in
Mozambique and the region; and access to relevant stakeholders in both Maputo and South Africa. Continuing, section 5.5.2 discusses the rationale behind selection of the study area within the N13. Finally, section 5.5.3 presents the sampling techniques utilised for interview respondents during the three research phases.

5.5.2. The Selection of the Research Area

Aside from the N1, the N13 is the most important road in the region. It splits from the N1 in Nampula City and travels due west, crossing several of Nampula Province’s district seats, including Rapale, Ribáuè, and Malema. The N13 crosses into Niassa at the Lurio River before entering Cuamba, a district capital and the second largest city in Niassa. From Cuamba the N13 strikes a more northerly course, crossing through the border town of Mandimba before ending at the provincial capital of Lichinga (see Figure 5.1).

This study specifically examines the implications of the first phase of the N13 Highway Rehabilitation Project. Phase one involves the upgrading of the road surface between Nampula and Cuamba, while the section from Cuamba to Lichinga is scheduled to be completed in a later phase. In order to demarcate the study area into sampling zones a purposive sampling regimen was adopted. A purposive sampling regimen is a targeted approach that utilises the judgement of the researcher, and according to Castillo (2009) is useful for identifying respondents from a limited pool of individuals that possess the trait of interest and knowledge necessary to contribute insight towards the research objectives. This approach identified the four cities of Cuamba, Malema, Ribáuè, and Nampula as hubs for fieldwork, while dividing the approximately 350km of roadworks between Nampula and Cuamba into three sampling areas of approximately the same geographic size.

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128 See Chapter 5 for further details on the project.
Figure 5.1: Map of the study area (EduAction, 12/30/2015)
In addition, due to an absence of official population numbers at a detailed level, household and market counts were undertaken by the researcher during the pilot phase of the study (April 2012). Efforts were made to obtain an accurate count of markets and communities lying within 50 metres of the existing road. Using these counts a sample was derived in the three sampling areas\textsuperscript{129} for both the focus groups and the affected persons interviews conducted during phase three. Moreover, efforts were made to gather representation from urban, rural, and peri-urban areas while accommodating for the overwhelmingly rural nature of the project area. The aim was to include a diverse sample of respondents selected on the basis of factors such as gender, age (amongst adults), income, and community status.

5.5.3. Interview Sampling

Although there were slight differences in the sampling regimen between interview phases, in general, the selection of respondents occurred through a purposive or judgmental sampling process. Purposive sampling is a subjective sampling method in which respondents are selected based on the types of responses they are likely to give and the responses the interviewer is looking for and that suit the purposes of the research (Kitchin, 2000). This required targeting specific people in order to obtain responses from necessary stakeholder groups, based on their knowledge which would contribute to answering the study’s research objectives.

i. Pilot interview sampling

The pilot interviews conducted in 2012, utilised this purposive sampling approach to organise a third of the key stakeholder interviews to the field visit\textsuperscript{130}. The remainder were identified using a snowballing strategy during the course of these initial interviews, as respondents were prompted to identify relevant individuals for additional interviews. Snowball sampling, also known as chain sampling or referral sampling, is a technique in which informants with whom contact has already been made use their social networks to refer the researcher to other people who could potentially contribute to the study (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Moreover, snowball sampling is often used to find and recruit ‘hidden populations’, namely, groups not easily accessible to researchers through other sampling techniques (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). In phase one it proved particularly valuable in identifying key stakeholders, as the research

\textsuperscript{129} See Appendix V.
\textsuperscript{130} See Appendix I for a list of respondents.
process was still in its infancy, and the researcher had not yet acquired the necessary background information required to pre-identify relevant respondents. Together thirteen respondents were interviewed across ten individual pilot interviews.

**ii. Key stakeholder sampling**

The interviews with key-stakeholders and expert witnesses in both South Africa and Maputo during phase two, were conducted after an extensive literature review had been conducted on infrastructure, development, and the environment in Mozambique. Thus, the researcher was better able to utilise a purposive sampling technique, as it was less complicated to identify major actors involved with the Nacala Corridor and the N13 Highway Rehabilitation Project. However, at the end of each interview respondents were also asked to identify targets for potential respondents with little success. Seven key stakeholder interviews were conducted for this study using this approach.

**iii. Provincial, district and local stakeholder sampling**

While interviewing stakeholders at the provincial, district and local level during phase three a purposive sampling strategy was also utilised. Respondents were chosen using the administrative hierarchy chart developed during the scoping exercise, as well as through consultations with Palembe (17/10/2012) and Rusere (17/10/2012) in Nampula. The chart identifies formal and traditional leadership at every level from the Province down to the individual localidade (locality, the lowest level of local government) for each location visited during the fieldwork. With this chart in hand (which was only revised very slightly in the field) relevant individuals were approached for interviews. Due to time constraints not every stakeholder identified on the chart could be interviewed, however efforts were made to interview as broad a spectrum as possible, with representation from the entire breadth of the N13. In total nine provincial and district level stakeholder interviews were conducted, while ten were held with local stakeholders or officials (see Figure 5.2).

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131 See Appendix I for a list of respondents.
132 See Appendix I for a list of respondents.
133 See Appendix II.
iv. Focus group sampling

During the third phase of this study, 27 semi-structured focus groups were administered within local communities along the N13 highway rehabilitation project. The structure of the focus groups was greatly shaped by the scoping exercise conducted during phase one. These interviews, generally consisting of between 5 and 10 people each, were conducted during July and August of 2014 at small market communities as well as in markets within the larger towns at regular intervals (approximately 10 kilometres, as determined by sampling) along the N13 (see Figure 5.2). Markets were selected as sites because of their accessibility, frequency, mix of stakeholders, and based on the advice gathered during the pilot study which suggested them as suitable sites (see Plate 5.5).

Plate 5.5: Ribâuè Focus Group, held in the market and arranged by the Chefe do Mercado (Author, 19/07/2014).

For the selection of the locations of focus group interviews a mix of both purposive and snowball sampling techniques were utilised. Focus group locations allowed for proportionate representation. Flexible interview quotas were designated during the scoping for each section of road, and are based on population density. Thus, the eastern end of the N13, which according
to the count conducted during the pilot study has a larger population than the western end, was allotted more interviews. Based on this consideration, locations were pre-determined centred on the presence of a market community of sufficient size to provide respondents. A final list of focus group sites was produced and refined through consultations with Palembe (May 2014) and Rusere (May 2014). However, once in the field it became apparent that not every pre-determined location was suitable, thus snowballing, as well as the researcher’s judgement, was utilised to determine alternative or additional focus group sites. Finally, in a few communities (such as Natikiri) the response to the researchers request for a focus group was so overwhelmingly positive that a decision was made to hold an additional focus group to allow more community members the opportunity to participate (see Figure 5.2).

Unlike the selection of focus group locations, the researcher was unable to control the selection of individual focus group participants. Broad guidelines were followed to select the participants: groups consisted of six to ten people, from different livelihoods, and even gender proportions. However the hierarchal nature of Mozambican society meant that we could not approach respondents directly. Rather the researcher had to first approach the local authorities, present the research credentials, and request permission to conduct a focus group. In every instance permission was readily granted, and local officials were usually eager to assist in the process of setting up the focus groups in a number of different capacities. These officials also insisted on arranging the groups themselves, and thus selecting the individuals who participated. Thus, the groups did not always meet the guidelines originally designed, and were frequently composed of individuals close, through personal relationship or patronage, to the local authorities. Moreover, the official or chief that assisted in selecting the respondents also frequently chose to participate in the group as well. This issue is dealt with in greater detail in Section 5.7. In total, 204 individuals, including 67 women, participated across 27 focus group interviews.

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134 See Appendix I for a list of Focus Group interviews.
v. **Informal interview sampling**

Interviews with individuals along the N13 conducted during phase three relied entirely on purposive sampling and the researcher’s judgement to identify respondents. In this instance, participants were solicited based on their proximity to the road. Individuals travelling, living, or working along the road were asked for an interview.\(^{135}\) An attempt was made to interview

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\(^{135}\) See Appendix I for a list of respondents.
at least one adult respondent every five to seven kilometres, as well as to include a diverse array of participants along a variety of factors including gender, age, and livelihood (see Figure 5.2). However, the respondents were more likely to be male and women were more likely to refuse being interviewed. Furthermore, in mixed groups men were more likely to speak. Finally, potential respondents were always given the option to decline being interviewed when approached.

5.6. DATA ANALYSIS

5.6.1. Introduction

This study utilises thematic analysis to interpret the themes related to development and the environment that emerged through the data gathering process within the context of the N13 Highway Rehabilitation Project. This section discusses this analytical tool, as well as the process of analysis for this study. Section 6.5.2 briefly summarises the methodology of thematic analysis. Furthermore, section 6.5.3 proceeds with an account of the method of data interpretation, including an overview of the tools utilised to streamline the analysis.

5.6.2. Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis, a qualitative methodology common within social research and a popular form of social constructivist analysis, is the process utilised to interpret the data collected for this study. The interpretive nature of thematic analysis greatly compliments the interpretive turn taking place with the social sciences (Mottier, 2005). According to Terre Blanche and Durrheim (1999, p. 154), the purpose of all forms of constructivist analysis is to reveal the “cultural materials from which particular utterances, texts or events have been constructed”. Through the framework of a social constructivist paradigm, emphasis is placed on identifying themes that show how social constructions of reality are created and how they influence the thoughts, experiences, and decision-making of groups and individuals.

Broadly, thematic analysis is a methodology used for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns or themes within data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Deductively driven data analysis works ‘down’ from pre-existing theoretical understandings (Ezzy, 2002). Unlike content analysis, which begins with predefined categories, thematic analysis allows categories to emerge, putting great emphasis on the interpretation and deductive abilities of the researcher. From a
constructivist perspective, meaning and experience are socially produced and reproduced, rather than lying inherently within individuals. Therefore, thematic analysis conducted within a constructivist framework does not focus only on individual’s motivations or understandings, but instead seeks to theorise about socio-cultural contexts and structural conditions, that enable the individual accounts collected in the field (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Thematic analysis is a relatively straight-forward form of qualitative analysis which does not require the same detailed theoretical and technical knowledge that approaches such as discourse or content analysis require. Thus, thematic analysis can be used within a diverse number of theoretical frameworks. This accessibility, however, comes at a cost. Although widely used, there is no clear agreement about what thematic analysis is and how you go about doing it (Howitt & Cramer, 2007). Researchers frequently fall into the trap of providing too little information regarding their analytical approach and how they identified themes. For these reasons, clarity around process and practice of method is vital within thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

### 5.6.3. Process of Analysis

As a methodology, thematic analysis is most frequently conducted using a 'coding' process which attempts to organise data under a number of umbrella groups or categories. Once the data has been 'coded' and organised it is much easier for a researcher to identify themes and formulate answers to their research questions. A ‘code,’ in qualitative research, is most often a word or phrase that represents a summative or essence-capturing attribute from the data identified by the researcher—or in other words, a theme (Saldana, 2013). Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest that there is no hard-and-fast answer to the question of what proportion of your data set needs to display evidence of the theme for it to be considered a theme. Rather it is left to the judgment of the researcher to determine the themes. Moreover, an account of themes ‘emerging’ or being ‘discovered’ is criticised as a passive account of the process of analysis that ignores the active role the researcher always plays in identifying themes and selecting which are the most relevant to the research objectives (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Two separate coding processes occurred during the course of this research. First, the objectives of the study, which direct data gathering produce themes in the data as they direct the respondents towards producing particular data around these themes. These ‘objectives’ are
themselves informed by theoretical concepts. The second coding process was more formal and was applied to all of the primary data collected in the field. For this data set the software programme Nvivo was utilised to assist with the coding process. Interviews were transcribed within Nvivo and its tools were used to code “nodes” or themes and structuring the data to address the research questions. Nvivo also allowed for the streamlined management of interviews and focus group data while storing relevant quotes by participants. A complete coding tree, which depicts the themes identified during this coding process, is available in Appendix VI.

5.7. CHALLENGES

5.7.1. Introduction

During the course of this study a number of challenges and limitations were present that affected the research process in some way. Section 5.7.2 begins by discussing the challenges, as well as opportunities, posed by working with a translator. Next, section 5.7.3 discusses the positionality of the research. Section 5.7.4 examines the impact of limited resources on the research process, such as time and money. Finally, the section concludes by discussing ethical issues involved, including institutional requirements, confidentiality, and gift-giving.

5.7.2. Translation and Language

There are two major ethnic groups that live within the study area of the N13 Highway Rehabilitation Project, the Makua, who at an estimated four million people, are Mozambique’s largest group, occupy the coast and predominate along the N13 through Cuamba. Their language eMakua, is the most commonly spoken Bantu language in Mozambique. The second group is the Lomwe, whose language is mutually intelligible with eMakua and who live north of the highway in northern Nampula and southern Niassa (Newitt, 1995). Although in the city of Nampula (as well as the larger towns and district capitals) Portuguese is predominantly spoken, in rural areas eMakua is still the primary language, with Portuguese fluency limited to educated sections of the population.

Moreover, as Watson (2004) notes, language often carries socio-economic or political implications, prioritising the opinions and worldviews of those who speak the dominant language. In instances of a lingua franca versus a local language, the decision to use the former
may often favour privileged groups, excluding more marginalised individuals, like women or the poor, who are unlikely to have benefitted from the education necessary to learn the national language (Watson, 2004). Indeed, during the course of the fieldwork the politics and power of language was frequently made apparent. This was most often the case during a focus group in which a local official or community leader would participate. Often, in these cases, the prominent individual would insist on speaking Portuguese, as a sign of education and prestige, even though they were clearly more fluent in eMakua, and despite the fact that the rest of the group was responding in eMakua.

The researcher found it necessary to employ English/Portuguese/eMakua translator, and research assistant, Mr. Tavares Cebola, during the course of the research whose main responsibilities included facilitating and translating the focus group, stakeholder, and informal interviews during the 2014 field visit, as well as transcribing research materials to English afterwards. In preparation for the phase three field study the researcher conducted a preliminary visit to Maputo (May 2014) during which Cebola translated the interview schedules and was trained in the study’s research methods. Finally, at the conclusion of the study the translator was interviewed (13/11/2014) to discuss the process of translation.

The employment of a translator in research is not without complications. First, according to Watson (2004), when working among people who speak a different language there is a greater distance between the person interviewed and the researcher. Moreover, translation takes time, and the conversation can often be unnatural or disjointed, especially when more than two languages are involved (Watson, 2004). Finally, there is also the possibility of filtering or manipulation by the translator, particularly if they have a personal agenda related to the research or the researcher. One particular concern in regards to this study was the familiarity of the translator with the study’s research objectives, questions, and hypotheses. The researcher was concerned that the translator, in his desire to be helpful, might try and steer interviews or lead respondents into providing the types of responses the researcher might expect to hear or hope for. However, when posed with this dilemma Cebola (13/11/2014) responded:

I think not. I’ve tried most of the time, when doing the translation to translate it as it is on the recordings. I do not change any of the responses to reflect my own opinions or to give the type of information I think you’re looking for. The type of information that
is good for you to get from the respondents. I translate what I hear from the people we interview.

However, the act of translation need not be seen exclusively as a hindrance to the research. Instead, when examined reflexively, it can better be viewed as a partnership between researcher and translator that further facilitates the co-production of knowledge inherent in a constructivist methodology. As Crane et al. (2009) note, the very act of translation gives space for increased critical reflectiveness regarding methodological issues, such as working with a translator, positionality, and the communication of technical or academic terminology. Moreover, working with a translator involves a higher degree of sensitivity to contextual factors, including cultural differences and uneven power relations (Crane et al., 2009).

The optimal level of involvement for a translator is debatable. However, in studies that include a translator, or other filters like a research assistant, these individuals always makes their mark on the research, whether recognised or not (Temple & Young, 2004). However, for the purpose of this study it is worth explicitly noting that in this study, the essential nature of the translator’s role before, during, and after the fieldwork is acknowledged, and it is believed that it is important to bring the translator out of the shadows, and acknowledge him as an indispensable part of the research team. The translator is someone whose own thoughts and opinions have undoubtedly influenced the research process, both positively and negatively, and contributed to the analysis presented here.

Moreover, it must be noted that this research and the conclusions it generates are inherently a product of multiple actors. Not just the researcher – but the translator, the respondents, colleagues, the supervisor and numerous other individuals with whom the researcher has discussed his research questions and findings – have all contributed in some way to the process of knowledge production (Temple & Young, 2004). Most researchers must rely on translators or research assistants at some point.

Working with a native eMakua speaker greatly facilitated ease of communication and access to local stakeholders while in the field. However, despite utilising a translator, a number of complications with regard to language still persisted. As Crane et al. (2009) notes, language is full of nuance, and the meaning of words and the many different ways the same language can
be used can vary greatly even within intralingual settings, leaving room for miscommunication. This was often the case during this study, as Cebola (13/11/2014) explains:

As you know, there are different ways of speaking eMakua in the north, between Nampula and Cuamba, and sometimes they didn't understand me very well because I was born in Nampula and I have a different way of speaking Makua.

According to Cebola (13/11/2014) it was this difference in dialects sometimes led to communication difficulties, however in most cases it was just necessary to elaborate on certain points, and this issue was not serious enough to affect the respondents’ understanding of the interview questions. Indeed, in this instance, the increased reflexivity on the way in which we as researchers communicated concepts may also have been rewarding in itself (Crane et al., 2009).

Another complication with language arose during the act of translation. In many cases, words in eMakua do not have equivalents in English or even Portuguese, so it was difficult for Cebola to do a direct translation. But in these cases he did the best he could to translate the meaning as closely as possible (Cebola 13/11/2014). Furthermore, for expressions or idioms in Portuguese or eMakua it has been decided to leave them un-translated in the text (e.g. chefe, bairro, postos, etc.) in order to add meaning and a local flavour to the text. As Smith (1996) argues, some foreign words should be retained in the English texts which result from research, as a method to incorporate some of the multiple meanings and nuances that are embedded within them. These foreign language words, and the meaning they embody, serve “to open new spaces of insight, of meaning which dis-place, de-centre the researcher’s assumption that their own language is clear in its meaning (Smith, 1996)”.

5.7.3. Positionality

Because knowledge is co-constructed, the researcher’s culture, values, and background become an essential part of the interplay in interviews between respondents and the researcher in the shaping of meaning. The researcher’s positionality was particularly important because, as a young American male, and non-native speaker, most interviews needed to be conducted through a translator. This was a disadvantage because it added an additional filter between the researcher and his subject, but it was also an advantage because as an outsider, the unique
The background of the researcher might provide a unique perspective on the research questions at hand (Mottier, 2005; Fowler, 2006). Furthermore, the translator’s positionality, as a young male Mozambican from Maptuo, speaking both eMakua and Portuguese, also influenced the outcomes of the interviews and translations.

During the course of this study a few specific challenges in regards to the research’s positionality appeared, particularly in the way in which the researcher was viewed by local communities along the N13. An initial barrier was gaining the trust of the local officials and respondents. When asked about how respondents viewed us as researchers, Cebola (13/11/2014) noted that their first impression of us was as ‘forasteiro or estrangeiro’ (outsider or stranger). When asked to elaborate Cebola (13/11/2014) explained,

Most of the time they saw us as outsiders. That's why they thought we were donors. I would say fifty percent of the people thought of us as outsiders or foreigners, even me. Although I'm a black Mozambican, and I speak in Makua, I live in Maputo. They are in Nampula, and the districts around Nampula, they have a different point of view on who I am.

However, during the course of each interview it was apparent participants slowly began to trust the research team. This was facilitated by the confidentiality explicit in the interviews, the non-threatening nature of the questions; a genuine sense of compassion; and the gifts given to participants left respondents with a positive impression of the researchers and the study (Cebola 13/11/2014).

A similar challenge was explaining to respondents who we were and what our goals were as researchers. This was not always successful. According to Tavares, community members frequently did not believe that we were researchers from the University, rather they thought we were planners, donors, or representatives of the government (Cebola 13/11/2014). Frequently, respondents expressed a desire that we should present their complaints to the government. They thought that we would be meeting with government officials to address their complaints or solve problems. However, on reflection within the research team we agreed that, although respondents may have had an unclear interpretation of the purpose of their research, the importance of our presence in their eyes most likely inspired individuals to speak out more forcefully and truthfully about the problems and challenges in their lives.
Finally, my positionality as a comparatively affluent white person inevitably affected the research process. As Cebola (13/11/2014) explains,

Most of the time they see white people as donors, as people with money, or people who can help them. And it obviously influenced the way they answered the questions and the way they see those who are interviewing them. And I think it was, to have an English speaking person interviewing them, for them it was like “He can help us, he is here to help us” and as you know, we're not there to help them. And it is always a challenge for a person from outside, especially a white person, to interview people in Mozambique, because they think that as a white man he is rich, or he is a donor, that he can help them..... No matter what age you are, what degree you have, you're a white person. And they think all white people are rich.

5.7.4. Resources

This research was entirely funded by the researcher, and the nature of the fieldwork, in a remote part of Mozambique and covering a large geographical area, as well as the need to employ a full-time translator, resulted in significant expense. Thus, efficient use of time in the field was a must, and in-depth interaction with local communities was unfortunately limited. If greater resources had been available an additional field visit would have been conducted, as Cebola (13/11/2014) explains:

When the first time you visit a place you should coordinate with the local people that we are going to come in six months, or something. Because it was our first time with those people, and I think that if you could schedule the meetings, or talk to the local authorities, to tell them that we would be back and we'd like to meet with people it would be easier for us.

Furthermore, during the main field visit, additional time would have been spent in each community in order to gain greater trust and rapport with respondents and local officials. However, despite these limitations all efforts were made to be methodical in meeting the sampling guidelines; avoiding cutting corners in arranging interviews; interacting with communities; and making observations in the case study area.
5.7.5. Ethics

During the course of this research all ethical codes of research required by the University of KwaZulu-Natal and the researcher’s host institution in Mozambique, Universidade Eduardo Mondlane were upheld. These requirements included seeking respondents’ verbal consent to have their responses recorded or photographs taken (through the reading of an introduction and disclaimer at the beginning of each interview). Furthermore, the study did not approach respondents below 18 years of age. Moreover, confidentiality was ensured by maintaining anonymity for affected persons and focus group respondents. At no point were names taken, and the responses of these participants will be referred to only by the location of the interview, and when relevant, the gender of the respondent. One exception to this is key-stakeholders, whose names were taken, but are referred to using pseudonyms throughout the study. Finally, all data has been stored appropriately at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in Durban, South Africa during the course of the research in order to ensure confidentiality, and will continue to be stored securely after the course of the study.

It needs to be noted that respondents were compensated for participating in interviews through gifts. The nature of these gifts were based on consultations with Peace Corps Professionals Palembe (17/10/2012) and Rusere (17/10/2012) in Nampula. Local officials or key-stakeholders that assisted in the research process, either through providing an interview, endorsing credentials, or arranging focus groups were given a University of KwaZulu-Natal T-shirt. Likewise, focus group participants were each awarded a half a kilogram of rice for their participation. Furthermore, a number of other small gifts, such as toys, candy, and balls were given out to community members and local children to show gratitude for their engagement (see Plate 6.7.). Because interviews were conducted during daytime hours, and many of the respondents work, either formally or informally, it was necessary to compensate them for their participation. The practice of gift-giving, though potentially problematic, is acknowledged in the literature to be appropriate. As Koch (2013) notes, a researcher cannot simply take from the communities in which they work. It is unethical to continue to work with and gain information from local individuals without giving back. Thus, it is contended that an awareness

136 See Appendix VII- Interview Schedule (Introduction).
of the context led to the selection of these forms of compensation that did not trivialise the respondents’ time without too strongly incentivising their participation (Koch, 2013).

Plate 5.6: The researcher with the community in Metacusse (Author, 02/08/2014).

A few consequences of gift-giving did emerge during the course of the fieldwork however. Firstly, this process of gift-giving, although deemed necessary, likely reinforced the researcher’s positionality as a privileged foreigner. As Cebola (13/11/2014) commented:

Sometimes when we gave them gifts I heard them say, ‘they have everything in their car, they have rice in their car, they have T-shirts in their car, maybe they have everything inside there’. Maybe it shaped the way they answered the question. I'm not sure, I don't know if anybody changed their point of view, but obviously the way they see us, especially you, as a white person… definitely made them more eager to participate.

Furthermore, in some communities, word of the study preceded the researchers’ arrival, creating a clamour by community members to participate in order to receive the rice (e.g. in
Nacuca, Metacusse, and Rapale). In these communities it was frequently overwhelming to select an appropriate number of participants, leading to groups that were larger than the ideal five to six person size (e.g. in Nacuca there were two focus groups of ten and eleven participants). Finally, because the study focused on the N13, a linear road project, it was necessary on a daily basis to pass through communities that had already participated in the research process. In these communities it was common to encounter individuals who had not had the opportunity to participate previously and wanted to be interviewed, both to express their views as well as to receive the gift.

In conclusion, a number of challenges occurred during this study which affected the research process in some way. These included: the challenges, as well as opportunities, posed by working with a translator, the positionality of the researcher, the impact of limited resources on the research process, and the number of ethical issues involved, including institutional requirements, confidentiality, and gift-giving.

5.8. CONCLUSION

This chapter discusses the methodological approach adopted by this study, chiefly a qualitative and deductive approach viewed through a constructivist paradigm. The chapter began by outlining the forms of data collection utilised during the duration of the research process. Primary sources included: three different phases of semi-structured and open-ended interviews with key stakeholders and affected persons, spanning five different interview schedules, and a total of 77 individual interviews; 27 community focus groups conducted along the N13; non-participatory observation, and; primary document analysis. Secondary data, which is distinguished from primary data in that secondary sources cite, comment on, or build upon primary sources, was also collected and reviewed in order to assist with the construction of the background and theoretical framework for this research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011).

Furthermore, the chapter describes the data collection and method of data interpretation chosen for this study. Concerning the selection of the study area, a number of factors were considered in the sampling process. The study area and case of infrastructural development selected were based on the following factors: the emphasis on infrastructure “mega-projects” like the Nacala Development Corridor and the N13 within Mozambique’s development strategy; the rural and
underserviced location of the project; the national visibility of the project which ensured a wide-range of knowledgeable stakeholders in Maputo; the extended time frame of the project which allows for several periods of data collection; the projects connection to resource extraction in Tete Province; its coverage of both rural and urban environments; the growing importance of China as an actor in infrastructure provision in Mozambique and the region; and a South African connection to the region which facilitated access to expect stakeholders.

In general, interview participants were selected according to a purposive sampling process. Purposive sampling is a subjective sampling method in which respondents are selected based on the types of responses they are likely to give and the responses the interviewer is looking for and that suit the purposes of the research (Kitchin, 2000). This required targeting specific people in order to obtain responses from necessary stakeholder groups, based on their knowledge which would contribute to answering the study’s research objectives. However, in some instances, particularly during the pilot study, respondents were identified using a snowballing strategy, as participants were prompted to identify relevant individuals for additional interviews.

The methodology that was adopted for the data analysis component of this research is thematic analysis, a qualitative methodology common within social research and a form of constructivist analysis. Thematic analysis is a methodology used for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns within data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The goal of thematic analysis is to identify themes or concepts within a data set. Through the utilisation of a constructivist paradigm emphasis is placed on identifying themes that show how social constructions of reality are created by respondents.

The data collected from interviews and primary documentary sources was categorised using a 'coding' process which attempts to organise data under a set of themes for each research objective identified. Two separate coding processes occurred during the course of this research. The first was done informally where themes were suggested through the literature review and document analysis. The second coding process was more formal and included all of the primary data collected in the field. For this data set the software programme Nvivo was utilised to assist with the coding process. From these processes a number of themes were identified

137 See Appendix VI for the thematic code tree.
including: interpretations of change in Mozambique and along the N13, the role of infrastructure in Mozambique’s development vision, consultation and participation, and critical and uncritical citizenship.

Finally, the challenge expressed in the research process, and the implications of these challenges for the results of this study are described. These include the challenges posed by working with a translator; limitations associated with positionality; problems related to limited resources; and ethical issues like confidentiality and gift-giving. Within this set of challenges the research process has produced a broad set of results. These results are spread across the following three chapters. Chapter Six examines infrastructure and development policy in Mozambique from the perspective of both citizen and state. In particular, it examines the role of infrastructure in Mozambique’s development vision, and explores how that vision is received and interpreted by communities within the study area. Chapter Seven explores development within the study area. It questions how affected communities have experienced the effects of the construction of the Nacala Development Corridor and the Rehabilitation of the N13 Highway. It also analyses how they have perceived and interacted with the state and other intermediaries around development issues. Lastly, Chapter Eight explores the ways in which citizens within the study area have resorted to alternative forms of public participation as a form of resistance against state power. It analyses how and why citizens within the study area resist the state, how these forms of alternative participation affect the ways in which the Mozambican state is seen by its citizens.
CHAPTER SIX:
DEVELOPMENT AND THE MEGA-PROJECT: PERSPECTIVES ON
MOZAMBICAN NEOLIBERALISM

“You say Mozambique is growing because of Maputo? No. Mozambique is from the Rovuma [in the north] to Maputo.”
– Fruit Vendor in Cuamba (30/07/2014)

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is the first of three chapters that present the results and analysis of the ways in which citizen and state intersect in Mozambique, specifically within the context of infrastructure development in the north of the country. These three chapters will contribute to achieving the aim of the thesis, which is to analyse the construction of the Nacala Development Corridor and the rehabilitation of the N13 Highway, in order to interrogate the impacts of the development on local citizens and examine the relationship between citizen and state within these processes. Thematic analysis is applied throughout in order to interpret the data gathered during the course of the study while a governmentality framework informs the interpretation of the interplay between citizen and state over development issues.

The purpose of this chapter is to frame development at a national level by exploring how development within the country is generalised, both in Maputo and the study area. To this end, it pursues two of this study’s research objectives, namely: To explore the importance of infrastructure investment and infrastructural mega-projects, like the Nacala Corridor and the rehabilitation of the N13, in Mozambique’s overall development vision, and; To investigate how Mozambique’s development vision and agenda is interpreted and received by local communities, specifically in the rural north. These objectives contribute to the study’s overall theoretical objective to provide an understanding of state-citizen relations in development processes in a post-conflict developing country.

Corbridge et al. (2005) note that one can learn about the practices of government and development by investigating the ways in which the state is experienced and understood by different placed individuals, including individual citizens as well as its own employees.
As such, the chapter is structured in a way so as to explore Mozambican development as it appears to both agents of the state and ordinary citizens within the study area. First, Section 6.2 explores perspectives on Mozambican development from the viewpoint of key-stakeholders within the state. Next, Section 6.3 presents and analyses the data gathered from focus groups and informal interviews to explore these issues from the perspective of individual citizens within the study area. Finally, Section 6.4 synthesises these two perspectives in order to summarise findings, highlight overlaps and disconnects, and provides an understanding of the ways in which citizen and state intersect over development in Mozambique. Each section is framed by the concept of governmentality, and its assumptions about the nature of state power. The Chapter also applies the post-Foucauldian notions of ‘trusteeship,’ the ‘will to improve,’ and ‘exceptional schemes’ in order to help conceptualise the motivations of citizen and state\(^\text{138}\).

This Chapter frames development at a national level. The following two chapters explore similar themes within the context of the Nacala Corridor and the N13 Highway Rehabilitation Project. Chapter Seven examines how individuals along the N13 ‘see the state,’ through the everyday interactions with government which have accompanied development. While, Chapter Eight explores the ways in which affected individuals resist the state, by pushing back against state power through alternative forms of participation. Finally, it should be noted that the these three chapters represent ‘multiple truths,’ or views of infrastructural development in northern Mozambique which recognize the co-production of knowledge between the research, translator, and respondents implicit within a constructivist approach (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011).

6.2. DEVELOPMENT FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE STATE

6.2.1. Introduction

Broadly, the objective of the Mozambican government is to improve the lives of its citizens (Pieao, 30/07/2014). It does this through a mixture of development interventions, some with obvious local value to the Mozambican people, like building schools, establishing local markets, and extending healthcare, as well as through larger scale mega-projects, like the Nacala Corridor, an infrastructural mega-project designed to attract investment, generate

\(^{138}\) Challenges associated with interrogating the motivations of Mozambican decision-makers unfortunately limit the degree to which these concepts could be applied to an analysis of Mozambican development.
economic growth, and create jobs in the region. Although the state is active on both fronts, its shift towards neoliberalism in the 1980s and 90s has placed greater emphasis on the latter, with infrastructure development occupying a central position in the government’s long-term development goals, with the assumption that the benefits will trickle down to local people (Phiri, 2012). Nonetheless, the infrastructural model of development in Mozambique has not always proceeded smoothly, and the disparate interests of the various actors involved have led to competing and conflicting visions for Mozambique’s future (Cunguara & Hanlon, 2012).

This Section explores these challenges from the perspective of the state, through interviews with key-stakeholders both within and outside the government. To interpret the motivational nuances within state power it draws upon the works of Murray-Li (2005, 2007a, 2007b), as well as concepts within developments studies, namely, developmentalism, neoliberalism, and late development, to frame Mozambique’s development vision within the broader context of development theory (Ayres, 2004; Bresser-Pereira, 2006; Grosfoguel, 2000; Harvey, 2005; Reinert, 2010; Wallerstein, 2004; Warner et al., 2004; Whittaker et al., 2010).

Section 6.2.2 begins by outlining the role of infrastructure in Mozambique’s development model and the value attached to it by the state. Next, Section 6.2.3 explores the emphasis placed on large-scale spatial development initiatives—so called ‘mega-projects’ like the Nacala Corridor. The section also examines how respondents view the role of various actors, including the state, as well as intermediaries, such as donors, the private sector, and civil society organisations in Mozambique’s model of infrastructure provision. Finally, Section 6.2.4 analyses a number of challenges which, from the perspective of the state, hinder the successful implementation of infrastructural development in Mozambique.

**6.2.2. Infrastructure and Development**

Mozambique’s development model has shifted significantly since the end of Portuguese colonialism in 1975. In the first decade of its independence, an aggressive policy of nationalisation was implemented, with the Mozambican developmental state centrally-directing a programme of industrialisation, as well as the socialisation of government services like education and health care (Phiri, 2012). In this climate, infrastructure improvement largely took on a secondary role in development as Frelimo pursued a more varied development agenda (Hanlon & Smart, 2012). However, since the mid-1990s there has been a significant shift within the Mozambican state regarding the importance of infrastructure, and to a lesser extent, the role
of government in its provision. Respondents voiced three major influences causing this shift: the negative impact of the civil war, the importance of infrastructure to stimulate growth, and the value of transport to the Mozambican people.

A point raised by nearly every respondent was that the devastation wrought on Mozambique’s transport network by the civil war has warranted increased emphasis from the state towards rebuilding the nation’s infrastructure. Mozambique inherited a largely functional infrastructure system at independence. However, the decade-long civil war which saw roads, utilities, and bridges intentionally targeted by Renamo fighters reduced the state of Mozambique’s infrastructure network to pre-modern conditions (Finnegan, 1993). Indeed, as one respondent noted, just improving the infrastructure to the condition it was in before the civil war remains a major challenge (Neyma, 18/07/2014). This is particularly true in the central and northern regions of the country which were the most affected by Renamo activities (Neyma, 18/07/2014). According to a respondent from the World Bank, as a consequence of the war, the post-1995 period saw a surge of projects to rehabilitate north-south transport links in order to reconnect the country and facilitate post-conflict reconciliation (Pratchett, 04/11/2013). In order to address this the state had to adjust its priorities, shifting from the pre-civil war model of a developmental state in which infrastructure investment was almost non-existent to its current neo-liberal economic model emphasising infrastructural investment (Pratchett, 04/11/2013). This reflects the experience of many ‘late developing nations’ who have found the quality of their infrastructural systems unable to meet the demands of their growing economies (Warner et al., 2004; Whittaker et al., 2010). However, in Mozambique’s case, this sense has been greatly heightened by the destruction which occurred during the civil war (1977-1992), as well as lingering political violence which, since 2013, has affected large sections of the country (AIM, 2013; BBC, 2013; Hanlon, 2013; O’Driscoll, 2014; Zulu, 2013).

Another view that emerged regarding the state’s embrace of infrastructure investment is that the development of an efficient and reliable infrastructure network is a necessary prerequisite to economic growth. One dimension of this perspective is that without infrastructure, development would be impossible. This reflects a more western perspective of development. As a respondent from MICOA argued:
Infrastructure is the first activity, the first thing that imposes the development, improves development. It's the first thing. So by connecting places, connecting territories, you gain more development (Domingues, 22/03/2014).

Furthermore, investments in infrastructure serve to boost other types of development activities in Mozambique, especially the exploitation of natural resources, and in particular the mining of coal in Tete (Domingues, 22/03/2014). As another respondent from ANE put it, “the government knows… we need roads and other projects, because they will take us to development” (Bauque, 02/08/2014). From their perspective, without transport infrastructure, development is impossible. Another interpretation of the view that infrastructure is a precursor to growth, is that Mozambique’s lack of infrastructure has actually hindered its development. This assessment prompted a respondent from GAZEDA to describe infrastructure as the nation’s “Achilles heel” (Abreu, 02/07/2014). A respondent from MICOA echoed this belief in infrastructure: “All infrastructure contributes to development… you have to put a road for the people to go to a certain place, it’s inevitable, it has to be (Domingues, 22/032/2014)”.

Indeed, a consistent faith in the value of infrastructure as a positive factor in stimulating development is a principal theme emphasised by key-stakeholders, particularly the representatives of the Mozambican state.

The third theme raised regarding Mozambique’s emphasis on infrastructure in the state’s development model is the belief that transport infrastructure will stimulate economic growth and that investments in infrastructure extend beyond considerations of economic growth and present a number of practical benefits to the Mozambican people. The most prevalent understanding is that improvements to transport networks facilitate emerging local markets, benefiting producers and consumers. As Domingues (22/03/2014) argues,

[when you have a] road rehabilitated in good condition, you have bigger possibilities for transportation…. People achieve their products, they reach their buyers easily. So I think it's a very, very strong... there's a very strong connection between local communities and infrastructure projects.

This benefits the greater flow of agricultural goods, leading to better prices for producers, and an increase in employment opportunities in rural areas (Domingues, 22/03/2014). A respondent
from the Ministry of Transport echoed this assertion within the context of the N13, making explicit the connection between infrastructure development and market creation.

You know that Niassa Province is a very rich province, from an agriculture point of view. The road is something that… will bring immediate impacts to the communities. We can see today, there is use of the railway as the main way of trading, people that travel along the passenger train just for trade…. And the moment that the road is in place I believe that new markets will appear along the road and it will be a possibility to increase trade and access agriculture commodities (Barros, 04/12/2013).

Similarly, a district official in Malema noted that the road would help in the transport of agricultural products, particularly vegetables which rot easily, mitigating much of the risk that farmers suffer when trying to market their products (Kapango, 01/08/2014). However, Pratchett (04/11/2013), a consultant for the World Bank on infrastructure and governance issues, noted that many of these perceived benefits do not always appear. He argues that because transport links are typically designed as a way to get from point A to point B, the way in which these links affect local communities is not always at the forefront of planners’ minds, and many of the supposed benefits from infrastructure investments tend to be far weaker than they could be (Pratchett, 04/11/2013).

This commitment to infrastructure development reflects a discourse of improvement, or a ‘will to improve’ as well as a strong sense of trusteeship on the part of policy-makers (Murray-Li, 2007b). In other words, trustees feel that infrastructure is a desirable intervention because it contributes to the welfare of the Mozambican population. This sense was reflected by respondents most strongly over the perception that infrastructure development will facilitate other types of investments, particularly in social services like education and healthcare. From a donors point of view this connection is clear in the case of the N13. As a respondent from JICA stated, “We believe that [the N13] will improve the quality of life [of local people], as they can have access to education, medical service” (Ito, 28/07/2014). Barros (04/12/2014) continued this argument from the perspective of the government. He noted that if investments in infrastructure were managed properly social benefits and social development would come naturally in time (Barros, 04/12/2014). However, he cautions that in order for these benefits to occur infrastructure development needs to be bundled with sound policy to extend social services (Barros, 04/12/2014). Pratchett (04/11/2013) notes though that in practice this seldom
occurs. Frequently, he argues, the extension of social services normally considered during the planning phase of infrastructure development projects fall by the wayside during implementation, either due to lack of funding or fear of delaying the project (Pratchett, 04/11/2013).

6.2.3. The Mega-Project and the Nacala Corridor

One characteristic of Mozambican neo-liberalism, and infrastructure investment in particular, has been the embrace of spatial development initiatives and the preponderance of so called ‘mega-projects’ (Castel-Branco, 2007; Dominguez-Torres & Briceño-Garmendia, 2011). Although investments of this type are popular throughout southern Africa, the Mozambican government has shown particular enthusiasm towards spatial development and development corridors in particular, so much so that this form of development has come to characterise development in the country (Tate, 2011). From the viewpoint of the state, three major themes emerged to explain this trend: firstly, bundling investments into mega-projects like development corridors is an efficient way of bringing substantive change to a region, secondly, investments bundled within development corridors are an opportunistic way to benefit from mineral exploitation, and, thirdly, mega-projects reinforce the government’s perceived roles of various actors in the development process, including the state, the private sector, and donors.

One perception that emerged regarding the Mozambican state’s embrace of the development corridor is the view that corridors, and other types of mega-projects, represent a refinement of the neoliberal approach to infrastructure investment. In other words, the state perceives development corridors as providing all of the value ascribed to infrastructure in the previous section, but in one grand package. In this view, development corridors, like the Nacala Corridor, are efficient vehicles for attracting additional investments, both for spurring economic growth and expanding social services. Embodying this perception, a respondent from GAZEDA referred to the Nacala Corridor as a ‘development pole,’ the state provides the necessary inputs and the corridor will naturally attract complimentary investments (Abreu, 02/07/2014). Domingues (22/03/14) also expressed the view that mega-projects draw additional investment. In regards to the Nacala Corridor he notes, “there are big projects involved [with the] corridor, and within, from these projects come other small industries to

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139 The degree to which interaction between citizen and state has changed along the N13 over the benefits implied above is discussed in Chapter Seven.
support these big projects” (Domingues, 22/03/14). However, he also cautioned that mega-
projects, despite drawing significant investment, can also generate adverse impacts propor-
tionate to their scale, such as environmental degradation or the displacement of affected
communities. Furthermore, he notes that although the state has improved its capacity towards
implementing mega-projects, it still struggles to address their negative impacts (Domingues,
22/03/2014).

An additional theme that arose concerning the Mozambican state’s embrace of mega-projects
like development corridors is the awareness that the majority of foreign investments in
Mozambique are directed towards exploiting non-renewable resources. Thus, the state’s under-
standing is that it is imperative to bundle these types of projects with complimentary
infrastructure interventions in order to add permanent value that will serve other sectors of the
economy, and will last after Mozambique’s mineral resources have been exhausted. As a
respondent from the Ministry of Transport noted, although the revenue generated from coal
and gas mining will not be enough to build all of the infrastructure needed for the agriculture
and tourism sectors, if administered wisely, he believed significant long term benefits to
Mozambique would accrue (Barros, 04/12/2014). Furthermore, he argued that this was
explicitly the government’s goal in regards to the Nacala corridor where investments by Vale,
such as the rail upgrades and the new coal terminal at Nacala-a-Velha140, have been
supplemented with other projects, like the N13, not explicitly linked to exploiting the coal
reserves in Moatize (Barros, 04/12/2014).

As the literature suggests, neoliberalism is firmly entrenched within the Mozambican state as
the dominant macro-economic policy since the late 1980s (Buur et al., 2012; Cunguara &
Hanlon, 2012; Giesbert & Schindler, 2012; Hanlon & Smart, 2012; Phiri, 2012). Nonetheless,
in their attitudes towards infrastructure provision, some representatives of the state still
demonstrate an understanding of the state as being developmental. A third theme that emerged
in discussions with key stakeholders was their clear views on the roles of various actors in the
infrastructure investment process. From the perspective of the state, mega-projects are believed
to be the ideal type of development model because they reinforce the state’s interpretation of
the appropriate role for each actor involved, including the state itself, donors, and the private

140 See Figure 4.1.
sector. The absence of a clear role allocated for civil society and individual citizens in these processes is conspicuous and discussed further in Chapters Seven and Eight.

Evidence shows that every stakeholder consulted in this study assumes that the state, as represented by the national government in Maputo, is, and should be, the primary actor driving infrastructure development in Mozambique. This position seems to reflect a persistent attachment within government to the previous ideology of the developmental state. Yet, according Domingues (22/03/2014), this role is not necessarily due to developmentalist tendencies, or special capacity or attributes within the government, but rather to the fact that land ownership in Mozambique is held entirely by the state. He notes: “Well, the government of course, is the first actor….. The government, the state is the one that owns the country” (Domingues, 22/03/2014). Thus, because the state holds title to all of Mozambique’s land, it is necessarily the first party involved on any project. This policy of land tenure, a legacy of Mozambique’s socialist period, suits the state, as it allows it to arbitrate over development interventions without playing an active role or expending their own resources on interventions. Moreover, it adds additional value, from the perspective of the government, to large scale investments and mega-projects, as the additional land requirements these projects tend to give the state further leverage over investors without additional effort (Abreu, 02/07/2014). Thus, although the state sees itself as the primary actor in infrastructure provision, it remains essentially neo-liberal in perspective, and non-interventionist in practice.

Through two decades of close collaboration since Mozambique’s shift to neoliberalism in the 1990s, the state has formed a clear vision of the role of international donors in Mozambique’s infrastructure development processes. As partners in development, donors and the state have formed a symbiotic relationship. As a respondent from the National Roads Administration (ANE) noted, “[next to the state] the most important actors in the whole process are the donors (Campos, 15/06/2014). Bauque (02/08/2014), also a representative of ANE, explains the value of the relationship to the state: “They are the ones who gave us the financial support and at the same time, the people who want to see everything done in order”. This reliance on international funding has led to the view within the state that, without international donors, infrastructure development in Mozambique would be impossible. Consequently, donors wield significant

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141 Pratchett (04/11/2013) notes an additional way the Mozambican state tries to profit from this arrangement: “[Land tenure] is how big semi-state-run enterprises make their money back on these projects, by doing land speculation all around it”.
influence over infrastructure development processes and within relevant state institutions, an influence the major international financial institutions have used to keep Mozambique firmly on a neoliberal course (Arndt et al., 2016; Hansen et al., 2016; Norad, 2016)

However, despite this influence, donors also rely on the goodwill and cooperation of the Mozambican state to implement their own programmes and agendas, and view the maintenance of a strict cordiality as being in both party’s best interests (Pratchett, 04/11/2013). Consequently, although they do contribute to the direction of policy in Mozambique, they show a reluctance to interfere in its implementation, which they view as the responsibility of the Mozambican state. With regards to infrastructure projects like the N13, they do this by assuming as little direct responsibility for project management as possible, deferring to local authorities on most points. Ito (28/05/2014) describes the level of JICA oversight along the N13:

We do an evaluation after completion, and post-evaluation after five years after completion of the project. But, general evaluation will be done by the Mozambican government, by the Road Fund\textsuperscript{142}. The Road Fund is in charge of monitoring and evaluation of the road after completion of construction.

Accordingly, donors prefer to take a passive role in monitoring, generally relying on the reports of local institutions to inform on progress, and only intervening directly when requested by the state or to address glaring problems (Ito, 28/05/2014). Although donors wield significant influence on the projects they fund, both the state and donors declare that this influence is seldom exercised. As a result, the state is largely only accountable to itself, and donors are unable, or unwilling, to play an intermediary role between citizen and state over local development issues (Norad, 2016). These arrangements are reflected in the monitoring and accountability mechanisms for the N13 described in Chapter Four.

Finally, as with donors, the Mozambican state is very clear about the role for the private sector in infrastructure development. Because Mozambique lacks capital of its own, it relies on investors to fund development interventions (Pratchett, 04/11/2013). International donors are

\textsuperscript{142} Road Fund, or Fundo Estrada (FE), was established alongside the ANE, with the mandate of providing centralised funding for routine road maintenance.
the most prominent investors, however, over the past two decades, the neoliberal Mozambican state has increasingly turned to international and local business interests as a source of funding. Domingues (22/03/2014) describes this outlook:

The government sets the regulations, sets the procedures of doing things and facilitates. The private sector comes with the funding, comes with the knowledge, and comes with the equipment… They come with the technical capacity.

A respondent from GAZEDA[^143] focused specifically on the important role of the private sector in funding infrastructure projects, and its ability to implement interventions more quickly than the state, stating:

We need investors like Vale that can build infrastructure with their own investments. We can rely on the Electricidade de Moçambique [the parastatal energy provider]…. but it will take time… Why wait? (Abreu, 02/07/2014).

This neoliberal perception has become so entrenched that some within the government now look to the private sector as the principal agent for change in Mozambique. As Domingues (22/03/2014) articulates, “There is a strong role for the private sector. Of course sometimes the governments appear in implementation process, but the major developments, the greatest things that we see, are done by the private sector”. According to a respondent from the Ministry of Transport, the precedent for strong private sector involvement in infrastructure provision was created through the successes of the Maputo Corridor (Barros, 03/12/2013). Featuring a mix of public-private investment, the Maputo Corridor was the first mega-project completed in neoliberal Mozambique, and although the corridor has met with some criticism[^144], it has remained the model for subsequent spatial development initiatives in the country (Pratchett, 04/11/2013).

Finally, Corbridge et al. (2005) contend that within development studies, there is a general agreement that the success of a neoliberal development agenda is, to some degree, dependent

[^143]: GAZEDA is a division of the Ministry of Planning and Development (Ministério da Planificação e Desenvolvimento) which is responsible for spatial development initiatives.

[^144]: See Chapter Three for a discussion of the Mozal Aluminium Smelter—a major component of the Maputo Corridor.
on the participation of a vibrant civil society. This assumes that, a healthy and active civil society functions as a ‘trustee’, collaborating with government institutions to produce equitable developmental outcomes, while holding the state accountable to its citizenry (Escobar, 1995; Murray-Li, 2007a, 2007b; Pieck, 2013; Putnam, 1995; Woolcock, 2009). However, research shows that at the national level, civil society in Mozambique, and Mozambican organisations in particular, are poorly positioned to influence development decisions, a reality which Kepa (2014) attributes to a number of factors, including: A history of socialism and authoritarianism, a legacy of civil war and conflict, a culture dominated by a strong social hierarchy, and alleged co-option of civil society leaders by the state. Nonetheless, state representatives within the study placed significant emphasis on the role of civil society in development (Abreu, 02/07/2014; Barros, 04/12/2013; Domingues, 22/03/2014, 29/05/2014). To Domingues (29/05/2014) the role of civil society includes defending the rights of affected communities, providing technical assistance to state institutions, and helping to decentralise decision-making to regional bodies. He admitted, however, that in practice, Mozambican civil society is largely unable to accomplish these objectives, and does not have the power to influence decision-makers in meaningful ways (Domingues, 29/05/2014).

6.2.4. Challenges for the State’s Development Model

The literature suggests and respondents confirm, that Mozambique’s outlook towards development remains overwhelmingly neoliberal (Ahlers et al., 2012; Buur et al., 2012; Cunguara & Hanlon, 2012; Giesbert & Schindler, 2012). However, this development paradigm, which has emphasised foreign and private investment, infrastructure development and mega-projects, has been effective in dramatically upgrading the country’s transport network (Buur et al., 2012; Dominguez-Torres & Briceño-Garmendia, 2011; Giesbert & Schindler, 2012; IFAD, 2012; Phiri, 2012). Starting from a very low level of infrastructure development, the government has succeeded in producing and upgrading a large number of physical assets, which has significantly improved transport within the country and across international borders (Pratchett, 04/11/2013). From the perspective of the state, this model has been a success, but a qualified one. According to key-stakeholders, disparate interests and inefficiencies within the Mozambican government have led to failures in both project planning and implementation (Barros, 03/12/2013). Moreover, these challenges have led the state, not to doubt the wisdom of neoliberalism, but rather to question its own ability as an infrastructure services provider (Ahlers et al., 2012).
According to key-stakeholders within the state, one of the most significant developments towards achieving a coherent development vision has been the adoption of spatial planning methods, informed by international best practices, to sensibly guide infrastructure investment across the country (Barros, 04/12/2014; Domingues, 22/03/2014). However, although the planning mechanisms and legal framework is in place in Mozambique, the evidence shows that the state exhibits a number of weaknesses, including low institutional capacity, disparate interests within the government that favour simple solutions, and weak political will to enforce legal obligations. From the perspective of the key stakeholders, these factors combine to ensure that infrastructure development in Mozambique remains largely ad-hoc and driven by interest rather than need.

Nearly every stakeholder interviewed pointed to a lack of state capacity as a main inhibitor of implementing the infrastructural development model. According to Domingues (29/05/2014), planning processes in Mozambique largely suffer from their newness. Although institutions within the state generate planning tools for use by government agencies, institutional capacity throughout the Mozambican state is generally too low to use them efficiently. From the perspective of Domingues (29/05/2014), a planning specialist with MICOA, more time is needed to build capacity within the state in order to efficiently integrate planning processes within day-to-day development decisions. He argues:

So we do have the legal framework, yes, but as for the [planning mechanisms], we haven't started to apply these regulations very hard on the municipalities. So we're still in the process of teaching them how to do it, bringing capacity to them (Domingues, 29/05/2014).

From the perspective of the representative of MICOA, it is typically officials on the ground who lack the skills to implement spatial plans drawn up in Maputo (Domingues, 29/05/2014). Domingues (22/03/2014) describes how a lack of capacity on the ground can lead to inertia – a serious issue when confronted with deadlines set by international donors:
Like for instance we have recently some funding from the Millenium Challenge Corporation\textsuperscript{145}, there was funding for the rehabilitation of the drainage system in some cities, the rehabilitation of the water supply system, but the funding has been cut. The project ended, and they said there has been no renovation, because we did not achieve our goals, the goals that have been set before. We did not do the project, we did not conduct the projects on time. We didn't do anything with that money. That's a problem.

Consequently, one of the main responsibilities of MICOA has evolved to assist local technicians in implementation strategies. However, this lack of capacity is not limited to technicians in the field (Pratchett, 04/11/2013). Mozambique’s challenges as a late developer are immense, a condition that has been exacerbated by decades of war. Feeling a need to ‘catch up’ to its neighbours and motivated by a genuine ‘will to improve’ planners in Maputo often overcommit, beyond the capacity of state institutions (Murray-Li, 2007b):

\begin{quote}
They don’t have huge government capacity, they tend to, you know, not be able to follow through on a lot of the promises made to the public and to the citizenry, and to private companies, so they're a bit free with saying ‘This is what we can and will do.’ But ultimately they don't have that kind of capacity to always deliver on that (Pratchett, 04/11/2013).
\end{quote}

As a consequence, national policy-makers often set development goals which are beyond the realistic expectations of state institutions to achieve (Pratchett, 04/11/2013).

According to over half of the respondents, another challenge towards adapting systematic planning processes for infrastructure development in Mozambique is conflicting interests in the state that favour immediate results over the uncertainty of a lengthy planning process (i.e. making short term rather than long term processes). As Pratchett (04/11/2013) explains:

\begin{quote}
Frelimo tends to be a very structured, formula-driven political entity. However, when it comes to this side of it, they're much more development opportunists… So they don't mind reordering priorities if it means that something can happen sooner than it would
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{145} A bilateral United States of America foreign aid agency (Domingues, 29/05/2014).
have happened… and if you speak to the mining companies and the people in the World Bank they say a similar thing.

This willingness to ignore long term plans for quick results undermines the planning process and contributes to the ad-hoc nature of development in Mozambique. From the perspective of respondents, this attitude has also penetrated the state’s approach to spatial development. For example, according to planning guidelines and state commitments to affected stakeholders, a portion of revenue invested in the Maputo Corridor was to be reinvested in social services:

The original thing was that 10% of the total capital sum that could be invested would go towards these kind of social benefit things… but many of them didn't happen and I would be incredibly surprised if more than 1% of that ever materialised. I think… it's not just that the state has got weak capacity, I'm not sure if there's really any kind of ambition from the state officials and the state itself to really do the hard miles, of... Say, if we're doing this thing, we've got to make everything happen to try and make it work in some ways (Pratchett, 04/11/2013).

As a consequence to this attitude, Tate (2011) argues that overall the Maputo Corridor has failed to create local employment, adding insecurity and uncertainty to the lives of the local people along its route. Planning processes strive to accommodate a diverse array of interests, but when they are derailed by the types of politics discussed above, development in Mozambique has a tendency to cater to powerful and entrenched interests rather than the needs of the people:

What people want, it’s not want has been done. There are some projects that have been going on that do not go according to the people's needs, real needs. So that's what we have to be better at. We have to go according to the people’s needs (Domingues, 22/03/2014).

Lastly, most stakeholders perceive and intrinsically link the previous two themes of a dearth of state capacity and a preference for short term, immediate results to a lack of political will within

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146 This is indicative of foreign aid and investment in Mozambique in general. Norad (2016) estimates that only 10 percent of aid given to Mozambique since 1995 has directly benefitted the poor, with 90 percent being spent within the state on administrative costs, or has simply been unaccounted for.
the Mozambican state. This manifests as a reluctance to enforce planning mechanisms within state institutions and in relation to the private sector (Barros, 04/12/2014; Domingues, 22/03/2014; Pratchett, 04/11/2013). Furthermore, this political climate also contributes to an attitude of complacency, both to institutional improvement and capacity building, as well as to neglecting development interventions which yield long-term benefits over short term gains. At the time of the study, Frelimo, as the dominant party, wielded considerable power over nearly all aspects of the Mozambican state. As a consequence, much of the deliberation over development initiatives are conducted within the party, rather than within more transparent government institutions. One expert describes this: “The way in which resources are distributed back from the centre to the periphery in Mozambique is still very opaque. It's always been very strongly about political dynamics in that country” (Pratchett, 04/11/2013). Indeed, without strong political support from within the dominant political circles, a project is unlikely to get off the ground. As a consequence, planners’ state institutions must accommodate political concerns in order to move interventions forward, often at the expense of Mozambique’s overall development vision:

It is true that a lot of the projects that are happening, most of the time are because somebody is behind it in terms of personal interest for the things to happen. And sometimes it doesn't happen because the political champion or that person interest doesn't exist… who is leading matters a lot (Barros, 04/12/2013).

In addition, Mozambican politics are seen by one respondent to be a unique factor in the country’s development, a factor Western donors sometimes struggle to understand (Domingues, 22/03/2014). A representative of MICOA commented, “[Here] it's different… the West has another way of doing things and we have politics. Our politics are different from the West because of the way that people think, it's very different” (Domingues, 22/03/2014). He continues by describing the implications that this has on development in the country:

Yes, because you have.... there are very large conflicts between the Mozambican model and the western model of development. We here in Mozambique, we have a certain way of doing things, all, I can generalise. We look for ourselves, not for the neighbour, not for the whole country, not for the people. So, if there's a project, politicians tend to gain some money out of that project. Personal goals, mostly. And some of that money can go to some projects, the real projects, but it doesn't, it's not enough to finish that
project. So we have a different way of doing things. That's what stops us from going further (Domingues, 22/03/2014).

In this environment planning mechanisms frequently ignored, and private interests are indulged (De Villiers, 07/03/2013). Indeed, according to Domingues (29/05/2014), regional or local development plans drawn up in Maputo are frequently ignored by implementing agencies on the ground. He attributes much of the haphazard growth in the port of Nacala to this type of wilful disobedience:

Well, the problem is that development hasn’t been going according to the plans that have been approved, that we did. So things are being, things are happening without..... The Municipality does things, they give licenses to build infrastructure, roads, without consulting the plan. So there is a gap between… what was planned, and what's really happening. [This is the case] not only in Nacala, but in most of the cities (Domingues, 29/05/2014).

Consequently, Nacala’s growth surge experienced over the past decade has not been completely smooth, with the port-city becoming increasingly notorious for its sprawl and lack of spatial planning (Texeira, 21/10/2012). Finally, although there are mechanisms in place within state institutions to ensure compliance, in practice, there is very little reaction when plans are not followed. This stems not from a deficiency in the legal framework, but rather in a lack of political will to enforce compliance. This challenge is particularly apparent in the state’s interaction with the private sector (Castel-Branco, 2003; Cunguara & Hanlon, 2012). Describing an incident where MICOA uncovered non-compliance with Mozambican environmental standards and planning guidelines, Domingues (29/05/2014) explains his Ministry’s lack of punitive action:

The problem is not having the legal framework, we do have that. The problem comes when we decide to punish [infractions]. See, we don't have the power to do that because there is political involvement with all of this, especially connected to these companies. There is a political element.

This dynamic is apparent in the case of the Mozal aluminium smelter where fines for infractions have been held and used as political leverage, rather than as tools for improving corporate
behaviour (Pratchett, 04/11/2013). Thus, in Mozambique’s opaque political environment, planning mechanisms are frequently inadequate or ignored, and as a consequence the nation’s infrastructure interventions and overall development vision suffer (Domingues, 29/05/2014).

In conclusion, from the perspective of expert stakeholders, challenges within the Mozambican state, including a lack of state capacity, a tendency towards expediency, and a lack of political will have had a significant negative effect on the state’s ability to implement its development vision. Although improvements to infrastructure constitute a major development goal, ‘opportunism’ within the state creates an environment where easy short-term opportunities are exploited at the expense of major structural changes to the nation-wide network. This is fuelled by the stated desire of trustees, both inside and outside of government, to ‘catch up’ on development after years of conflict (Ahlers et al., 2012; Buur et al., 2012; Giesbert & Schindler, 2012). But it is also strongly influenced by political concerns that value expediency over transformative change. Pratchett (04/11/2013) describes this mind-set:

If you look back comparatively at, they [the state] have quite a strong sense of the things that they ultimately want to see happen. But if it happens in an order that is very different from what they would project, they don’t have a problem with that. So if things happen out of sequence, as long as it happens, there’s this sort of bottom line.

As a consequence, interventions are often fragmented, with little connection to a vision of how Mozambique’s infrastructure network should ultimately look (Dominguez-Torres & Briceño-Garmendia, 2011; Tate, 2011). Indeed, beyond immediate goals, there seems to be a lack of clarity within the state about how these activities meet medium-term goals, or coalesce into a long-term development vision for the country.

Murray-Li (2007a, 2007b) describes the state (and non-state actors) as a collection of ‘trustees’, motivated by a ‘will to improve’. This sense of purpose and discourse of improvement was consistently articulated by respondents. From the perspective of the ‘trustees’ interviewed here, improving the lives of Mozambicans, should be the principle goal of development. Furthermore, most stakeholders were able to articulate a number of goals necessary for achieving that process: building schools and health facilities, improving streets, renovating public buildings, improving housing, and providing clean water, among others (Vieira, 06/08/2014; Vaquina, 30/07/2014; Domingues, 22/03/2014). To this end, the state has shown
a strong commitment to neoliberal development principles; a non-interventionist state, a belief in infrastructure development as a transformative goal, and faith in foreign and private investment. Despite this ideological consistency, a true vision for Mozambican development remains unclear and often contradictory.

6.3. DEVELOPMENT FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE CITIZEN

6.3.1 Introduction

Development, or desenvolvimento in both Portuguese and eMakua, is a word frequently used by the Mozambican people interviewed over the course of this study. As the previous section argued, the Mozambican state has adopted a development model focused on neo-liberal economic growth and infrastructure investment. However, from the perspective of the population living along the N13, development is a more nebulous concept: highly personal, depending on the circumstances of the individual and the context of their life, and used to describe both the positive and negative changes that have occurred across the country since the end of the civil war in 1994. This section explores these individual views on Mozambique’s development through evidence derived from community focus groups and informal interviews conducted within communities along the N13.

Section 6.3.2 begins by exploring individual understandings of development as both a phenomenon and an instrument for change in Mozambique. The section also examines their interpretation of the state’s development vision, including its focus on infrastructure, as well as their impressions on the role of infrastructure improvements in bringing development. Section 6.3.3 continues by interrogating the role of various development actors in Mozambique, including the state and the private sector, as perceived by respondents residing along the N13. Finally section 6.3.4 outlines the various critiques of the state’s development model as they appear to the population in northern Mozambique. Section 6.3 therefore examines the ways in which Mozambicans ‘see the state’ through its development agenda, as well as how they react to change at a national level (Corbridge et al., 2005; Scott, 1985, 1998).

6.3.2 Desenvolvimento

One consistent theme that emerged from respondents is that, despite the significant changes that are occurring in Mozambique and within the study area, development is considered a
positive force that will improve the lives of those affected. James Scott (1985) contends that poor individuals see development, not as a vehicle for radical, structural change, but rather as an aspiration towards incremental quality of life improvements. To the individuals living along the N13, a complex understanding towards development has formed, which, in general, supports Scott’s assertions. However, even with this consistent theme of development as a desirable process or phenomenon, respondents had diverse opinions regarding the ways in which development would actually impact their lives.

The most common view on development expressed by individuals along the N13 was that it would create jobs and other income-earning opportunities, a desire articulated in all 27 focus groups. Throughout the study area, opportunities for paid employment are rare, with most people’s only options to earn a living being agriculture and subsistence farming. As a consequence, money is scarce and many struggle to afford basic items. As one respondent from Ribáuè explains, “Without money you cannot do anything. You cannot travel, nothing” (Ribáuè #2, 19/07/2014). Another participant seconded this opinion, expressing the value of employment opportunities. “We must work to earn some money. Because if you have money you can do whatever you’d like with your life” (Ribáuè #2, 19/07/2014). For most who expressed similar sentiments, the link between development and earning an income was clear: development would improve the lives of Mozambicans by creating jobs. One respondent from Natikiri (Natikiri #2, 16/07/2014) made the connection between employment and development explicit, arguing:

[The state] must work harder to bring development. We need jobs so that we can earn money and help bring development faster. For example, now here there are no jobs, no temporary employment. If we get jobs everything will get better, there will be development.

From the perspective of a respondent in Nioce this does not just mean jobs in the cities, but also within rural communities, articulating “What we need now is for the government to create jobs in our community so that people will no longer need to leave their homes and travel great distances to find work” (Nioce, 02/08/2014).

Depending on the location of the participant, a number of different ideas emerged about what form these employment opportunities should take. However, one consistent theme expressed
was that some form of industrialisation was a necessary part of development, as a respondent from Nacuca articulated: “In my opinion, what we need are factories, making cars, motorbikes, and bicycles. When industry comes to the area I think everything will be better” (Nacuca #2, 17/07/2014). Respondents also looked to foreign investment and mega-projects like the N13 as an additional source of employment, and by extension development. One respondent from Rapale expressed this sentiment, stating “We are asking the government to bring more projects like the road. We expect that there will be more development” (Raplae #1, 17/07/2014).

Related to this vision of employment and income, an additional perspective on development that emerged during the course of the study was that it will lead to increased access to commercial goods in rural areas. A respondent from Rapale (Rapale #1, 17/07/2014) neatly sums up the connection between development and products, stating “They must bring more development – more shops selling the things we need.” One product that is valued in particular is cell phones and access to one of the mobile networks. In communities with cell signal this was lauded as a hallmark of development, while in communities without signal it was eagerly awaited:

I have seen that Namina has been developing. Before we did not have access to phones, it was very difficult if you wanted to make a call. But now we all have cell phones. For example, if you want to speak to someone quickly, you can just call them and do it. Not like before. Even women and children have phones. It empowers them to lead better lives. If you buy a cell phone for your wife she knows how to use it (Namina, 18/07/2014).

Finally, although there was a lack of consensus on what specific changes accompanied development, there was a general sense of agreement among all respondents that development would improve Mozambique and make local communities ‘beautiful’ or just generally a better place to live. To most respondents this was associated with the expansion of social services such as schools and hospitals:

In my opinion, the children will need to live a different life in the future. They need to get vaccinated, and they need to be able to go to school and develop their minds so that they can shape their own lives. They government must be concerned about the welfare
of Mozambique’s children. Development must be for the children, and the government must be involved. The children must eat and live well (Rapale #3, 17/07/2014).

Furthermore, in several focus groups, particularly those close to Nampula and the district capitals, development was equated with urbanisation. As an individual from Rapale stated of his village, “We want this to be like a town, not the bush” (Rapale #2, 17/07/2014). As ideal models, Maputo, or even neighbouring South Africa were mentioned as examples of how development should look in practice. For instance, one focus group participant in Namina summarised the changes happening in his community by through a comparison to South Africa:

[Here in Namina], some people now have antennas, so we can watch TV from overseas— we can see what it’s like in other countries. The conditions here are coming closer to like how they are in South Africa. We will be one of the most developed countries in Africa (Namina, 19/07/2014).

A participant from Nacuca agreed, expressing a desire that “when we go to South Africa we want to be able see that the homes there look the same as ours” (Nacuca #1, 17/07/2014). However, another respondent from Nacuca complained that development in his community still had far to go before it reached the level of Maputo or South Africa (Nacuca #1, 17/07/2014). In general, a sense of Maputo as being developmentally superior, and receiving a disproportionate share of attention from the national government, pervaded many of the focus groups as well as a number of informal interviews147.

Although most individuals interviewed had some inkling of what development entails, few had a deeper understanding of how development processes actually occur. Equally, there was little comprehension among participants of the state’s development model or its overall development vision for either the country or their community (Cebola, 13/11/2014). A respondent from Zimbabwe (Zimbabwe, 21/07/2014) summed up this relationship when describing the rehabilitation of the N13:

Honestly, we have no idea how the government spends its money or makes development decisions. We just see the construction workers arrive and then we know

147 This perception of a pro-south development agenda in Mozambique is discussed further in Section 6.3.4.
something will happen. Sometimes people come, work gets done, but we don't know what the plans are or what to expect. Other times we just wait and nothing happens.

A participant from Ribáuè (Ribáuè #1, 19/07/2014) echoed this opinion, stating, “We only see the road, we don’t know what the government’s priorities are or how they use the money. Nobody here understands what’s going on, we only see the results.” Some participants explained this disconnect as a lack of communication on behalf of the state. As a participant from Nacata (Nacata, 01/08/2014) explained, “With the government’s money, I don’t know what’s going on… We don’t have any information.” Thus, many respondents only ‘see the state’ directly through the material changes occurring in their communities (Corbridge et al., 2005).

Although respondents demonstrated little understanding of how development decisions in Mozambique are made, there was a general understanding that development processes were not designed to meet their needs first. A respondent from Namiconha (19/07/2014) reflects this understanding, “There is quite a bit of development coming into Ribáuè, people like to invest there. There is much money arriving, but nobody understands how it is used”. Thus, there seems to be a significant disconnect between the Mozambican state and its citizens on the ways development processes are initiated and carried out. This suggests lack of communication and consultation between state officials and local communities.

Not every individual, however, felt a similar disconnect with national government. Indeed, many were critical of what they perceived as a lack of a coherent development vision within government. For example, a respondent in Mavila Uma described the state’s development vision as unclear, both to the individual Mozambicans, as well as amongst policymakers (Mavila Uma, 07/21/2014). Some participants even challenged the state’s sense of trusteeship of the development process, arguing that the government was not interested in improving the lives of its citizens due to a lack of coherent priorities: “the government does not know how to create the conditions for bringing development and a good life to the people” (Murray-Li, 2007b; Namiconha, 19/07/2014).

Finally, one participant noted a lack of connection between national and local authorities as a reason for the absence of development:
They [the state] just talk. For example, the national government promises to build more hospitals, they make promises, but they are not producing any results… Officials in Nampula or Maputo decide they are going to make some changes, but the officials in the district aren’t following through with the programmes. They don’t follow the plans or implement the changes (Namiconha, 19/07/2014).

From this perspective, development in Mozambique has suffered because leaders at different levels within the state do not share the same development goals, resulting in an unclear vision for the nation’s future.

Coinciding with views from within the state, individual Mozambicans often think that infrastructure investment is, and should be, a critical part of Mozambique’s development path and that infrastructure development was a necessary prerequisite for other types of positive change. As a respondent in Rapale (Rapale Focus Group #2, 17/07/2014) explained regarding the rehabilitation of the N13, “We are happy because the road is just a start – it will lead to more development and greater things for our community”. Thus, not only is infrastructure investment a crucial part of Mozambique’s development, it is also viewed as indispensable to future development processes. Furthermore, there was a significant correlation in most participants’ minds between the rehabilitation, development and employment opportunities (Mavila Uma, 21/07/2014; Muessi, 01/08/2014; Mutivasse #1, 17/07/2014; Nacuca #1, 17/07/2014; Namina, 19/07/2014; Nioce, 02/08/2014). As one respondent articulated: “We are hoping that businesses will come. When the road is finished they will follow and we will all be able to get jobs” (Rapale #1, 17/07/2014). Another participant in the group agreed, noting that “with the road we will be able to see more positive changes in the future” (Rapale #1, 17/07/2014). When asked about their own specific development priorities, transport infrastructure investment – in this case represented by the rehabilitation of the N13 – was generally rated as the most important change that could occur, both across Mozambique and in each individual community148 (Marusso, 31/07/2014; Mutuali, 01/08/2014; Rapale #1, 17/07/2014).

148 Although respondents were not explicitly asked to order development interventions, the rehabilitation of the N13 and the rail line were mentioned as top priorities in all 27 focus groups.
However, the value respondents placed on infrastructure was not limited to investments in transport infrastructure only, as many people felt that the expansion of public utilities was equally important. Illustrating this point, an informant from Nacuca noted that the expansion of electricity provision should be the state’s number one development priority (Nacuca #1, 17/07/2014). Furthermore, electricity is viewed as a particularly important precursor for development and job creation: “They must bring electricity because now all we can do is farm. But with electricity we will be able to go to school and improve our skills” (Nioce, 02/08/2014). Indeed, many individuals noted the importance of electricity for industrialisation. For example, “We ask where the factories are, but without electricity they cannot bring them here” (Nioce, 02/08/2014).

Electricity was seen by respondents as a necessary component for job creation, however it also contributes to the more intangible understandings of what development looks like that was expressed within a number of interviews. One participant bemoaned the lack of backwardness of her community, attributing this to its lack of electricity. As she explains, “The teachers here do not stay because there are no electricity. They come and see how rural it is and they leave. For example, the teachers we do have don’t stay here. They come on Monday and leave on Friday. They don’t want to spend the weekend because it’s too dark” (Nioce, 02/08/2014). Thus, to many respondents the provision of public utilities is as much a priority as the expansion of transport infrastructure.

Finally, although the focus groups agreed that the Mozambican state’s focus on infrastructure development is a positive strategy, it emerged in nearly every interview that investments in infrastructure alone were not sufficient to bring development to Mozambique. Few individuals desired significant structural readjustment, or even challenged the state’s overall investment priorities, instead preferring to negotiate their right to a modest quality of life through incremental developmental interventions (Scott, 1998). As one respondent articulated: “We appreciate the road, but we also need so many other things like a hospital, water, electricity” (Rapale #1, 17/07/2014). Another participant from Zimbabwe (Zimbabwe, 21/07/2014) encapsulated this sentiment towards the state’s infrastructure-centric development model, stating that, “Besides the road, we need a number of different things built in order to make our community beautiful. The road alone is not enough, we have many needs”. Thus, although most generally approve of the emphasis the state has placed on infrastructure investment within the communities approached during this study, some remain sceptical that infrastructure alone
will meet Mozambique’s development needs and their personal aspirations for an improved quality of life.

In conclusion, from both the perspective of the state and its citizens, there is a shared sense that neoliberal infrastructure investment is, and should be, an essential part of Mozambique’s development model. Some of this importance lies in infrastructure’s intrinsic value: to the state, its role as a catalyst for economic development, and to the citizens, as an improvement in transport and a gateway to increased economic opportunity. However, from both perspectives there is a common view that investments in infrastructure are also a necessary precursor for future development, an essential first step along Mozambique’s development trajectory. The sense of infrastructure as an essential part of development is further enhanced by an awareness by respondents at both levels of the cost for Mozambique’s development of after 30 years of nearly continuous conflict.

From the perspective of the state, addressing this gap has been an unavoidable part of post-conflict nation building (Pratchett, 04/11/2013). Representatives of the state expressed a clear desire to ‘catch up’ both to Mozambique’s regional neighbours and the west- a common impulse within late developing countries (Shin, 1996; Warner et al., 2004; Whittaker et al., 2010). Citizens along the N13 are less motivated by this impulse, but nonetheless felt that re-connecting Mozambique through projects like the N13 rehabilitation is an essential part of the peace dividends most respondents eagerly await. However, although the majority of stakeholders interviewed in this study have embraced the emphasis on infrastructure investment in Mozambique’s development model, a disconnect remains between citizens and state over the extent to which this model should dominate Mozambique’s development agenda. While the citizens interviewed in this study value state investment in infrastructure, like the rehabilitation of the N13, they express significant and complex development needs that require a broad range of development interventions.

### 6.3.3. Development Actors

Within a neoliberal context there are a number of actors responsible for and involved in designing interventions and structuring developmental outcomes. Murray-Li (2007a, 2007b) describes these development accomplices as ‘trustees,’ a position derived from their claim to knowledge on how others should live, what they need, and what is best for them. As section
6.2.3 described, the Mozambican state sees itself as the principle development actor in the country. However, because the Mozambican state lacks both the resources and political will of the active developmental state other trustees, particularly donors and the private sector are also designated significant responsibility for development outcomes by the state. Despite the ensemble of the state, donors, and the private sector, which together facilitate development and work out of Maputo, individuals interviewed along the N13 possess a more constricted view of development processes, and look almost entirely to the Mozambican government for improvements.

Consistently, the evidence shows that participants held the state accountable for developing both the nation and their local communities:

> We need the government to help us out and make this place better so that we can survive and live well. We also need the government to help us build some schools so that the children can get educations. They must also build government offices. We will really appreciate when the government does these things for us. All the things that we need to live well we do not have. We are asking the government to develop our area, we cannot do it on our own (Rapale #1, 17/07/2014).

Not only do participants count on the government to develop public services like infrastructure, schools, and hospitals, they also attribute the government a leading role in creating employment opportunities (Natikiri #2, 16/07/2014). Using salt, a Makua idiom for wealth, to express what she felt was the government’s responsibility for improving the lives of its citizens, a women in a Natikiri stated: “We need the government to help the children to find jobs. Our children must have lives rich with salt” (Natikiri #2, 16/07/2014).

Finally, although most respondents consider the state to be the primary development actor, individuals in several communities, particularly those closest to Nampula, expressed a desire for the private sector to play a greater role in generating employment opportunities. As a participant in Rapale articulated: “We need businesses and industry to come so that we can get jobs. Development is jobs to us, it’s what we need” (Rapale #1, 17/07/2014). Most of these respondents, many of whom are unemployed, expressed a wish for shops and industry to diffuse from Nampula, down the N13, and into rural communities (Mutivasse #2, 17/07/2014). Another common desire was for foreign investment in local businesses, which would in turn
provide employment opportunities: “White people [foreigners] must come here and create jobs so that we can work” (Nacua #2, 17/07/2014). In other words, people generally considered the private sector as an additional actor, to some degree, in creating employment opportunities, and by extension development.

In conclusion, from both the perspective of citizen and state, the Mozambican government is the leading development actor. However, under Mozambique’s current neoliberal model the state has accepted a non-interventionist role for itself, allocating a large role to the private sector, for economic investment and job creation (Cunguara & Hanlon, 2012). Although this suits the vision of the government which sees the state as being responsible for managing development processes but not necessarily implementing them, citizens along the N13 expressed a desire for a more active role on behalf of the state. This point is particularly true regarding job creation. Individuals living along the N13 feel that economic opportunity and job creation is an essential part of development. In most rural areas, employment opportunities are scarce and the majority of permanent jobs are within the state in some capacity. Thus, naturally, most citizens look directly to the state to as a source of employment, and as a leading actor towards job creation. Thus, the evidence shows a difference in state and citizen views of the state: while the state defers to other actors to create economic opportunities as an enabling state, the citizen are desirous of a more interventionist, developmental state (Bresser-Pereira, 2006).

6.3.4. Critiques of the State’s Development Model

Respondents along the N13 were critical of Mozambique’s current infrastructure-centric development model. Three themes that emerged in relation to this critical view include: a perception that development in Mozambique does not cater to the needs of the people, that the state pursues a pro-south agenda, and that Mozambican politics hinder development efforts.

One concern expressed by respondents along the N13 is that development in Mozambique is not responsive to the needs of the people. The following comments provide evidence of this concern:

They [the state] are not interested in us, they only care about themselves (Nacata, 01/08/2014).
The government doesn’t care about people. Many things are lacking. How are we going to connect ourselves if government is not connected to us (Mavila Uma, 21/07/2014)?

[The government is] doing what they want, not according to the will of the people (Zimbabwe, 21/07/2014).

With regards to infrastructure and the mega-project, there was a sense that investment was designed to accommodate macro-economic concerns rather than local needs. In fact, when asked about the Nacala Corridor, the few individuals who expressed an awareness of the project beyond its affects in their own communities linked the project to mineral exploitation in Tete Province. This was particularly the case in communities adjacent to the rail line where freshly painted train engines branded with Corredor de Desenvolvimento de Norte (CDN) markings and pulling loads of coal are an indication of the corridor’s macro-economic purpose (Site Visit, 17/07/2014). Yet, despite this feeling of disenfranchisement, nearly every participant believed that infrastructure development, and the rehabilitation of the N13 in particular, would benefit all levels of society (Mutuali, 01/08/2014). Furthermore, there was a general desire on behalf of affected individuals to focus on the incremental, concrete benefits of development that affected their lives rather than national macro-economic goals (Scott, 1985, 1998).

Another dominant theme which recurred in more than half of the focus groups is the perception that development processes in Mozambique are inherently pro-south, with Maputo and the southern provinces receiving a disproportionate share of national investment. This feeling is also evident in the growing body of literature, which is critical of the spatial inequalities observed in Mozambican investment patterns (Cunguara & Hanlon, 2012; Hanlon & Smart, 2012). Along the N13 a sense of regional marginalisation was keenly felt amongst respondents. Two responses, in particular, articulate this belief:

The development is happening only in the south of Mozambique. The economy is concentrated in the south. There it is difficult to find a road as poor as this one here, or a town with dust like here in Cuamba (Cuamba, 30/07/2014).

We need more development, more projects like in the south. The north needs development too (Natikiri #2, 16/07/2014).
Although respondents were appreciative of the rehabilitation of the N13, they felt that such types of projects were largely concentrated in the south and that the north had been neglected (Natikiri #2, 16/07/2014). The impact of this is that most of the nation’s employment opportunities were to be found in south, draining the north of its labour force:

People here must travel to Maputo to find work – but the people there aren’t interested in us. If you want to improve your life you must go to Maputo – that’s the only place where things are happening. They aren’t bringing any development to this side. We are still waiting for conditions here to improve (Rapale #3, 17/07/2014).

Finally, within some communities along the N13 many experience an additional feeling of marginalisation within the local region, as some locations have benefited from projects while others have not: “Everything we ask for they produce in other areas first. All we are asking is that the things they do in Ribáuè they also do here” (Metacusse, 02/08/2014).

A final theme related to Mozambique’s development model that emerged within local communities along the N13 was the critical stance towards governance and the problems with Mozambican politics. The dominant sub-theme here was a weariness of the political conflict that has plagued Mozambique since the start of the Civil War in 1977, and had flared up again at the time of fieldwork (July-August, 2014). This instability is viewed as taking a great toll on Mozambique’s development: “Mozambique has a great potential of growing up but we heard the radio…and we are in a political conflict. What can we expect from that conflict? We hope the country gets a better place to live but it is disgusting to hear about war” (Malema #2, 02/08/2014).

Furthermore, people interviewed along the length of the N13, particularly those who are young and unemployed, conveyed a sense of insecurity related to the country’s future, and this extended to those who viewed Mozambique as going through a political transition. At the time of the fieldwork (July-August 2014), Armando Guebuza, president for ten years, was completing his final term, and his successor Filipe Nyusi was preparing to take office at the start of 2015. A respondent from Ribáuè spoke about the uncertainty surrounding this transition:
During Guebuza’s presidency everything was pretty good, but now everyone is anxious to see what will happen under the new president. He is unknown to us, we are not sure what to expect. We have had some trouble in the country, some conflict and violence, and with the new president we are not sure how this will be resolved (Ribáuè #2, 19/07/2014).

However, many participants did not assess the performance of the state during the Guebuza era as highly. For example, one respondent from Mutivasse described Mozambique’s government, not as a democracy, but as a “system of confusion” (Mutivasse #1, 17/07/2014). Additionally, a respondent from Malema expressed the belief that the Mozambican politicians do not care about developing the country, and are more interested in personal gain: “I don’t think that the country will develop… When the president is in power he has to put all the money he can in his pockets and after that he considers people’s priorities. They do things only in the last two years of their mandate” (Malema #2, 02/08/2014). Finally, the name of Samora Machel, Mozambique’s first president, was frequently invoked by participants to refer to a period of development and good governance, in contrast to conditions under today’s leaders. In one particular example a participant utilised a Makua folk expression to explain the decline of educational standards under the current regime:

[Today] education is weak… children pass automatically in all of their grades. Imagine if every day you give your son sugar…one day you will not have any sugar and he will cry. How can they be prepared for the world like this? When Samora was alive this was not a problem. You would study and pass only in accordance with your mark (Malema #2, 02/08/2014).

There was a discernible nostalgia amongst participants for the years of Samora Machel, when they felt their developmental needs were given greater attention by the state (Site Visit, 02/08/2014).

In sum, this section has described how a number of repeated criticisms of Mozambique’s neoliberal development agenda has led to perceptible feeling amongst affected individuals of resentment against the state and its development model. Literature on Mozambican development points to the fact that although Mozambique has experienced very high growth rates over the past decade, most of this growth has been centred in Maputo, with little change
occurring in rural areas, particularly in the north (Cunguara & Hanlon, 2012; Giesbert & Schindler, 2012; Hanlon & Smart, 2012; Phiri, 2012). This was borne out over the course of this study, with both representatives of the state and individual citizens reporting what they see as a pro-south bias in Mozambican development processes. The Mozambican state has also been critiqued for its focus on mega-projects like the Nacala Corridor, which cater to macro-economic interests rather than the needs of Mozambique’s rural population (Castel-Branco, 2003; Hanlon & Smart, 2012; Tate, 2011). These types of investments have been criticised for the lack of ability contribute to local development, which in many instances is stagnating while rural poverty grows (Cunguara & Hanlon, 2012; Phiri, 2012). The theme of development not meeting the needs of Mozambique’s people is reflected in interviews both with state officials and within local communities in the north (Domingues, 29/05/201). Focus group interviews along the N13 bore out this same theme. Although individuals along the N13 demonstrated little understanding of how development decisions in Mozambique are made, there was a general understanding that development processes were not designed to meet their needs first.

6.4. CONCLUSION

This chapter contributes to the overall aim of the study by interpreting how development within the country is generalised, both in Maputo and the study area. To this end, it pursues two of this study’s research objectives, namely: To explore the importance of infrastructure investment and infrastructural mega-projects, like the Nacala Corridor and the rehabilitation of the N13, in Mozambique’s overall development vision, and; To investigate how Mozambique’s development vision and agenda is interpreted and received by local communities, specifically in the rural north. To address these objectives it draws on the perspectives of key-stakeholders regarding development within and outside of the state, as well as those of affected individuals along the N13.

The evidence presented suggests that the Nacala Corridor and the rehabilitation of the N13 Highway is not only one of the most significant and high-profile development interventions occurring within Mozambique, but also typifies development processes in that country (Byiers & Vanheukelom, 2014; Kuhlmann et al., 2011; Tate, 2011). In this regard, Mozambique has demonstrated a clear break with the notion of the state as a developmental state of the past, and shows a strong commitment to the tenets of neoliberalism. Infrastructure investment, and
mega-projects in particular, reinforce this approach which places the state in a planning and facilitating role and allocating significant responsibility for implementation to intermediaries, like donors and the private sector. However, the role of civil society organisations, in these processes is less clearly defined. Although representatives of the state see them as crucial to developmental decision-making processes, civil society in Mozambique does not have the influence or authority to mediate successfully between citizen and state (Kepa, 2014).

Motivated by a genuine ‘will to improve,’ the goal of the Mozambican state is undoubtedly to improve the welfare of its citizens. Nonetheless, from the perspective of stakeholders within the state, the Mozambican government largely sees development in broad strokes; namely, that radical schemes for improvement that will help Mozambique ‘catch up’ after decades of conflict and instability. Yet, as literature on infrastructural mega-projects suggests, and respondents along the N13 affirmed, these types of radical changes are often rejected by the citizenry which they are meant to serve, who see them as fulfilling alternative development agendas rather than catering to local needs (Castel-Branco, 2003, 2007; Castel-Branco et al., 2015; Castel-Branco et al., 2005; Hanlon, 1996; Hanlon & Smart, 2012; Scott, 1998). To these individuals development is a more grounded, contextual concept, which eschews radical forms of change in favour of incremental and concrete improvements in their quality of life. This finding supports Scott’s (1985, 1998) notions regarding the ways poor citizens relate to development. However, in the case of Mozambique this rejection of the state’s neoliberal development vision is also accompanied by a sense of citizen disenfranchisement from developmental decision-making processes, a feeling that was amplified within citizens in the study area in their perception of a pro-south bias on behalf of the state, as well as resurgent political violence across the country.
CHAPTER SEVEN:
‘SEEING THE STATE’: DEVELOPMENT AND PARTICIPATION
ALONG THE N13

“Why should we complain about the dust? Dust is just earth, before we were born we were earth, and we will return to the earth again after we die. On the contrary, when we see dust, we are happy because we know that something is being done. Dust is development.”
– Chefe do Posto of Natikiri (Paulino, 16/06/2014)

7.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter, the second of three data chapters, presents the analysis of development and change in Mozambique, particularly within the context of the Nacala Development Corridor and the N13 Highway Rehabilitation Programme. The previous chapter, Chapter Six, framed Mozambican development at a national level by exploring the ways in which development within the country is understood, in Maputo and within the study area. In particular, it explores the role of infrastructure in the neoliberal state’s development vision, as well as how that vision is interpreted and accepted by local communities, specifically in the north. This analysis suggested that a number of significant disconnects exist between citizen and state over the nature of development in Mozambique.

This chapter shifts the focus from infrastructural development at a national level to processes of change and participation experienced by communities affected by the Nacala Development Corridor and the N13 Highway Rehabilitation Programme. The aim of this thesis is to analyse the construction of the Nacala Development Corridor and the rehabilitation of the N13 Highway, in order to interrogate the impacts of the development on local citizens and examine the relationship between citizen and state within development processes. In order to contribute to this aim, this chapter contributes to answering five major research objectives, including: To examine how individuals within the study area interpret and react to the changes occurring within their communities; To explore how local communities have experienced the impacts of development, specifically the construction of the Nacala Development Corridor and the Rehabilitation of the N13 Highway; To examine the degree to which affected individuals along the N13 have participated in the negotiation of local development outcomes; To interrogate the role of intermediaries, such as civil society organisations and traditional leadership, in shaping
interactions between citizen and state along the N13, and; To explore how local development, the construction of the Nacala Development Corridor, and the N13 highway rehabilitation have affected the ways in which citizens and local agents of the state ‘see’ each other. These objectives contribute to the study’s overall objective to provide a theoretical understanding of state-citizen relations in development processes in a post-conflict developing country.

First, Section 7.2 investigates the ways in which citizens within the study area have experienced local development. It explores the ways in which respondents have been impacted by the development of the corridor and the rehabilitation of the N13, while analysing their impressions of change in their communities. Next, Section 7.3 examines how citizens negotiate with the state, through neoliberal technologies of rule such as public participation and consultation which have taken place along the highway, to shape local developmental outcomes. Finally, Section 7.4 concludes the chapter by analysing the implications that these interactions have on the lives of local people, the negotiation of development along the N13, as well as the development agenda of the Mozambican state. This analysis is continued in Chapter Eight which explores how respondents not only ‘see the state’, but also resist when confronted with adverse developmental outcomes.

7.2. ‘A ESTRADA N13’: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

7.2.1. Introduction

The communities through which the N13 highway passes have been historically neglected—first by the Portuguese colonial government, and then by the independent Mozambican state which superseded it (Funada-Classen, 2012; Israel, 2009; Newitt, 1995). As a consequence, the region has not experienced the rapid pace of development and change perceptible in the south, and in the capital Maputo in particular (Cunguara & Hanlon, 2012; Hanlon & Smart, 2012). However, as the quotation at the start of the chapter indicates, massive investments in infrastructure and extractive industries, typified by the Nacala Corridor and the rehabilitation of the N13, have begun to bring about significant change, both across the north of the country and within the study area of this research project which lies in the north of the country (Batwell, 2013; COMESA, 2013; Smith, 2012; Unknown, 2013). As an infrastructural mega-project, and what Scott (1998) labels an ‘exceptional scheme’, the Nacala Corridor is intended to coercively destroy existing spatial arrangements in order to impose new, ‘improved’ ones. Although the project is primarily designed to facilitate macro-economic growth, the local impacts on
individuals and communities, both positive and negative, have been significant (Dominguez-Torres & Briceño-Garmendia, 2011; Mold, 2012; Straub, 2008; Straub & Terada-Hagiwara, 2011; World Bank, 2010).

This section explores the experiences of individuals affected by the construction of the corridor and the rehabilitation of the N13. Section 7.2.2 begins by examining the ways in which local communities have been impacted by the development of the Corridor and the rehabilitation of the N13. Next, Section 7.2.3 analyses respondents’ impressions of development in their communities, including their feelings about change unrelated to the corridor project, in order to understand how they interpret change within the study area. Scott’s (1998) theories of ‘radical versus routine’ development and ‘exceptional schemes’ are employed as a conceptual frame for analysing the ways in which affected individuals along the N13 experience and interpret the changes taking place in their communities.

7.2.2. Experiencing the Rehabilitation of the N13

Life along the N13 is difficult for the majority of local communities. According to respondents within the study area, a principal cause of hardship has been the poor condition of the N13 itself, which has historically inhibited positive change within the region (AP149 #4, 22/07/2014; Metacusse, 02/08/2014; Neyma 18/07/2014). The disadvantages to local communities posed by the poor condition of the road include: a lack of transport, slow travel times due to pot-holes and other hazards in the road, depressed economic activity and trade, as well as environmental challenges like dust and erosion (AP #29, 01/08/2014; AP #31, 01/08/2014; Cuamba, 30/07/2014; Malema #1, 02/08/2014). To the individuals interviewed during this study, the value of rehabilitating the N13 is clear, and now that the project has begun, there is a palpable sense of anticipation for the project to be completed. The following quotes illustrate these expectations:

I believe that when the road is finished more transport options will arrive and prices will go down. Because now, at 25mzn150 a ride, the chapa [mini-bus taxi] is expensive for most of us here in the community…. The old road had too many bumps and holes.

149 Informal Interview with an Affected Person (see Chapter 5).
150 Mozambican Metical. At the time of the fieldwork it was valued at about 30 to the US Dollar. As of October 2016, its value had fallen to around 75 to the US Dollar.
and it was very dusty. But the new road will not have these problems (Rapale #1, 17/07/2014).

Many things are changing with this project as some of my neighbours have never seen a car. Now they come by often. The old road was completely destroyed and cars would take long hours and even a week to arrive here (Metacusse, 02/08/2014).

I thought [the rehabilitation] was a good idea. The old road was in very bad shape, so the improvements are needed. I appreciate the greater range of transport options that we will have. We need them [construction workers] to work quickly and finish the road (Namiconha, 19/17/2014).

Scott (1985, 1998) maintains that poor individuals who experience radical development interventions, his so called ‘exceptional schemes’, are ultimately uninterested in the drastic changes that such developments promise, but are instead concerned with negotiating marginal but concrete improvements to their quality of life and livelihoods. The findings from this study suggest that this attitude also applies to the way affected individuals react to the negative impacts of development interventions. Although citizens along the N13 embrace the broadly positive change which the rehabilitation represents, they are concerned with the disruptions that these developments will have on their daily activities and routines (Cebola, 13/11/2014).

Despite the optimism surrounding the project, the construction work associated with the rehabilitation has resulted in a number of negative impacts on local communities. Affected individuals along the N13 have experienced these impacts in diverse ways, including: challenges with resettlement, missing compensation for property damage, disruptions to transport, environmental hazards, and safety and health risks. However, in general, regarding the rehabilitation, participants focused on issues which they felt would immediately impact their ability to survive and earn a living, rather than more abstract or subtle impacts, which were not immediately apparent as argued by Scott (1976, 1998).

Due to the scope of the rehabilitation and the close proximity of communities to the road, the project includes a significant relocation and resettlement component for affected households.
Relocation is the responsibility of ANE\textsuperscript{151} representatives who work in conjunction with local officials (ADBG, 2009; AfDB, 2009). At the beginning of the road rehabilitation, when the new course of the road was being surveyed, ANE technicians marked structures (including businesses and houses) which would need to be removed in order to accommodate the expanded road surface (Bauque, 16/07/2014; Paulino, 16/07/2014). Because the rail line is also currently being rehabilitated as part of the NDC development, structures located in close proximity to the train were also marked for demolition. This includes structures within 50 metres of the new road surface and rail line (Namina, 18/07/2014). Affected households or business owners were either compensated for their loss, as calculated by ANE, or provided with a new home elsewhere (Kapango, 01/08/2014; Monteiro, 16/07/2014). Final payment decisions were made by ANE and funds were released to local authorities who are directly responsible for issuing payments to affected individuals\textsuperscript{152}.

The demolition of properties alongside the road, as well as the resettlement and relocation processes, have had a number of negative consequences within every community visited during the fieldwork. First, according to participants, the programme of compensation has neglected businesses affected by the rehabilitation (Malema #1, 02/08/2014; Ribáuè #1, 19/07/2014). Many communities along the N13 are characterised by sprawling thatch or wattle and daub markets (see Plate 5.5), located at points where the rail line and road meet, which have been established to cater to train passengers but stand vacant most of the time (Site visit, 28/03/2012). These markets represent significant investments in labour and resources within these communities, and provide a vital source of cash income (Site visit, 28/03/2012). Although these may be rebuilt, the spatial re-alignment of the new connections, as well as new restrictions against building too near the rail line and road would have a negative effect on affected small-business owners (Malema #1, 02/08/2014; Ribáuè #1, 19/07/2014).

Furthermore, according to respondents, the resettlement process itself has been beset by complications. Many participants reported knowing individuals who had had their homes demolished but had yet to receive payment (AP #25, 30/07/2014; Chica, 19/07/2014; Lurio, 31/07/2014; Natikiri #1, 16/07/2014). A respondent from Nacata related her own experience

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{151} Administração Nacional de Estradas, the National Roads Administration
\item \textsuperscript{152} During a site visit to Nioce (02/08/2014) the author observed the day on which reimbursement payments were being made to affected individuals within the community. Claimants were made to queue outside the local Posto office, and received their sums in cash, directly from the Chefe de Localidade. There was a significant armed presence supervising the event, and the atmosphere was tense.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
They were supposed to give me money for relocation. The local leaders were meant to ask me how much they needed to give me, but they never came. I have 13 children. [Eventually] they gave me a small amount of money, but what can I buy for 13 children with so little [money] (Nacata, 01/08/2014)?

Furthermore, nearly every respondent who described being affected by resettlement expressed confusion over the ways in which compensation payments were calculated. Although one local government official insisted that the payment process was transparent, many affected individuals described the system as arbitrary (Vaquina, 30/07/2014; Namina, 18/07/2014). One affected individual described their experience as follows: “I had two houses and they decided without any discussion that would pay me 30 000Mt. I really don’t know how they decided. They did not ask me anything” (AP #39, 02/08/2014).

In addition to a difficult resettlement process, other types of property damage were caused by the construction to fields, fruit trees, and other assets. Compensation for property damage is meant to follow the same procedure as the relocation of houses and businesses, with affected individuals being compensated prior to their property being demolished (Kapango, 01/08/2014; Bauque, 02/08/2014). However, unlike home owners, who for the most part have received some compensation, very few respondents described receiving payment for other types of property damage, with at least one individual in every focus group expressing a grievance against the project (Mavila Uma, 21/07/2014; Muessi, 01/08/2014; Mutivasse #1, 17/07/2014; Ncuca #1, 17/07/2014; Namiconha, 19/07/2014; Namina, 19/07/2014; Nioce, 02/08/2014; Rapale #1, 17/07/2014). Furthermore, according to state officials, a disconnect exists regarding compensation processes between ANE, local government, and the construction contractors. Payments were issued at the beginning of construction for expected damage, however the actual damage has far exceeded what was predicted, and has continued throughout the duration of the rehabilitation, with the result being that most affected individuals have not been compensated (Pinto, 17/07/2014; Paulino, 16/07/2014). Moreover, according to local officials, these impacts have been exacerbated by the Chinese contractors, who, in the opinion of several
respondents within government, are unable or unwilling to communicate with stakeholders and refuse to take responsibility for unforeseen damages153 (Lobo, 02/08/2014; Bila, 01/08/2014).

In addition to the destruction of property, the rehabilitation has had a significant impact on the daily routines and livelihoods of affected individuals. First, respondents reported that the construction has disrupted public transport on the road, with fewer chapas running than before the rehabilitation and at more irregular times (Namiconha, 19/07/2014; Nioce, 02/08/2014). However, most respondents are confident that the project will have a significantly positive impact on transport options when completed (for example, Rapale #1, 17/07/2014; Marusso, 31/07/2014). Another disruption stems from the rehabilitation and realignment of the rail line as part of the corridor development. An impact of this work has been the alteration of the train schedule, so that the travels between Nampula and Cuamba less frequently, is more crowded than before, and no longer stops at a number of the communities along the route (e.g. Chica, Lurio, and Marusso) (Lobo, 02/08/2014; Uaferro, 19/10/2012). With the train no longer stopping at local stations, individuals who had previously relied upon it to travel or carry their goods have been left without transport (Lurio, 31/07/2014; Marusso, 31/07/2014; Mavila Uma, 21/07/2014; Mutivasse, 17/07/2014). Furthermore, the sprawling markets which characterise points where the train line and road meet have been abandoned, and as a consequence affected villages have lost a vital source of cash income (Site visit, 28/03/2012; Cuamba, 30/07/2014). As one respondent asked, “How can I sell a banana when the train doesn’t stop?” (Nacata, 01/08/204).

Typically, mega-projects, such as the N13 and the Nacala Development Corridor, produce a wide array of negative environmental impacts (Douven et al., 2012; Forman et al., 2002; Mendoza et al., 2007; Mu & Van de Walle, 2011; Pieck, 2013; Trombulak & Frissell, 2001). In other contexts these impacts have included land degradation, pollution, erosion, or water contamination (Forman et al., 2002; Trombulak & Frissell, 2001). However, in affected communities alongside the N13, environmental impacts were reported as a minor concern, with respondents only speaking about environmental issues that immediately affected their lives, while being unaware of, or ignoring, impacts that were more subtle or potentially longer-lasting (AP #19, 19/07/2014; Malema #1, 02/08/2014). In other words, participants focused on issues

which they felt would immediately impact their ability to survive and earn a living, rather than more widespread environmental concerns which were not immediately apparent or visible and those that may not have been experienced (Scott, 1985, 1998).

According to participants, the most visible environmental impact of the rehabilitation is the dust generated by the roadwork (Site visit, 17/07/2014; Malema #2, 02/08/2014; Nacuca #1, 17/07/2014). The soil in the region gives rise to a fine, red dust which has the propensity to cling to every surface, particularly during the dry season (Site visit, 17/07/2014). As respondents described, dust caused by passing vehicles, construction equipment, and excavations has caused significant discomfort to individuals living in close proximity to the road; it has degraded their quality of life, and in some cases is causing respiratory issues (Muessi, 01/08/2014; Namina, 18/07/2014; Rapale #1, 17/07/2014). At the time of the fieldwork, construction, in some form, was ongoing across the entire breadth of Phase One of the NRCP (See Figure 4.2). Even in areas where work was not immediately occurring the constant passage of construction vehicles generated significant dust (Site Visit, 31/07/2014). Participants blame the construction for an increase in dust, however, rather than resenting the project for the dust, most affected individuals view the rehabilitation as a solution to a long-standing problem (AP #11, 22/07/2014; AP #24, 30/07/2014; Nacuca #1, 17/07/2014; Namina, 18/07/2014; Natikiri #2, 16/07/2014; Zimbabwe, 21/07/2014). A typical response is as follows:

When they first started the road many people were getting sick because there was too much dust. However, we have lived with dust our entire lives. When they finish and we have a tar road then that will no longer be a problem. In the past, when you travelled to go to town you would arrive very dirty, especially the collar of your shirt…. you couldn’t wear white pants because they would get so dirty (Rapale #4, 17/07/2014).

In other words, from the perspective of individuals alongside the N13, dust has always been an issue, part of the ‘natural’ order of life, according to one local official, and an impact of the construction that is worth bearing (Paulino, 16/07/2014). Furthermore, the cause of the dust, the construction of the road, has also led to one of the most tangible benefits of rehabilitation for many participants. At the time of the study (July-August 2014) some sections of the road had already been resurfaced, including a long section between Chica and Ribáuè, with affected
local communities reporting a dramatic reduction in dust (Chica, 19/07/2014; Namiconha, 19/07/2014).

A final impact of the rehabilitation, as reported by respondents, has been a number of health and safety issues stemming from the construction and the improvement of the road surface. First, a number of citizens reported an increase in crime, which they associate with the rehabilitation (Mavila Uma, 21/07/2014; Nioce, 02/08/2014). However, upon further investigation the connection of crime to the roadworks became unclear, and seemed to rather reflect an increase in politically-motivated violence in the area (AIM, 2013). Secondly, because of the high volume of pedestrian traffic along the N13, road safety has always been an issue for local communities (Namiconha, 19/07/2014; Natikiri #1, 16/07/2014; Natikiri #2, 16/07/2014; Nioce, 02/08/2014; Rapale #4, 17/07/2014). However, since the beginning of the rehabilitation, the construction work has resulted in improved road surfaces, meaning higher traffic flows which are travelling at greater speeds. As result, a number of respondents reported an increase in accidents, both between vehicles, and involving pedestrians154 (Mavila Uma, 21/07/2014; Mutuali, 01/08/2014). In many instances these incidents were attributed to the road rehabilitation, with several participants commenting on the reckless way in which construction vehicles were driven through communities155 (AP #14, 22/07/2014; AP #34, 01/08/2014). Accidents were also attributed to a number of other factors, including a lack of sidewalks, poor signage along the roadside, and a lack of awareness within roadside communities about how to safely cross the street (AP #44, 02/08/2014; AP #50, 02/08/2014; Chica, 19/07/2014; Cuamba, 30/07/2014; Mutivasse #2, 17/07/2014). Finally, even in communities which had not experienced accidents, the high speed of traffic was a commonly cited complaint (AP #8, 22/07/2014; AP #9, 22/07/2014; Chica, 19/07/2014; Namina, 18/07/2014).

Not all of the immediate impacts of the rehabilitation work have been negative. Over half of the respondents reported no impacts whatsoever (Cuamba, 30/07/2014; Malema #1, 02/08/2014; Mavila Uma, 21/07/2014; Metacusse, 02/08/2014; Mutivasse #1, 17/07/2014).

154 During the course of the fieldwork the researcher personally witnessed several traffic incidents, including a motorist striking a cyclist near Mutuali and pedestrians being bumped by vehicles in both Namiconha and Mutivasse. Fortunately, none of these incidents caused serious injury (Site Visit, 17/07/2014).
155 When arranging s near Mutuali the researcher passed through a community which was in the middle of conducting a funeral for an individual who had recently been struck and killed by a truck driven by a foreign contractor working on the road (31/07/2014). Local officials as well as ANE claimed to have no knowledge of the incident.
Others described positive side-effects from the construction (Chica, 19/07/2014; Marusso, 31/07/2014; Metacusse, 02/08/204; Muessi, 01/08/2014). First, by hiring local labour to work on the road construction, the project has improved the livelihoods of those who have been able to find employment with the project. While none of the participants in the study were currently working on the construction at the time of the fieldwork, a few individuals had worked on the road in the past, and many more reported that they had friends or family who had been employed (AP #12, 22/07/2014; Ribáué #2, 19/07/2014). Although there have been shortcomings with the job creation aspects of the rehabilitation (which are discussed further in Chapter Eight), those who have been impacted by the road are nevertheless grateful for the opportunity to work. Moreover, even those who were unable to find employment have been able to benefit from the economic activity stimulated locally by the construction. Many\textsuperscript{156} participants who work part-time as vendors or shop-keepers reported being able to sell products like food and drinks\textsuperscript{157} to the construction workers (Namina, 18/07/2014; AP #15, 22/07/2014). In addition to prepared meals, fruits and vegetables, the most common food item sold along the N13 is sugar cane. Many of the communities along the road, like Mutivasse, are famous nation-wide for the quality and flavour of their sugar cane (Site Visit, 28/07/2014). Vendors reported benefitting from the increase in vehicle traffic which has accompanied road improvement (AP #48, 02/08/2014; AP #22, 22/07/2014). As a participant from Malema described, “Many drivers do not pass this way when it rains, they take the Gurúè road instead. But with the improving road, more cars are passing by\textsuperscript{158}” (Malema #2, 02/08/2014).

Finally, although most respondents reported negative side-effects as a result of the construction, there was a general consensus amongst most participants that impacts were to be expected and that short-term inconveniences were worth bearing for the new road. A respondent in Rapale articulated this belief:

\begin{quote}
We felt that when the construction began good things and bad things would happen.
We knew that at first there would be negative impacts, like farms being destroyed, but
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{156} This varied by community. Focus groups held in or near markets were almost entirely made up of vendors of some sort. In more rural areas, typically one or two individuals from each group (usually women) participated in some form of informal trade. Furthermore, due to the nature of the informal interviews, around half of those approached were traders situated alongside the road.

\textsuperscript{157} Including beer and other alcoholic beverages (Site Visit, 28/07/2014).

\textsuperscript{158} While under construction the road is in better condition than before, as the surface has been levelled and the road widened to provide better access for construction crews and equipment (Reddy, 21/02/2014).
in the end it would be good for the community. When they start there are always problems—but in the end it will come right (Rapale #1, 17/07/2014).

This response, a belief that conditions would improve in the long-term, was common within affected communities (e.g. Chica, 19/07/2014; Metacusse, 02/08/2014; Natikiri #2, 16/07/2014). Furthermore, when individuals did complain about road impacts, their anger was directed not at the project itself, but towards the workers and contractors doing the construction (Malema #1, 02/08/2014; Namiconha, 19/07/2014; Nioce, 02/08/2014). Affected individuals along the N13 resist development and the state mainly by laying complaints and engaging in processes for addressing them (this engagement is the primary focus of Chapter Eight).

7.2.3. Impressions of Change

There is a growing literature on development in Mozambique which demonstrates the recent developmental changes that are occurring in the north, e.g. (Akwagyiram, 2013; Batwell, 2013; Hanlon & Smart, 2012; Phiri, 2012; Tate, 2011). Since the beginning of the road rehabilitation respondents have witnessed profound changes in their communities. Many of these impacts have been negative, however, overwhelmingly, during the duration of the fieldwork residents reported a consistent impression of development and positive change within their communities and the surrounding region (Natikiri #1, 16/07/2014; Natikiri #2, 16/07/2014; Nioce, 02/08/2014; Rapale #1, 17/07/2014). Many of these impressions were reported to be as a result of the rehabilitation, but included an awareness of the increased investment and economic activity in the north. This section explores these impressions of change, from the perspective of community members along the N13. Residents’ perceptions of change largely ignore Mozambique’s macro-economic developments, and rather focus on small, everyday changes which impact their daily lives and routines (Cebola, 13/11/2014). These include quality of life improvements, like a healthier diet or better housing, as well as improvements in trade, public services, and mobility which are the result of targeted state interventions (Rapale #4, 17/07/2014; Ribáuè #1, 19/07/2014).

The study area [phase one of the NRCP] is largely rural and has been historically isolated from the rest of the country. However, one of the most widely reported changes occurring along the N13 has been an increase in trade, as well as an increase in the amount of consumer goods available in the area. Although this trend has benefited from upgrades to local infrastructure, it
reflects a process that had begun prior to the rehabilitation and is instead indicative of improvements in north-south transport links\textsuperscript{159} across the length of Mozambique (Barros, 04/12/2013; Pratchett, 04/11/2013). The District Chief of Ribáuè spoke about the increase in trade which he has observed in the district, as well as the correlation between consumer products and development:

I believe that since you arrived here, you'll never leave this district without buying anything. Even for you guys, you wouldn't leave without getting a good impression of the Ribáuè district. Today we can see cars coming into the village, people selling their goods, and products coming into the district from other places. This mean investments are being made here (Neyma, 18/07/2014).

Respondents near market towns agreed, reporting favorably on the wider range of products available, including brands from Maputo (Chica, 19/07/2014; Namina, 18/07/2014). The increase in trade has also meant that goods, like building materials or motorcycles, which could previously only be purchased in larger towns like Nampula or Cuamba, are increasingly available in local markets (Namina, 18/07/2014; Rapale #4, 17/07/2014). As a consequence of increased trade and improved transport, many individuals reported spending more time visiting cities, like Nampula, than in the past (Nacuca #2, 17/07/2014; Namina, 18/07/2014). For one respondent, this material (and for others, physical) connection to the rest of the country in the south has helped to heal regional divisions felt by the north since the end of the Civil War in 1994 (Chica, 19/07/2014).

In addition to an abundance of goods, respondents reported experiencing greater access to public services, including education, electricity, and healthcare, than ever before. For example, many communities have, in the past decade, received new primary schools, while the facilities at some existing schools have been upgraded (Chica, 19/07/2014; Nacuca #1, 17/07/2014; Rapale #1, 17/07/2014). Furthermore, although the area still critically lacks secondary schools, at the time of the fieldwork, two new schools had recently opened (Macie, 31/07/2014; Lurio, 31/07/2014; Mutivasse #2, 17/07/2014). Moreover, medical facilities in the district capitals of

\textsuperscript{159} This primarily includes improvements to the N1 and the rehabilitation of bridges across the Zambezi. Prior to the re-opening of the Dona Ana railroad bridge and the construction of the Armando Emilio Guebuza Bridge, both in 2009, the only way to cross the Zambezi with a vehicle was via the bridge in Tete, or the car ferry at Caia. The time lost using either option meant that prior to 2009 refrigerated or frozen goods could not be transported from the south of the country to the north, and vice versa (Pratchett, 04/11/2013; Barros, 04/12/2013).

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the area (Rapale, Ribáuè, Malema, and Cuamba) have been upgraded to provide a wider array of services, eliminating the need for residents to travel to Nampula for most forms of care\textsuperscript{160} (Chica, 19/07/2014; Muessi, 01/08/2014). Finally, although most households in the area lack electricity, recent connections to the district towns have brought individuals into contact with the benefits of electricity and electronic goods (Mutivasse #1, 17/07/2014). This access, in addition to the rapid spread of telecommunication coverage\textsuperscript{161} along the N13, have made cell phones a part of daily life for most individuals, a change, which, to many participants, represents the most significant dividend of development (Marusso, 31/07/2014; Nacuca #2, 17/07/2014; Namina, 18/07/2014).

Not all impressions of developments within the study area have been positive. Some participants reported a feeling of bewilderment brought on by the rapid pace of change occurring in some communities (Lurio, 31/07/2014). However, for others, although there has been perceptible changes in the area, these have occurred too slowly, and too sporadically to meet the developmental needs of the area (Chica, 19/07/2014; Cuamba, 30/07/2014; Malema #1, 02/08/2014; Zimbabwe, 21/07/2014). Furthermore, for others who have not experienced the benefits mentioned above, there is a palpable sense that recent developments have not been for them or have passed them by (AP #26, 31/07/2014; Cuamba, 30/07/2014; Lurio, 31/07/2014; Malema #1, 02/08/2014; Mavila Uma, 21/07/2014; Muessi, 01/08/2014; Mutuali, 01/08/2014; Nacata, 01/08/2014; Zimbabwe, 21/07/2014). This was most frequently reported by respondents who desired specific interventions, like electricity, jobs, or clean water, which had not been delivered (Chica, 19/07/2014; Marusso, 31/07/2014; Mavila Uma, 21/07/2014; Metacusse, 02/08/2014; Muessi, 01/08/2014; Mutivasse #1, 17/07/2014; Nacuca #1, 17/07/2014; Nacuca #2, 17/07/2014; Rapale #4, 17/07/2014). In general, most respondents exhibited a desire to see a more interventionist role played by the state towards the provision of social services and other developmental outcomes.

Finally, a number of respondents reported their lives changing for the worse in recent years (AP #18, 22/07/2014; AP #2, 22/07/2014; AP #22, 30/07/2014; AP #23, 30/07/2014; Natikiri...}

\textsuperscript{160} Respondents, particularly those in rural areas, still reported having to travel significant distances for medical care, with pregnant women being affected above all. For example, several respondents reported local women being forced to give birth alongside the road after trying to reach a hospital by foot (Muessi, 02/08/2014; Nacuca #1, 17/07/2014).

\textsuperscript{161} Telecommunication towers have become a common sight along the N13, and most communities have access to at least one mobile network (Site Visit, 18/07/2014).
This seemed most prominent in larger towns, like Ribáuè or Malema, where the effects of increased commerce have raised the cost of living, but not contributed to the incomes of many participants (Malema #1, 02/08/2014; Ribáuè #1, 19/07/2014; Mutivasse #2, 17/07/2014).

Despite these concerns, respondents did not demonstrate an interest in the macro-economic, and potentially more transformative changes occurring in the area (such as the corridor developments associated with resource extraction). Rather, they focused their attention on smaller changes and more localised interventions which have positively or negatively impacted their ability to earn a living (Scott, 1976, 1998). This perspective has also informed respondents’ hopes for the future, with most expecting further improvements to their quality of life, while others are uncertain about how future developments might affect them (AP #36, 02/08/2014; Rapale #1, 17/07/2014; Ribáuè #1, 19/07/2014).

As the following quotes illustrate, for the overwhelming majority of respondents, hopes for the future are informed by their experiences with the rehabilitation of the N13, which according to these individuals, has been the single greatest development to occur in the area:

I feel good about the future. The largest source of our happiness is the new road. When it is finished more development will follow (Natikiri #1, 16/07/2014).

Change will come quickly now that they are fixing the road. For example, now we have no electricity or lighting. When they bring that to our community things will be better. It will be easier to make money, to get transport. That is the way we are supposed to live (Rapale #1, 17/07/2014).

We can expect many benefits from this rehabilitation as we want this area to develop. It will facilitate progress and maybe we will have shops and many other things (AP #42, 02/08/2014).

However, the rehabilitation has not affected the communities evenly, with a few respondents either not experiencing its benefits, or being unduly affected by its negative impacts. For these individuals the future is less promising, and for others, uncertain (AP #49, 02/08/2014; Mutuali, 01/08/2014; Ribáuè #1, 19/07/2014). As one respondent described, “There will be changes,
yes, that is certain. But development? I don’t know what the future holds” (Nacata, 01/08/2014).

7.3. CITIZEN AND STATE ENGAGEMENT ALONG THE N13

7.3.1. Introduction

Individual interpretations of development are inherently complicated as well as highly personal. In their examination of local developmental processes in India, Corbridge et al. (2005) observe that for the rural poor, perceptions of government and government institutions are framed through the everyday interactions with the state which accompany development. These interactions, which can range from requesting identity documents to accessing state healthcare, seem routine to citizens in urban or developed contexts (Corbridge et al., 2005). Corbridge et al. (2005) argue that for citizens in rural areas, who have previously been on the margin of state political and socio-economic structures, it is through these interactions in which the state increasingly ‘comes into view’ moreover, sightings of the state are rarely straightforward or unitary, and the success or failure of these interactions strongly influence the ways in which citizens perceive the state.

The previous Section described the myriad of ways in which citizens along the N13 have experienced development occurring within their communities. This section, continues Corbridge et al.’s (2005) metaphor of ‘sight’ and ‘seeing’, in order to analyse the ways in which various actors participate in the negotiation of local development outcomes, and how these roles are viewed and interpreted by citizens along the N13. Section 7.3.2 shows how affected individuals along the N13 interpret their own role in shaping local development outcomes. Next, Section 7.3.3 describes ‘sightings’ of the state, by local people, as well as ‘sightings’ of intermediaries involved with development such as traditional leadership, civil society organisations, and construction contractors (Corbridge et al., 2005). Finally, Section 7.3.4 explores how these actors intersect through neoliberal technologies of rule, i.e. public participation, to negotiate local developmental outcomes along the N13 (Inda, 2005; Lemke, 2007; Rose et al., 2006).
7.3.2. The Role of Citizens in Shaping Development

In *Seeing the State*, Corbridge et al. (2005) describe a rural population in India which seeks to engage with the state on development issues as equal stakeholders through legally defined rights or politically inspired expectations. As Chapter Two of this thesis described, Mozambican citizens, through the 1990 *Constitution*, also have a legal right to participate in developmental decision-making processes (Mozambique, 2004). However, evidence from this study shows that in Mozambique, the general population usually does not meaningfully contribute to developmental outcomes, and certainly not from a position of equality with the state.

From the perspective of both affected individuals and the state, the role of poorer Mozambicans in the nation’s development processes is relatively limited. According to the representatives of the national government, the role of affected communities is to contribute local knowledge to planning processes and facilitate smooth project implementation (Abreu, 02/07/2014; Domingues, 29/07/2014). However, from the perspective of affected citizens along the N13, feelings of agency in development processes are low, and most respondents demonstrated a passive role in the rehabilitation, deferring stewardship of its success to the state (Chica, 19/07/2014; Metacusse, 02/08/2014; Natikiri #1, 16/07/2014). When asked how they contribute to local development, a respondent from the *comunidade* (community) of Zimbabwe summarised the role of his community, saying: “We don’t. We just wait” (Zimbabwe, 21/07/2014). Others, however, expressed a desire for greater agency to contribute on local development issues (Ribáuè #1, 19/07/2014; Zimbabwe, 21/07/2014). To Cebola 162 (13/11/2014), these attitudes speak more to the de facto disenfranchisement of poor Mozambicans than to a lack of interest or intellectual capacity. He describes being surprised during focus group interviews by the candour of some respondents:

> What I learned is that these people see what is happening in their communities. They have opinions, and they want to express their points of view. But they have no outlets for expressing these things. And that surprised me; that people want to speak, they want to talk about the way they feel about development. They just don't have the means and the opportunities to talk about these things (Cebola, 13/11/2014).

162 The translator and research assistant for the fieldwork.
The way citizens along the N13 use their voices to both reinforce this existing relationship and critically ‘push back’ or struggle against the state is a central point of Chapter Eight.

7.3.3. Seeing the State

Although the Mozambican state has shown a commitment to neoliberal developmental ideologies, the absence of an empowered citizenry and civil society has contributed to the centralisation of power within state institutions (Corbridge et al., 2005; Scott, 2011). The previous chapter showed that most individuals within the study area look to the government in Maputo for development. However, to the majority of respondents, the national government is a very distant and nebulous institution, with its power barely visible in their lives. Nonetheless, individuals along the N13 still ‘see the state’, not through a connection to central government, but rather through their everyday interactions with local government, the most visible representations of the state in rural areas, as well as a variety of intermediaries which interceded within development processes (Corbridge et al., 2005). Corbridge et al. (2005) use the term ‘intermediaries’ to refer to individuals or entities which operate between citizen and state. Furthermore, although these interactions have occurred here for decades, they have dramatically intensified with recent developments, affecting the way that individuals along the N13 interpret the role of the state in their lives and communities. This section explores the ways in which affected individuals ‘see the state’ through the rehabilitation of the N13. It describes the role of local government in development processes from the perspective of affected individuals and the state. Moreover, it examines respondents’ interactions with other intermediaries existing within the study area, including traditional leadership, civil society organisations, and other agents of the state associated with the rehabilitation, such as construction contractors.

The highly centralised nature of the Mozambican state delegates a peripheral role to local government within developmental decision-making processes. Even at the provincial level, regional authorities have very little agency in development decisions, and local government is legally bound to obey directives made at the national government-level in Maputo, even when they conflict with local interests163 (Vieira, 06/08/2014). From the perspective of one

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163 The Mozambican state has made some efforts to decentralise development decision-making processes through the District Development Fund (FDD), which allocates yearly funds to the districts to spend on local development
representative of the state, this allows for consensus within the state on development issues, valuable when coordinating mega-projects where local benefits may not be clear (Neyma, 18/07/2014).

Despite this level of national control, or perhaps because of it, the study reveals a significant unity of purpose and message from representatives of the state, both in Maputo and within the study area (Domingues, 29/05/2014; Abreu, 02/07/2014; Pinto, 16/07/2014; Campos, 15/07/2014). To Pratchett (04/11/2013), much of this unity comes from the monopoly that Frelimo maintains over state power. He argues that, despite recent political challenges, Frelimo’s control is still quite substantial, a power base partly maintained through the stifling of local initiative (Pratchett, 04/11/2013). In regards to over-active local government he argues that, “[Frelimo] have this kind of history of, as soon as someone starts to get too noisy in that position, or to speak on behalf of government… they sort of chop them down” (Pratchett, 04/11/2013). He notes that this tendency is even stronger with regards to central government’s interactions with local government in the north where opposition parties, including Renamo, have traditionally drawn their greatest support, and growing investment appears to be making office-bearers bolder than Frelimo is comfortable with (Pratchett, 04/11/2014). Pratchett (04/11/2014) agrees that despite this reluctance to decentralise decision-making power, the Mozambican state nonetheless delegates significant authority to local officials and traditional leadership to implement national developmental initiatives.

Within the study area, the state is represented by local officials in the districto (district), posto (post), and localidade (locality) offices164, who serve, according to respondents, as the most visible extension of the state within their communities165. Prior to the road rehabilitation local officials played a constant but minor role in most communities, deferring to traditional leadership on day to day issues of governance, but serving as gatekeepers for the limited range of state services available in rural communities (Cebola, 13/11/2014; Lobo, 02/08/2014; Lurio, 31/07/2014; Marusso, 31/07/2014; Monteiro, 16/07/2014). Since the start of the rehabilitation and the recent surge of investment in the north, however, the relationship between local government and the public has changed. Increased social services, like new schools and health interventions (Domínguez-Torres & Briceño-Garmendia, 2011). However, mega-projects, like the Nacala Corridor remain firmly controlled by the national government (Vieira, 06/08/2014).

164 Including the Chefe do Districto, the Chefe do Posto, the Chefe de Localidade, and the Secretario (Palembe and Rusere, 17/10/2012)
165 See Appendix II for a flow chart depicting administrative hierarchies within the study area.
clinics, have raised the frequency of interactions of citizens with local officials (Bila, 01/08/2014; Mocumbi, 16/07/2014). Furthermore, the road rehabilitation has added a new dynamic to past interactions, with local officials now serving as the public face of the construction work and negotiating its effects with affected individuals and communities (Chica, 19/07/2014; Cuamba, 30/07/2014; Mutivasse 01/08/2014). Moreover, local officials are increasingly approaching communities in order to communicate project details and consult citizens on impacts of the road (Bila, 01/08/2014; Paulino, 16/07/2014; Vaquina, 30/07/2014). These interactions between citizen and state related to the road rehabilitation are one of the few ways in which affected individuals can interact with local officials (see Section 7.3.4).

In addition to local government, other agents of the state operate within the study area and influence the way in which citizens ‘see the state’ (Corbridge et al., 2005). Greater traffic on the road has contributed to an increased police presence in many communities, as well their presence at the frequent roadblocks which citizens have to negotiate when passing through the major towns (Site Visit, 01/08/2014). This includes permanent police checkpoints between Nampula and Rapale and between Cuamba and Lurio (Site Visit, 01/08/2014). Despite this increased level of policing, and the sporadically heavy-handed nature of Mozambican law enforcement, many respondents expressed a desire for an even more prominent police presence within their communities\(^\text{166}\) (Zimbabwe, 21/07/2014; Nioce, 02/08/2014; Cebola, 13/11/2014; Site Visit, 16/07/2014).

Finally, the rehabilitation work has brought representatives of the national government, in the form of ANE technicians, to the study area. Although local citizens do not interact with them directly on a day-to-day basis, ANE representatives were present during public consultations at the beginning of the project, and ANE branded vehicles are frequently sighted along the highway (Bauque, 02/08/2014; Campos, 15/07/2014; Chetty, 21/07/2014; Zucula, 16/07/2014). Most individuals have correctly interpreted the central role that ANE plays within the resettlement and compensation processes (Cuamba, 30/07/2014; Mutivasse #1, 17/07/2014; Ribáuè #1, 19/07/2014). Thus, to the average individual along the N13, ANE occupies a powerful but mysterious role in the rehabilitation and life of affected communities, and is the most visible representation of national government in the area.

\(^{166}\) The way that the Mozambican population ‘sees the state’ through the bodies and actions of its police force would be an intriguing topic for further research.
Corbridge et al. (2005) describe local political society as providing links between ‘government’ and ‘the public’, while brokering deals which hold patterns of authority firmly in place. Although not as well developed as the political society which Corbridge et al. (2005) observe in India, within the study area a number of intermediaries occupy this space, operating between citizen and state in development processes. Historically, in Mozambique, traditional leadership has fulfilled the role of mediators between citizen and state (Buur & Kyed, 2006; Kyed & Buur, 2006). In most rural communities, traditional leaders represented and spoke for the people, while local officials served as liaisons between traditional leadership and higher levels of government (Bastos, 21/07/2014; Jumisse, 21/07/2014). Although traditional leadership still serves an intermediary role, evidence shows that affected individuals are increasingly accessing local officials directly on issues related to the road rehabilitation and its impacts. This includes compensation for damage, relocation, and employment, among others (see Section 7.2.2). However, in rural communities in which ‘sightings’ of the state are fewer, traditional leadership still serves as the principal mediator between citizen and state, and the primary conduit through which these citizens access government (AP #11, 22/07/2014; AP #16, 22/07/2014; AP #18, 22/07/2014; AP #21, 30/07/2014; AP #23, 30/07/2014; AP #23, 30/07/2014; AP #26, 31/07/2014; Chica, 19/07/2014; Lurio, 31/07/2014; Marusso, 31/07/2014; Muessi, 01/08/2014; Nacuca #1, 17/07/2014).

In most developed nation contexts, civil society occupies the principal space within political society (O'Connell, 1999). However, as Chapter Six described, Mozambican civil society is poorly positioned to meaningfully engage the state over developmental issues. Additionally, Mozambican civil society is even weaker in the provinces than in the capital, Maputo, a weakness Kepa (2014) attributes to a number of factors, including poor administrative capacity, low coordination between groups, a lack of dedication to social justice, and the centralisation of power at the top which limits grassroots participation. The evidence shows that this observation applies within the study area, where civil society organisations are present, but are largely ineffectual and serve only niche purposes (Site Visit, 02/08/2014).

Of the communities consulted, about half had active civil society organisations, including: Lurio (31/07/2014), Malema (02/08/2014), Marusso (31/07/2014), Nacuca (17/07/2014), Namiconha (19/07/2014), Nioce (02/08/2014), and Rapale (17/07/2014). Furthermore, two other communities, Mutivasse (17/07/2014) and Mutuali (01/08/2014), had had local
organisations, but they were no longer functioning. There did not appear to be an obvious pattern for why some communities had active organisations, and why others did not. The types of organisations that exist are: informal farmer’s co-operatives, which collectively buy, sell, and market farmer’s produce; community market organisations which regulate markets, and; savings and micro-credit organisations, predominantly organised by women (Site Visit, 02/08/2014). However, membership does not seem to be widespread. Even within communities in which organisations were reported to exist, most respondents were unaware of their presence (Malema #1, 02/08/2014; Malema #2, 02/08/2014; Mutivasse #2, 17/07/2014; Nacuca #2, 17/07/2014). Furthermore, these organisations pursue very specific objectives, and according to their own members, are unable to, or are disinterested in challenging the dominance of the state in development processes (Anacieto, 02/08/2014; Mocumbi, 16/07/2014; Piuza, 02/08/2014).

Finally, a constant and highly visible intermediary presence within the study area are the construction workers and the foreign contractors, who are responsible for the rehabilitation work (Site visit, 16/07/2014). Although these actors are company employees, they operate with the tacit backing of state power and are accountable to the state (Mutuali, 01/08/2014; Nioce, 02/08/2014; AP #23, 30/07/2014). Interactions with the construction workers were reported by respondents as being generally pleasant, although brief (Lurio, 31/07/2014; Marusso, 31/07/2014; Mutivasse #2, 17/07/2014; Nacuca #1, 17/07/2014). A number of respondents had family or neighbours working on the road rehabilitation, while some vendors were also able to sell products to the workers (see Section 7.2) (Site Visit, 01/08/2014). However, a few individuals described their communities as having cooler relations with the construction crews (Malema #1, 02/08/2014; Malema #2, 02/08/2014; Mutuali, 01/08/2014; AP #40, 02/08/2014; AP #43, 02/08/2014). Furthermore, several respondents described being unable to communicate with the workers in their communities due to language differences because the employees were non-eMakua speakers from other parts of Mozambique, Malawi, or Tanzania (e.g. Metacusse, 02/08/2014; Namiconha 19/07/2014; Namina, 18/07/2014; Nioce, 02/08/2014; Rapale #1, 17/07/2014; Rapale #2, 17/07/2014; Rapale #4, 17/07/2014; Ribáuè #1, 19/07/2014; Zimbabwe, 21/07/2014).

A language barrier was also commonly reported by respondents along the two-thirds of the
highway which was being overseen by Chinese contractors\textsuperscript{167} (AP #50, 02/08/2014; Mavila Uma, 21/07/2014; Rapale #2, 17/07/2014; Rapale #2, 17/07/2014; Ribáuè #1, 19/07/2014). However, while respondents largely reported seeing the construction workers in a positive light, the study revealed a number of underlying tensions between local communities and the contracting companies, particularly the two Chinese companies responsible for the road between Rapale and Malema\textsuperscript{168}. First, respondents commented on the harsh treatment being meted out by contractors towards their African employees. Behaviours reported included: poor or late payment of wages; summary termination for minor offenses; disrespect, racism, and verbal abuse; and physical abuse (Namina, 18/07/2014; Zimbabwe, 21/07/2014; Nioce, 02/08/2014). Respondents also reported poor treatment from the contractors towards local communities, with a number of individuals describing acts of violence committed by the Chinese supervisors against local people, excessive property damage alongside the road, as well as discriminatory hiring practices which disadvantage local job seekers (Mutivasse #1, 17/07/2014; Mavila Uma, 21/07/2014; Pinto, 16/07/2014; Pratchett, 04/11/2013; Ticotico, 17/10/2013). According to respondents, employment with the rehabilitation is one of the most contentious issues within the study area, and a common topic of complaint lodged with local officials (see Chapter Eight) (Site Visit, 02/08/2014).

Finally, both affected individuals and local government officials described the contractors as being arrogant and displaying a lack of accountability, resulting in bad behaviour, and putting their actions above the reproof of local leaders. (Lobo, 02/08/2014; Pinto, 16/07/2014). The following focus groups reported this problem as follows:

The contractors do not listen to the complaints of our Secretario at all. They just ignore her and keep doing their work (Nioce, 02/08/2014).

There was meant to be coordination between the construction [company] and the community, but that hasn’t happened. The chiefs of the construction and of the

\textsuperscript{167} Two Chinese companies, China Communications Construction Company (CCCC) and China Henan International Cooperation Group (Chico) are responsible for the rehabilitation between Nampula-Rapale and Malema, while a Portuguese company, Gabriel Couto, is managing construction between Malema and Cuamba (see Chapter Four). The language barrier is understandably less of an issue within the Portuguese zone (Site Visit, 02/08/2014)

\textsuperscript{168} See Figure 5.2.
community do not work together. Because they are foreigners they do not respect the rules or laws of this community (Nioce, 02/08/2014).

If people from outside the community complain then there is nothing the Chefe [do Biarro] can do, because he doesn’t know anything, he can’t interfere with the construction. … Even the Chefe do Posto is confused about the relationship with the companies. They don’t respect our chiefs (Mutuali, 01/08/2014).

Furthermore, although the behaviour of the employees of the two Chinese contracting firms was particularly notorious amongst respondents all three of the previous quotes are from communities within the Portuguese contractors’ (Gabriel Couto) zone of responsibility, which shows that problems were not confined to the Chinese companies. To some respondents, including those within local government, these interactions reinforced the impression that the contractors were representatives of national government, with the power of the state tacitly backing their actions. Thus, not only do citizens within the study area ‘see the state’ through the actions of the Mozambican government, but also through interaction with intermediaries active within development processes.

7.3.4. Public Participation and the Negotiation of Development

Public participation can be defined as democratic processes through which the state (or other institutions) consult with interested or affected citizens prior on important decisions (Tatenhove & Leroy, 2009). These processes of participation are based on a citizen’s right to be a part of decisions which affect them (Corbridge et al., 2005; Tatenhove & Leroy, 2009). According to official accounts from both international donors and the Mozambican state, the rehabilitation of the N13 has featured robust participatory mechanisms which have both informed communities on the impacts of the project and empowered affected individuals to participate in the co-production of local development outcomes (Campos, 15/07/2014; Domingues, 04/12/2013; Ito, 28/05/2014). Yet, as Corbridge et al. (2005) note, attempts at participatory development in India are often read by poorer people against past and possibly negative experiences of ‘participation’, and with close regard for the vitality of their non-state social networks” (Corbridge et al., 2005, p. 120). In Mozambique, a nation which has experienced colonialism, civil war, and authoritarianism, traditions of participatory development are understandably very weak (Cabrita, 2001; Funada-Classen, 2012; Kepa, 2014; Sumich, 2010).
Furthermore, as evidence presented in this chapter demonstrates, the agency of poor Mozambicans in development processes is limited, and civil society organisations are ill-positioned, especially in rural areas, to intermediate between citizen and state (Kepa, 2014).

These factors, taken in conjunction with the strong centralisation and authoritarianism of the Mozambican state, have generated scepticism both within and outside of the state over official narratives of public participation and consultation along the N13 (De Villiers, 07/03/2012; Palembe and Rusere, 17/10/2012; Pratchett, 04/11/2014; Vieira, 06/08/2014). This section explores these narratives of participation associated with the road rehabilitation, from the perspective of the state and affected individuals.

According to officials close to the rehabilitation, including a representative from JICA, one of the principal donors, the participation process for the project has been two-fold: first, consisting of public consultations at the outset of construction, and second, on-going engagement between the state and local communities to manage impacts that arise during the duration of the project (Campos, 15/07/2014; Domingues, 22/03/2014; Ito, 28/05/2014). The first phase, community consultation, was the most extensive, and occurred during the opening phase of the project (2009-2010) (AfDB, 2009). Domingues (04/12/2013), a representative of MICOA, describes phase of public participation as a means for citizens to take ownership of local development. The process consisted of public meetings within local communities from Nampula to Cuamba, at which participants were informed of the project and told of the benefits and potential impacts to the area (Campos, 15/07/2014; Domingues, 22/03/2014; Ito, 28/05/2014). Furthermore, specific individuals were notified whether they were to be resettled, after which additional dialogues were held with affected households in order to communicate resettlement and compensation processes (Ito, 28/05/2014). Meetings were informative only, and not consultative. Only a single respondent, a district official in Cuamba, described a process through which affected communities could shape the project design or contribute local knowledge to the planning process (Macie, 31/07/2014). The only exception was when the route of the road conflicted with certain irreplaceable community assets such as cemeteries or shrines (Mutivasse #1, 17/07/2014; Site Visit, 31/07/2014; Zucula, 16/07/2014). One highly visible example of citizens successfully influencing the project through consultations was with regard to an old arch spanning the road between Cuamba and Mutuali that was part of a

169 Ministry of Coordination of Environmental Affairs
colonial-era tsetse fly control station (see Plate 7.1) (Site Visit, 28/03/2012). Due to local pressure it was accommodated into the design of the rehabilitated road, with the new surface bending around it (Campos, 15/07/2014; Site Visit, 01/08/2014). However, in the end these instances were few, and expediency generally trumped local tradition (Campos, 15/07/2014; Chetty, 21/7/2014).

Following this opening round of consultation, a local ANE representative has responsibility for maintaining a continuous dialogue of co-operation with local communities over issues related to the road (Bauque, 02/08/2014; Campos, 15/07/2014; Chetty, 21/07/2014; Zucula, 16/07/2014). Each of the three construction zones has a resident ANE engineer who oversees construction, monitors implementation of resettlement and environmental plans, and coordinates with local communities (Campos, 15/07/2014). Provincial and national ANE coordinate through these local representatives (Campos, 15/07/2014). Outside of the initial public consultations, participation is not direct. According to on-site ANE representatives, ANE engages with local officials within communities along the N13 (Campos, 15/07/2014; Chetty, 21/07/2014). Likewise, local officials concerned with the road rehabilitation govern through local ‘management committees’, consisting of local government officials, traditional
leadership, and Frelimo representatives (Bila, 01/08/2014; Kapango, 01/08/2014; Paulino, 16/07/2014; Vaquina, 30/07/2014).

According to this official narrative of public participation, the state broadly engaged the local population over issues and impacts related to the rehabilitation of the N13. However, as Scott (1998) notes, rarely does local practice conform with state theory. Evidence gathered from affected individuals revealed that levels and degrees of participation proposed by the state varied significantly between communities. As Corbridge et al. (2005) describe, participation can be both active and passive:

There is a world of difference between the simple fact of attendance at a meeting, and the ability to contribute effectively to that meeting or to shape its conclusions….It also matters a great deal who gets to set an agenda, and who is able to call a vote or structure a discussion (Corbridge et al., 2005, p. 127).

By these standards, public participation within the context of the rehabilitation was exceptionally passive. As respondents described, consultations took the form of community meetings, where citizens would gather and listen to local officials describe the benefits of the impending rehabilitation, while outlining potential impacts (Lurio, 31/07/2014; Marusso, 31/07/2014; Namina, 28/07/2014; Nioce, 02/08/2014). Consultations were hierarchal, in that local officials set the agenda and largely did the talking, with few opportunities for citizens to ask questions or contribute feedback (AP #22, 30/07/2014; Chica, 19/07/2014; Nacuca #2, 17/07/2014; Ribáuè #1, 19/07/2014). Only in one community, Mutivasse (17/07/2014), did a respondent report a consultation process in which participating individuals were allowed to ask questions and contribute meaningfully to the proceedings. On Arnstein’s (1969) ‘Ladder of Citizen Participation’ these consultations would be considered ‘tokenist’ and informative rather than genuine processes of public participation. To Pratchett (04/11/2013), this reflects structural tendencies within the Mozambican state to address issues through rigid top-down bureaucratic processes, rather than through candid public forums. Yet, in communities in which information was provided about the road rehabilitation, participants generally had a positive impression of both the project, and by extension, the state (Chica, 19/07/2014; Nacuca #2, 17/07/2014; Ribáuè #1).
Roughly half of the respondents reported no consultations in their communities whatsoever (Cuamba, 30/07/2014; Malema #1, 02/08/2014; Malema #2, 02/08/2014; Metacusse, 02/08/2014; Mutuali, 01/08/2014; Nacata, 01/08/2014; Namicohna, 19/07/2014; Natikiri #2, 16/07/2014; Zimbabwe, 21/07/2014). However, a number of individuals in communities, such as Cuamba (30/07/2014) and Mavila Uma (21/07/2014) were approached individually by ANE because they were targeted for resettlement. This form of consultation has contributed to a growing sense of alienation within affected communities, causing a disconnect between the population and local development processes. The following quotations from focus groups along the N13 illustrate the frustration felt by some respondents who were not included in consultations:

When the construction workers came I was scared because I didn't know about the project—just all of a sudden there were people from all over Mozambique. I didn't know what was going on (Mutuali, 01/08/2014).

We would like to be kept better informed on what's going on... We just see the construction workers arrive and then we know something will happen. Sometimes people come, work gets done, but we don't know what the plans are or what to expect. Other times we just wait and nothing happens (Zimbabwe, 21/07/2014).

We are not saying the rehabilitation is a bad thing or unnecessary. It is clear to everyone how important it is for the development of our region. The problem is the process itself. How are things being done? (Lurio, 31/07/2014).

However, it was observed that individuals who lived close to official offices, such as the Posto or Distrito, were given the opportunity to participate, while individuals who lived further away were not (Lurio, 31/07/2014). This conforms with observations made by Corbridge et al. (2005), who noted that officials are often reluctant to reach out to physically or socially excluded members of society. Furthermore, it implies that proximity to local officials, both physically as well as socially, may contribute to an individual’s ability to affect the changes occurring in their community. A respondent from ANE confirmed this sentiment, noting the difficulties of conducting a broadly participatory process, and concluding that in the case of the N13, participants were likely included based on their position in local society (Bauque,
As a result, participants generally expressed disappointment with the level of official communication associated with the project, and only respondents from a few communities, such as Chica (19/07/2014), Mutivasse (17/07/2014), and Nacua (17/07/2014), were able to participate in meaningful consultation processes.

### 7.4. CONCLUSION

This chapter contributes to the overall aim of the study by investigating the diverse ways in which individuals and communities along the N13 have experienced and interacted with the rehabilitation process. Moreover, it contributes to the study’s objective of providing a theoretical understanding of state-citizen relations in development processes in a post-conflict developing country.

The evidence reveals that, since the start of the development of the Nacala Corridor and the rehabilitation of the N13 Highway, citizens within the study area have witnessed profound change occurring in their communities. These include increased trade, improved transport, and greater access to services such as electricity, education and healthcare. These changes have contributed to a strongly positive impression of development amongst most respondents. To these individuals, the rehabilitation of the N13 represents the single greatest development to occur in the area. Although respondents reported experiencing a number of harmful impacts from the project, such as resettlement, the destruction of fields and fruit trees, and environmental challenges like dust and erosion, they are nonetheless largely optimistic about the effects it will have on their lives. Moreover, like the subjects of Scott’s (1998) studies of ‘exceptional schemes’, respondents value the small but concrete benefits which the project presents, but are wary of more radical aspects of the project, such as the rehabilitation of the rail line, which have altered local spatial orientations.

Although the Mozambican state is neoliberal in its developmental outlook, it has not successfully integrated neoliberal technologies of rule into state practices. Murray-Li (2007a, 2007b) describes development as processes of negotiation and co-production between citizen and state. Official narratives on participation associated with the rehabilitation prescribe some form of participatory development, albeit in a superficial and tokenist form (Arnstein, 1969). However, this participation is not direct. Individuals along the N13 participate through un-
elected local officials and intermediaries, such as traditional leadership. These institutions hold predominant positions of power within the study area, while civil society is marginalised and unable to play an effective mediating role.

Finally, Corbridge et al. (2005) describe how just the act of entering a local administrative office, a government school, or health clinic is to enter the domain of the state. By this standard, individuals along the N13 are increasingly encountering the state in their daily lives. The chapter demonstrates that the intensification of development, in the form of the road development and increased public services within the study area, has altered the population’s relationship with a previously distant government. The road rehabilitation in particular, has dramatically increased the number and nature of local communities’ interactions with state institutions, largely through local government, by forcing affected individuals to negotiate their continued existence in relation to the road. Furthermore, other intermediaries active within the study area, such as traditional leadership and construction crews, have contributed to local individuals ‘seeing the state’ through actions that are not explicitly enacted by the state, but are implicitly backed by state power through a chain of accountability.
CHAPTER EIGHT: PROTESTING THE STATE: 'GOVERNO PAPA' AND THE UNCRITICAL CITIZEN

“I had heard nothing about his project. Just one day all of these vehicles and equipment arrived outside my door. By why should I complain? That is government, and you cannot fight government”
-Subsistence Farmer from Muessi (AP #42, 02/08/2014)

8.1. INTRODUCTION

Citizens in Mozambique, particularly the rural poor, have little opportunity to participate in the decision-making processes that influence developmental outcomes at a national level. This is also apparent in local development processes, such as rehabilitation of the N13, where the population is directly affected by the impacts of the development, yet is only able to participate superficially, through local leaders and intermediaries. Yet, as Corbridge et al. (2005) point out, individuals often participate in public life in more varied and less predictable ways than the obvious participatory pathways of neoliberal participatory development. Frequently, participation is expressed through forms of resistance to both the power of the state, and the substance of its development agenda (Corbridge et al., 2005). While the most disruptive forms of resistance are often the most public, the most marginalised of the poor are unlikely to participate in such highly visible or openly rebellious forms of politics (Corbridge et al., 2005; Scott, 1985). Instead, they engage the state quietly and behind the scenes; resisting through efforts such as non-participation, delivering complaints, the refusal of services, and the withholding of fees. They express their opposition with what Scott collectively refers to as ‘the weapons of the weak’ (Corbridge et al., 2005; Scott, 1985, 1998).

This chapter contributes to the aim of the study by examining alternative forms of participation and resistance in Mozambique through the experiences of affected individuals along the N13. Specifically, this Chapter explores three of the study’s research objectives. Building on objectives explored in Chapter Seven, this chapter continues to: Interrogate the role of intermediaries, such as civil society organisations and traditional leadership, in shaping interactions between citizen and state along the N13, and; Explore how local development, the construction of the Nacala Development Corridor, and the N13 highway rehabilitation have
affected the ways in which citizens and local agents of the state ‘see’ each other. In addition, it interrogates how citizens within the study area resist or struggle against the state through alternative forms of participation. These objectives contribute to the overall objective to provide a theoretical understanding of state-citizen relations within development processes in a post-conflict developing nation.

Section 8.2 explores how citizens resist the road rehabilitation, and analyses the ‘weapons of the weak’ available to affected individuals (Scott, 1985). In particular, it analyses the delivery of complaints as an alternative form of public participation for marginalised citizens. Thus, it explores the ways in which citizens along the N13 interact with and ‘see the state’ through these processes, and interrogates the actions and motivations of local officials in the face of resistance. Section 8.3 continues by examining ‘critical citizenship’, specifically, the extent to which citizens along the N13 are willing to offer criticism or scepticism regarding development. In particular, it critically evaluates the appropriateness of Mattes and Shenga’s (2013) concept of Mozambican ‘uncritical citizenship’, and the notion of ‘Governo Papa’ for explaining how affected individuals react to the exertion of state power nationally and locally. By way of conclusion, Section 8.4 reflects on the Chapter’s research objectives while offering a number of insights regarding citizenship and development in Mozambique.

### 8.2. ‘PUSHING BACK’: CITIZEN AND STATE ALONG THE N13

#### 8.2.1. Introduction

Corbridge et al. (2005) observed that, in India, poor citizens ‘push back’ against the government through non-participation in participatory programmes and by discrediting state development discourses. However, in the absence of official programmes for participatory development, as well as neoliberal technologies of rule to structure the conduct of the citizens, disenfranchised individuals often resort to resistance as an alternative form of participation (Corbridge et al., 2005; Foucault, 1991; Lemke, 2007; Nilsson & Wallenstein, 2013; Scott, 1985). In such circumstances, it is only through acts of resistance that these individuals are able to be ‘seen’ by the state, and influence developmental outcomes (Scott, 1985, 1998). These acts of resistance force a reassessment of the nature of ‘participation’ both within neoliberalism and the broader development community (Corbridge et al., 2005). Within the context of the rehabilitation of the N13, where neoliberal technologies of rule operate at a low level, an analysis of these acts of resistance contributes to an understanding of how affected individuals
‘see the state’, and how they resist the local preponderance of state power through alternative forms of participation (Corbridge et al., 2005; Scott, 1985, 1998).

This section explores resistance as an alternative form of participation along the N13. Section 8.2.2 begins by examining the everyday acts of resistance, Scott’s (1985) so-called ‘weapons of the weak’ available to, and employed by, respondents and other affected individuals within the study area. Section 8.2.3 focuses its analysis on the interaction between citizen and state that occurs when a complaint is delivered. Finally, Section 8.2.4 interrogates the process of addressing complaints from the perspective of respondents within the state, in order to determine how the state ‘sees’ its citizens in development, and to what degree the actions of these agents of the state are motivated by a sense of ‘trusteeship’ (Murray-Li, 2007b; Scott, 1998).

8.2.2. ‘Weapons of the Weak’: Alternative Participation and Resistance along the N13

In his study of resistance as participation, Scott (1985) identifies a number of ‘weapons of the weak’ utilised by the poor, including non-participation, the refusal of services, and the withholding of fees. However, the evidence suggests that for the most part, these ‘weapons’ are not used by the affected individuals living along the N13. In the absence of an engaged and empowered political or civil society, few have the power or platform from which to challenge the state on issues of national importance (Kepa, 2014). This Section focuses on the delivering of complaints and the levying of criticism, two of the few ‘weapons’ open to respondents. The section explores the types of complaints reported by respondents, interrogates official procedures for addressing complaints, and finally, examines how respondents approach agents of the state when seeking redress.

Although non-participation might be a resistance pathway available to Mozambicans within other contexts, participatory mechanisms along the N13 were so shallow and exclusive, that few reported that they had the opportunity to participate at all, let alone consciously choose not to participate (Cuamba, 30/07/2014; Malema #1, 02/08/2014; Malema #2, 02/08/2014; Mutuali, 01/08/2014; Metacusse, 02/08/2014; Nacata, 01/08/2014; Namicohna, 19/07/2014; Natikiri #2, 16/07/2014; Zimbabwe, 21/07/2014). Indeed, no respondent who had the occasion

170 See Chapter Six.
to participate in some form of participatory mechanism associated with the rehabilitation reported declining that opportunity\textsuperscript{171} (Site Visit, 17/07/2014). Furthermore, due to the nature of the project, as an ‘exceptional scheme’, refusal was not an option, with participation, often necessary for the process of resettlement, being not only mandatory, but also enforced by state power. Individuals who chose not to participate in resettlement or reimbursement programmes simply had their property destroyed without compensation (Kapango, 01/08/2014; Pinto, 17/07/2014; Paulino, 16/07/2014). Finally, a number of individuals reported withholding fees for other services, like medical care or schooling, not as an act of resistance, but owing to their inability to afford the costs (Malema #1, 01/08/2014; Natikiri #2, 16/07/2014).

One path of resistance open to and exercised by citizens along the N13 is the ability to deliver complaints to local agents of the state. From the perspective of the state, the responsibility for interacting with affected individuals in order to hear and resolve grievances lies solely with local government officials\textsuperscript{172} (Campos, 15/07/2014; Chetty, 21/07/2014; Chica, 19/07/2014; Pinto, 16/07/2014). According to official practices, local officials listen to petitioners, assesses the validity of the complaint, and either address the issue, or if it cannot be solved locally, liaise with either ANE, or refers the complaint to a higher level official (Bila, 01/08/2014; Lobo, 02/08/2014; Monteiro, 16/07/2014; Mutivasse #1, 17/07/2014; Neyma, 18/07/2014). Affected individuals are not meant to approach other agents of the state directly, like ANE representatives or the construction contractors (Bauque, 02/08/2014; Campos, 15/07/2014). According to respondents within the state, these individuals may only participate through local officials, who are meant to represent the interests of their localities when interacting with the rehabilitation (Bila, 01/08/2014; Campos, 15/07/2014; Lobo, 02/08/2014; Macie, 31/07/2014; Neyma, 18/07/2014). One exception is the local ANE engineer assigned to each of the three road sections, who is meant to engage the community directly on a number of issues related to the road, including HIV/AIDS, traffic safety, and environmental impacts (Bauque, 02/08/2014; Campos, 15/07/2014; Zucula, 16/07/2014). However, on further investigation, the study found that in most affected communities these ANE-led processes have either not taken place, or have been co-opted by local officials (Campos, 15/07/2014; Site Visit, 02/08/2014; Zucula, 16/07/2014).

\textsuperscript{171} On the contrary, the experience of the researcher in arranging interviews and focus groups suggests that individuals within the study area are eager for any opportunity to participate in debates on developmental discourses, especially those which directly affect their lives (see Section 5.5.3.) (Site Visit, 17/07/2014).

\textsuperscript{172} With only a few exceptions (the municipalities of Cuamba and Nampula-Cidade), local officials within the study area are appointed by the state rather than elected through local democratic processes (see Chapter 3).
In practice, the processes for delivering and addressing complaints are more complex. Most respondents reported, individually or through the focus group interviews, that when they had complaints they approached local government officials, like the Secretario, the Chefe de Localidade, or the Chefe do Posto\(^{173}\) (AP #10, 22/07/2014; AP #20, 22/07/2014; Chica, 19/07/2014; Cuamba, 30/07/2014; Mutivasse #1, 17/07/2014; Mutuali, 01/08/2014; Namiconha, 19/07/2014; Namina, 18/07/2014; Rapale #1, 17/07/2014; Rapale #4, 17/07/2014; Zimbabwe, 21/07/2014). However, a number of respondents and focus groups also described addressing complaints to traditional leadership (known as mwene in eMakua), like a Regulo or a Chefe do Bairro\(^{174}\), or in some instances a committee made up of a number of community chiefs (AP #11, 22/07/2014; AP #16, 22/07/2014; AP #18, 22/07/2014; AP #21, 30/07/2014; AP #23, 30/07/2014; AP #23, 30/07/2014; AP #26, 31/07/2014; Chica, 19/07/2014; Lurio, 31/07/2014; Marusso, 31/07/2014; Muessi, 01/08/2014; Nacuca #1, 17/07/2014). In these instances, the traditional leader would approach local government on behalf of the affected individual (Mavila Uma, 21/07/2014; Chica, 19/07/2014).

In general, respondents in rural communities were more likely to have approached traditional leadership first. Two notable examples were Lurio (31/07/2014) and Namina, (18/07/2014), small but bustling market towns that were still controlled by assertive traditional leadership (Site Visit, 31/07/2014). This process added an additional layer between citizen and the state\(^{175}\), which as Pratchett (04/11/2013) argues, is confused by the ambiguous and quasi-official role of traditional leadership in Mozambican society. Conversely, the evidence shows that respondents in urban areas, like Cuamba (30/07/2014) and Malema (02/08/2014), appeared more comfortable approaching local government, with some even reporting visiting the district office to deliver complaints (AP #6, 22/07/2014; AP #22, 30/07/2014; AP #35, 01/08/2014). In addition, a few respondents also reported addressing complaints outside of formal structures; namely, to other agents of the state, like ANE representatives, the police, or the construction contractors (AP #17, 22/07/2014; Chetty, 21/07/2014).

Finally, from the perspective of affected individuals, the process for delivering complaints does not appear as clear and hierarchal as it does to the state. For example, a number of participants

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\(^{173}\) See Chapters 3 and 5 for overviews of local government structures in Mozambique and the study area.

\(^{174}\) See Chapters 3 and 5 for overviews of traditional leadership in Mozambique and the study area.

\(^{175}\) See Appendix II for an outline of the hierarchy of local government within the study area.
expressed confusion over the correct channels through which to address their complaints (AP #2, 22/07/2014; AP #7, 02/08/2014). Furthermore, across a number of communities members reported having pursued different pathways to those of their neighbours towards having their issues addressed; one respondent explains, “We do not complain as a group, as a whole. Everyone here complains in their own way” (Cuamba, 30/07/2014).

During the course of the study respondents reported complaining about a diverse array of issues related to the rehabilitation. These issues closely mirror the impacts described in Chapter Seven (including resettlement and property damage, dust and other environmental issues, the progress of the construction work, traffic, and local unemployment). Regarding resettlement, affected individuals and local officials described complaining about the idea of resettlement or the monetary values established for affected structures. However, a few individuals reported delivering complaints to local officials concerning the reimbursement process, particularly the amount of time it takes the state to process and issue payments (AP #22, 30/07/2014; Namina, 18/07/2014). Similarly, respondents in most focus groups reported delivering complaints, both to government and to the contractors directly, regarding non-payment for property damage, particularly to market stalls, fields, and fruit trees (AP #17, 22/07/2014; Nacuca #1, 17/07/2014; Rapale #1, 17/07/2014; Ribáuè #1, 19/07/2014).

Next, of the three zones of road rehabilitation, only one (between Nampula-Rapale and Ribáuè) was on schedule at the time of the fieldwork, with work in several sections of the road up to a year behind schedule (Bauque, 02/08/2014; Chetty, 21/07/2014; Site Visit, 01/08/2014). Thus, in many affected communities, construction work had been taking significantly longer than expected (ADBG, 2009; AfDB, 2009). This prolonged disruption was a common issue of complaint amongst respondents, particularly as poor official communication kept them uninformed regarding the project timetable (Bila, 01/08/2014; Cuamba, 30/07/2014; Mutivasse #2, 17/07/2014; Namina, 18/07/2014). Respondents who travelled within the corridor also expressed confusion to see sections of the road completed in some communities, while in their own area construction might just have begun (Mutuali, 01/08/2014; Namiconha, 19/07/2014). Furthermore, complaints were often directed against the construction workers themselves, both for the behaviour of the contractors and the perceived sluggishness of the crews (Mutivasse #1, 17/07/2014; Mutuali, 01/08/2014). In general, respondents described the strategy of complaining about the progress of construction as a way to glean updates from local officials.
in the absence of formal mechanisms for participation (Malema #1, 02/08/2014; Nioce, 02/08/2014).

One of the most common complaints was about the dust produced by the construction work (AP #3, 22/07/2014; AP #41, 02/08/2014; Rapale #1, 17/07/2014). However, because dust has been a constant feature of life in affected communities since before the start of the construction, most individuals did not bother complaining about it, particularly since the rehabilitation of the N13 is expected to solve the issue of dust permanently in the long run (Natikiri #1, 17/07/2014; Rapale #4, 17/07/2014). However, one item of complaint, which is expected to get worse rather than improve with the rehabilitation, is about the traffic, with respondents describing frequent complaints made to both local government and police regarding the speed of passing vehicles. One respondent, who lives alongside the road outside of Rapale, had the following to say:

We complain about the speed of the cars driving on the new road. When the whole thing is finished the cars will travel so fast and there will be many accidents. When they build tar roads they must think of ways to slow the cars down and keep the community safe. This is what we complain about. Many people are going to die on this road (Rapale #4, 17/07/2014).

According to respondents both within and outside of the state, the most common complaints delivered by affected individuals along the N13 concern local unemployment and requests for job opportunities within the rehabilitation programme. Most respondents described a feeling amongst affected communities that the construction crews were not hiring a sufficient amount of local labour, a sentiment that was felt across the breadth of the study area (AP #19, 22/07/2014; Lurio, 31/07/2014; Metacusse, 02/08/2014; Muessi, 01/08/2014; Mutuali, 01/08/2014; Nacata, 01/08/2014; Namina, 18/07/2014; Natikiri #1, 16/07/2014). There was also a strong perception, described within the majority of focus groups, that the construction contractors preferred to hire workers from neighbouring countries or other parts of Mozambique (AP #39, 02/08/2014; Lurio, 31/07/2014; Marusso, 31/07/2014; Mutuali, 01/08/2014; Namina, 18/07/2014; Natikiri #1, 16/07/2014; Rapale #4, 17/07/2014; Ribâuè #1, 19/07/2014). Furthermore, those who had been able to work complained about poor wages or non-payment, as well as rough treatment at the hands of Chinese contractors (AP #45, 02/08/2014; Cuamba, 30/07/2014; Lurio, 31/07/2014; Malema #1, 02/08/2014; Mutivasse #1, 17/07/2014; Nacata, 01/08/2014; Namiconha, 19/07/2014; Namina, 18/07/2014; Natikiri #1,
16/07/2014). Even in communities within Gabriel Couto’s rehabilitation sector complaints were always directed against the ‘Chinese’. Discussions revealed that respondents addressed complaints to their local leaders on these issues regularly, so that they might intercede with ANE, or directly pressure the contractors into changing their practices (AP #19, 22/07/2014; Namiconha, 19/07/2014; Nioce, 02/08/2014). The large volume of complaints reflects the importance of jobs and other income-earning opportunities in the development priorities of individuals along the N13.\(^{176}\)

As Chapter Five described, during the course of the fieldwork, the researcher was perceived by local communities as a ‘forasteiro’ or ‘estrangeiro’ (outsider or stranger) (Cebola, 13/11/2014). This perception, in addition to the researcher’s positionality as a white male, led many respondents to believe that the research team were donors, or some other influential agents of the state, despite explanations regarding the nature and purpose of this study.\(^{177}\) As a consequence, in nearly every focus group, respondents delivered the aforementioned complaints directly to the researcher, in hopes of finding some redress, or in the hope of having their problems brought to the attention of the national government (Site Visit, 02/08/2014). This was particularly true in more rural communities further from Nampula, such as Marusso (31/07/2014), Metacuše (02/08/2014), Muessi (01/08/2014), Nioce (02/08/2014), and Zimbabwe (21/07/2014).

In addition, respondents complained to the researcher about rampant corruption which they described in relation to hiring processes associated with the rehabilitation work, an issue they were reluctant to address with their local officials (Lurio, 31/07/2014; Malema #2, 02/08/2014; Mavila Uma, 21/07/2014; Mutivasse #1, 17/07/2014; Mutivasse #2, 17/07/2014; Namiconha, 19/07/2014). As respondents explained, this predominantly took two forms: first, the Mozambican foreman would require a gift or payment in order to consider a new employee’s application; and second, newly hired individuals would be required to make further payments out of their wages in order to keep their jobs (Chica, 19/07/2014; Malema #2, 02/08/2014; Mutuali, 01/08/2014; Nacuca #1, 17/07/2014; Nacuca #2, 17/07/2014; Namiconha, 19/07/2014; Namina, 18/07/2014; Nioce, 02/08/2014; Rapale #2, 17/07/2014). To respondents, this corruption functioned as a significant impediment for local individuals seeking

\(^{176}\) See Chapter Six.
\(^{177}\) See Section 5.7.
employment with the rehabilitation project and was widely reported in the study area (AP #12, 22/07/2014; AP #20, 22/07/2014; AP #39, 02/08/2014; Mavila Uma, 21/07/2014; Nacuca #2, 17/07/2014; Namiconha, 19/07/2014; Namina, 18/07/2014; Natikiri #1, 16/07/2014; Natikiri #2, 16/07/2014; Ribáuè #1, 19/07/2014). As one individual described, “If you want a job you have to pay. That is why we are not employed now…we had no money” (AP #12, 22/07/2014).

Finally, the participatory research methods utilised during the course of the fieldwork provided what appeared to be a needed discursive outlet for many respondents (Cebola, 13/11/2014; Site Visit, 02/08/2014). Thus, to some small degree, the research process may be seen as an alternative form of participation, as well as an act of resistance, for those affected individuals who participated in the study.

8.2.3. ‘Seeing the State’: The Citizen and Alternative Participation

Corbridge et al. (2005) caution that the pressing of demands is not the same thing as other forms of public participation, like exercising power or taking decisions, and urge caution over reading too much into these discussions. Nonetheless, along the N13, where mechanisms for participatory democracy have been shown to be shallow and exclusive, resistance, in the form delivering complaints, is the only form of alternative participation open to most affected individuals (Scott, 1985, 1998). This section shows how citizens ‘see the state’ through the interactions associated with making a complaint and receiving resolution. In particular it explores how respondents reflect on local government as their connection to the state. Furthermore, these interactions, when viewed from the perspective of the state, shed light on how local officials ‘see’ the citizenry in development processes, as well as suggesting the motivations that inform the decision-making of representatives of the state within the study area (Corbridge et al., 2005; Murray-Li, 2005, 2007a, 2007b; Sabogal, 2009; Scott, 1998).

The evidence shows that individuals along the N13 have had varied experiences addressing complaints to their local officials. Many individuals reported positive experiences working with leaders to address complaints (AP #11, 22/07/2014; AP #21, 30/07/2014; AP #22, 30/07/2014; Chica, 19/07/2014; Mavila Uma, 21/07/2014; Mutivasse #1, 17/07/2014; Namina, 28/07/2014; Rapale #1, 17/07/2014; Rapale #4, 17/07/2014; Zimbabwe, 21/07/2014). However, even when positive, these processes are participatory only in a very superficial sense, with respondents noting that their leader had ‘heard’ their voice or their complaint (AP #18, 30/07/2014; AP #22, 30/07/2014; AP #24, 30/07/2014; AP #28, 01/08/2014; Mavila Uma,
Few expected immediate solutions or to participate in the resolution of their problem, and interactions with the state were characterised by hierarchical relations and the sense of a paternalistic state (AP #21, 30/07/2014; Mutivasse #1, 17/07/2014; Nacuca #1, 17/07/2014; Namina, 28/07/2014). The following quotes typify these interactions:

I think we are heard. Even for this road, we told the authorities in the past that we needed it, and here you can see it being built (AP #19, 22/07/2014).

We speak to our leaders when we have a problem. I feel that they listen and try to address our complaints. They are our leaders, they understand us, they try to help (Nioce, 02/08/2014).

Finally, communities that reported having some form of public consultation prior to the construction were also more likely to describe positive interactions with local officials while delivering complaints (AP #21, 30/07/2014; AP #22, 30/07/2014; AP #23, 30/07/2014; AP #24, 30/07/2014; AP #25, 30/07/2014; Chica, 19/07/2014; Namina, 28/07/2014; Nioce, 02/08/2014).

Respondents across nearly half of the groups, however, reported delivering complaints to local officials but felt that their problems were not being ‘heard’ by their leaders (Muessi, 01/08/2014; Namina, 18/07/2014; Nioce, 02/08/2014; Ribáuê #1, 19/07/2014; Ribáuê #2, 19/07/2014; Namiconha, 19/07/2014). As these respondents described, this sense of not being ‘heard’ has a number of different causes. For instance, some affected individuals felt marginalised because, despite lodging complaints, their problems were not resolved (AP #9, 22/07/2014; AP #34, 01/08/2014; AP #29, 01/08/2014; AP #47, 02/08/2014; Muessi, 01/08/2014; Namina, 18/07/2014; Nioce, 02/08/2014; Ribáuê #1, 19/07/2014). For others, the solutions provided by their leaders were inadequate (i.e. for property damage, compensation not adequately covering the cost of repairs) (Namiconha, 19/07/2014). Finally, respondents within seven separate focus groups reported such a disconnect between themselves and the state that they did not know to whom to address their complaints. (Cebola, 13/11/2014; Lurio, 02/08/2014; Malema #2, 02/08/2014; Mutivasse #2, 17/07/2014; Nacata, 01/08/2014; Namiconha, 19/07/2014; Natikiri #2, 17/07/2014; Ribáuê #1, 19/07/2014). As a respondent in
Lurio (02/08/2014) described, this disconnect may be explained by the lack of consultation surrounding the road rehabilitation, particularly for those who are spatially distant from local authorities:

Many of us know nothing about this project. If people were informed they would complain more. Those who live close to the Posto are informed but what about those who are living far from here? We just see things happening and then have nobody to talk to if there is a problem (Lurio, 02/08/2014).

Next, some respondents reported negative interactions when addressing complaints to local officials (AP #29, 01/08/2014; Namiconha, 19/07/2014; Nioce, 02/08/2014; Ribáuè #1, 19/07/2014). These participants described leadership who ignored complaints, intimidated or were dismissive of petitioners, or did not show interest in their problems (AP #29, 01/08/2014; Namiconha, 19/07/2014; Namina, 18/07/2014; Ribáuè #1, 19/07/2014). Two quotes from respondents in Nioce (02/08/2014) and Namiconha (19/07/2014) illustrate these interactions:

The local committee from the Posto did not even consider our questions or concerns… if you have a field destroyed you’re supposed to be compensated, but they haven’t paid anything. The authorities have not considered our problems at all (Nioce, 02/08/2014).

Part of my house was destroyed by the construction and I didn’t get properly paid for the damage. The amount they gave me was far too little to cover the costs. I have spoken with many people who have complained. Myself, I went to complain to the Chefe de Localidade, but the Chefe told me I could not complain, if I complain I would get nothing. He scared me. That is not right, I am a Mozambican citizen. He is a leader, they are supposed to serve the people (Namiconha, 19/07/2014)

Moreover, communities that reported poor, or no consultation prior to the start of the rehabilitation were more likely to negatively describe their interactions with local officials while delivering complaints (Namina, 18/07/2014; Nioce, 02/08/2014; Ribáuè #1, 19/07/2014).

Finally, a third perspective on local officials and complaining emerged within roughly a quarter of the interviews; the view being that addressing complaints was a waste of time, because local
leadership is powerless to address such issues (AP #29, 01/08/2014; AP #47, 02/08/2014; Mavila Uma, 21/07/2014; Muessi, 01/08/2014). According to respondents who shared this belief, local officials do not have the authority to effectively complain themselves to other agents of the state active in the study area, particularly the contractors responsible for the rehabilitation (Mutuali, 01/08/2014; Namiconha, 19/07/2014; Nioce, 02/08/2014; Rapale #1, 17/07/2014). In the opinion of these individuals, the contractors (generally described as Chinese) do not respect the power of local government, and will only respond to higher authorities like representatives of the national government (AP#17, 22/07/2014; Mutuali, 01/08/2014; Namiconha, 19/07/2014; Nioce, 02/08/2014; Rapale #1, 17/07/2014;). As a woman near Mutivasse described, “We cry about the impacts, but we did not inform [our local leader] because there is nothing he can do. Even if we did tell, he could only join us in our crying” (AP #17, 22/07/2014). Similarly, some respondents describe confusion within government, with different levels (local, district, provincial, national) proving incapable of coordinating to resolve issues (AP #29, 01/08/2014; AP #47, 02/08/2014; Mutuali, 01/08/2014). Thus, respondents described ‘seeing the state’ through their interactions with local government, in the sense that by delivering a complaint, state institutions, and the power arrangements that underpin them, ‘come into view’ (Corbridge et al., 2005). Yet, to affected individuals, this ‘view’ is coloured by their feelings of powerlessness, as well as their perceptions of the powerlessness of the local officials, who are meant to represent their interests in the face of neoliberal development and against the weight of state power held by national government and its agents.

8.2.4. ‘Seeing’ the Citizen: Local Government, the State, and Alternative Participation

Insight on how the state ‘sees’ its population through development is evident from the ways in which local officials react to the citizenry when they pursue pathways of alternative participation and resistance. This section explores the resolution of complaints related to the rehabilitation of the N13 from the perspective of local government officials and traditional leaders within the study area. It interrogates how local officials negotiate the use of state power with other representatives of the state associated with the rehabilitation. Furthermore, it examines the motivations that inform the decision-making of these representatives to the state, and analyses to what degree the concept of ‘trusteeship’ motivated by a ‘will to improve’ can be used to interpret their relationship with their constituents to whom they are supposedly accountable (Murray-Li, 2007a, 2007b).
Most respondents within local government demonstrate a genuine desire to advocate for the interests of the citizenry, i.e. they had a ‘will to improve’ (Murray-Li, 2007b). When questioned about the rehabilitation-related issues negatively impacting life within their communities, most officials described the same problems articulated by affected individuals, such as: unemployment, dust, resettlement, and compensation (Jumisse, 21/07/2014; Lobo, 02/08/2014; Paulino, 16/07/2014). However, regarding the resolution of complaints, the experiences of these officials largely reflect similar frustrations expressed by the citizenry. Namely, local officials from Mavila Uma, Nampula, and Nioce described feeling powerless to confront the impacts of the rehabilitation (Bastos, 21/07/2014; Lobo, 02/08/2014; Vieira, 06/08/2014). According to these respondents, this perception has two causes: first, a sense that government officials at a district, provincial, or national level are not interested in the negative impacts of development, and that complaints forwarded to upper echelons will be ignored, and; second, local officials not having the authority to interfere with the rehabilitation works, even in the interests of their constituencies (Bastos, 21/07/2014; Jumisse, 21/07/2014; Lobo, 02/08/2014; Macie, 31/07/2014; Paulino, 16/07/2014; Vieira, 06/08/2014). Traditional leaders in particular described these feelings acutely, as, being locally accountable to their communities, they feel more connected to the citizenry (Jumisse, 21/07/2014; Lobo, 02/08/2014). Moreover, the unclear and ill-defined nature of traditional leadership within the power structures of the Mozambican state leaves traditional leaders feeling poorly positioned to petition and challenge state power on behalf of their communities (Lobo, 02/08/2014; Pratchett, 04/11/2013).

The majority of local officials interviewed, however, did not describe facing these difficulties, and reported positive collaboration over issues related to the road rehabilitation. In these communities, local officials report having established a good relationship with the local ANE representative (Bila, 01/08/2014; Kapango, 01/08/2014; Monteiro, 16/07/2014). Through these arrangements, they describe local impacts being handled successfully, without the need for recourse to higher echelons of government (Bila, 01/08/2014; Monteiro, 16/07/2014). A positive working relationship with ANE has also left these officials in a stronger position from which to confront the actions of other agents of the state, like the construction contractors (Bila, 01/08/2014; Kapango, 01/08/2014; Vaquina, 30/07/2014). However, this narrative does not follow the views shared by affected individuals in their local constituencies. In several instances, the officials who reported the smoothest interactions regarding complaints and resolution served communities whose residents described feelings of marginalisation by local
Finally, although it is difficult to discern their motivations, an analysis of these interactions suggests that individuals within the state, at a local level, operate as ‘trustees,’ in that they maintain a claim to expert knowledge on how their constituents should interpret and react to development (Murray-Li, 2007a, 2007b). Although respondents described themselves in a way that suggests they are motivated by a ‘will to improve’, the positionality of the researcher (as a foreigner carrying credentials from ANE), suggests that in many cases respondents may have downplayed personal interest while exaggerating their commitment to local communities. Unlike respondents at a national level, who serve as agents of state power but generally do not interact on the ground with individuals affected by change, local officials ‘see’ the citizen in development and work to optimise development processes on their behalf (Corbridge et al., 2005; Murray-Li, 2007a, 2007b; Scott, 1998). They do this through inducement and incentive, operating through their ability to negotiate a passage through national development schemes, and produce results that minimise the most grievous of impacts to affected individuals (Murray-Li, 2007b).

However, as this study shows, they do not do this from a position of equity, and even when successful, most local government relations with citizens are paternalistic, hierarchical, and non-participatory (AP #21, 30/07/2014; Mutivasse #1, 17/07/2014; Nacuca #1, 17/07/2014; Namina, 28/07/2014). Furthermore, as with public participation, the position of the claimant in relation to the ‘trustee’ impacts his or her ability to receive a favorable resolution, with respondents who are economically or personally close to local leadership more likely to report satisfactory results with alternative forms of participation, such as criticism (Chica, 19/07/2014; Mutivasse #1, 17/07/2014; Nacuca #1, 17/07/2014; Namina, 28/07/2014; Nioce, 02/08/2014). This relationship to local leadership strongly affects the way individuals perceive both the state and development. How it impacts their willingness to criticise the state itself is the main theme of Section 8.3.

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178 As opposed to the construction contractors who are seen by respondents to operate through coercion and force (Site Visit, 31/07/2014).
8.3. ‘GOVERNO PAPA’ AND THE UNCRITICAL CITIZEN

8.3.1. Introduction

As the previous section described, in the absence of processes for participation in development, affected individuals long the N13 have only been able to interact with development by resisting the state, through acts of resistance and alternative forms of participation (Donzelot & Gordon, 2008; Foucault, 2009; Lemke, 2007; Scott, 1985, 1998). However, public participation, even alternative forms of participation depend on the agency and capacity of the citizenry which they serve to enfranchise. As Corbridge et al. (2005, p. 3) describe:

It is one thing to provide institutions to promote accountability and decision-making… and quite another to produce men and women who are able to participate effectively in these new or revamped structures. The production of skilled citizens is not something that happens overnight.

In other words, if citizens in a political system do not possess the knowledge, or the autonomy and desire to exercise their political rights and express their opinions, then they will not meaningfully contribute to mechanisms of participatory development or the negotiation of developmental outcomes (Gudynas, 2009; Pieck, 2013).

Operating from this conceptual understanding, Mattes and Shenga (2013) scrutinise citizenship in Mozambique through an examination of one particular ‘weapon of the weak’, namely, criticism of the state by citizens (Scott, 1985). Their investigation found that Mozambican citizens uncritically overrate the performance of the Mozambican state (Mattes & Shenga, 2013). In particular, they describe a citizenry which approves of and places high levels of trust in political institutions and leaders, yet expresses a scepticism towards government performance and development policy (Mattes & Shenga, 2013). To Mattes and Shenga (2013) ‘critical citizenship’ involves the display of healthy criticism by citizens who offer their leaders neither ‘blind trust’ nor cynical, knee-jerk distrust (Mattes & Shenga, 2013). However, in Mozambique, where state commitment to participatory development is low, citizens instead present the opposite archetype, that of an ‘uncritical citizenship’ (Mattes & Shenga, 2013).

This section interrogates this claim using the responses and experiences of affected individuals along the N13. It begins by exploring ‘critical citizenship’ within the study area. It explores the
extent to which affected individuals are willing to offer healthy criticism of the state, while analysing the characteristics that distinguish ‘critical citizens’ from ‘un-critical citizens’ (Mattes & Shenga, 2013). Next, it examines Mattes and Shengas (2013) interpretations of Mozambican ‘un-critical citizenship’, and explores how this concept helps to understand the response of citizens to the rehabilitation of the N13. Finally, it offers concluding statements on ‘critical citizenship’ and development from the perspective of affected individuals.

8.3.2. Critical Citizenship and Development in the North

In their study, Mattes and Shenga (2013) make several observations about the way that Mozambicans express their citizenship, chiefly that Mozambicans hold their leaders in high regard and place trust in them, but they freely voice criticism of government performance and development policy. Furthermore, they argue that Mozambicans show low commitment to neoliberal technologies of rule like good governance, public participation, and civil society organisations. From these observations they conclude that Mozambicans uncritically overrate the performance of the Mozambican state, which is in contrast to the literature on citizenship in post-conflict societies which describes a citizenship characterised by scepticism and distrust (Cramer & Goodhand, 2002; Hughes & Pupavac, 2006; Quaynor, 2012; Rubin, 2016; Russell & Quaynor, 2016).

Most of the respondents interviewed during this study display Mattes and Shenga’s (2013) archetype of the Mozambican ‘uncritical citizen’. Chapter Six has shown that many affected individuals along the N13 are critical of Mozambique’s neoliberal development agenda. Rather than endorse investment driven, infrastructural mega-projects, most respondents instead expressed a desire for a more developmental and interventionist state, focused on expanding social services and providing employment opportunities (Cebola, 13/11/2014; Natikiri #2, 17/07/2014; Rapale #3, 17/07/2014). Seldom, however, did this critical view on state development policy extend to criticism of government institutions or leadership. Even during a period of political transition179, few respondents openly offered criticism of the President, the ruling party Frelimo, local officials, or any other representative of the state. Most individuals within the study area have been shown to have a poor understanding of participatory development, and lack political and civil society representation (see Chapter 7). These

179 At the time of the fieldwork Armando Guebuza, president for ten years, was completing his final term, and his successor Filipe Nyusi was preparing to take office at the start of 2015.
characteristics suggest that a significant proportion of individuals along the N13 display Mattes and Shenga’s archetype of ‘uncritical citizenship’ (Mattes & Shenga, 2013). However, there were exceptions to this. In general, respondents can be categorised into two groups: first, the vast majority, who fit the aforementioned description of an ‘uncritical citizen’, and second, a minority who expressed scepticism towards the state, levying criticism either against state institutions or leaders. Both groups were distinct in a number of ways, and these distinctions offer insight into how differently placed individuals along the N13 both ‘see’ and resist the state.

The first group is characterised by a lack of scepticism towards the state, and had an almost apologetic attitude regarding the impacts of the road rehabilitation and the actions taken by local government to address them. Although these individuals at times expressed displeasure with certain aspects of the construction, they rarely offered criticism of the project itself, or its implementation by the state (Cebola, 13/11/2014). Moreover, they held a low opinion of participatory development and the role of the citizen in society, while maintaining a deferential outlook towards the state, viewing it as the ultimate source of developmental outcomes (Mutivasse #2, 17/07/2014; Natikiri #2, 16/07/2014; Rapale #1, 17/07/2014; Rapale #1, 17/07/2014). This attitude was succinctly embodied by a local idiom, ‘Governo Papa’, invoked both ironically and literally by respondents when referring to the state. Translated as ‘Father Government’, ‘Governo Papa’ represents the paternalistic relationship of the state in relation to its citizenry (Cebola, 13/11/2013). From this perspective, citizens have no role in the negotiation of developmental outcomes; development is the responsibility of government. Moreover, citizens do not struggle against the state, but rather trust government institutions and leadership to represent their interests and deliver the benefits of development (Scott, 1985, 1998).

These ‘uncritical citizens’ were common throughout the study area and may be described as being united by a number of characteristics. First, uncritical individuals were more likely to be older, relatively affluent, and successfully self-employed (Site Visit, 02/08/2014). Furthermore, these individuals were more likely to live in established communities near Nampula or one of the district capitals. These locations offer better access to social services, government offices, transport, and economic opportunity (i.e. Chica, Metacusse, Natikiri)\(^\text{180}\).

\(^\text{180}\) See Appendix I.
Finally, these ‘uncritical citizens’ enjoyed a closer connection to local leadership, with their propensity to levy criticism being affected by their closer proximity, either physically, personally or financially, to the state. Cebola (13/11/2014) describes observing this dynamic:

In my opinion it depends on the way in which they interact with local authorities. Sometimes we had people who said everything is good, but you see most of the time in the interviews when you have [a respondent] who says everything is good, most of the time they were a Chefe, or they were close to the local authorities. I would say depending on the proximity between the people and the local authorities they can be more critical or not. I think that most of the Chefes, and the people who are getting benefits from the government were more likely to be satisfied with what's happening (Cebola, 13/11/2014).

Thus, individuals who are better positioned (either spatially, economically, or politically) to capitalise on state-led development initiatives, are more likely to maintain a position of ‘uncritical citizenship’.

In contrast, the minority of individuals along the N13 who expressed a sense of ‘critical citizenship’ were characterised by their distance from the state, as well as their disconnection from Mozambican development processes. Three perspectives on Mozambican development that emerged during discussions with respondents, are: that development in Mozambique does not cater to the needs of the people, that the state pursues a pro-south agenda, and that Mozambican politics hinder development efforts (see Chapter 6). To some degree the first two perspectives were voiced by participants throughout the study. These critiques point to unhappiness with state development policy, but however, are not critical of government leaders or institutions, and thus these participants can be classified as ‘uncritical citizens’ (Mattes & Shenga, 2013). The third perspective however, directs criticism directly towards the state and reflects an unhappiness, expressed by some respondents, with Mozambican political actors (Malema #2, 02/08/2014; Mavila Uma, 21/07/2014; Namiconha, 19/07/2014; AP #50, 02/8/2014). These respondents displayed scepticism towards representatives of the state, and in

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181 Upon reflection, it is likely that these findings may be coloured by the active role that local officials played in arranging and facilitating focus groups during the fieldwork. By using local officials to help assemble participants, focus groups may have disproportionately consisted of individuals close to local leaders and thus more prone to express a non-critical narrative of development and the state (see Chapter 5).
some cases, a disillusionment with Mozambican development. In some instances, this manifested in direct criticism of the national government, Frelimo, or President Guebuza, while others directed their censure at the actions of local government (Malema #2, 02/08/2014; Mavila Uma, 21/07/2014; Namiconha, 19/07/2014). Although a minority within the study area, this latter group of citizens ‘see the state’ through the actions of its leaders, and expressed a sense of ‘critical citizenship’ by resisting the state through the levying of criticism, and displaying peasant resistance (Scott, 1985).

Only a small proportion of respondents were critical of the state. These individuals shared a common set of characteristics. First, critical individuals were young, relatively poor, and either unemployed or reliant on subsistence agriculture (Site Visit, 02/08/2014). Moreover, these individuals live in urban areas, such as district capitals and the bigger market towns, or in isolated, rural communities (i.e. Malema, Namiconha, and Ribuae for the former, and Nioce and Mavila Uma for the latter)\(^\text{182}\). Finally, these ‘critical citizens’ expressed a sense of distance (either spatial, social, or economic) between themselves and local representatives of the state. A respondent from Namiconha describes this sentiment:

> I’m against the government. The government is too lazy. If you don’t have any family in the government you are treated very poorly. You are not respected. Personally, I’m not proud of the government (Namiconha, 19/07/2014).

In addition to this critique of the state, some respondents expressed a feeling of political marginalisation (AP #50, 02/08/2014; Cebola, 13/11/2014; Malema #2, 02/08/2014; Namiconha, 19/07/2014). This might reflect the political contestation and conflict which still lingers through reoccurring political violence within the study area, a region characterised by its anti-Frelimo sentiment (AIM, 2013; BBC, 2013; Hanlon, 2013). Thus, in conclusion, individuals who are poorly connected to the state, and are ill-positioned to capitalise on state-led development initiatives, are more likely to resist the state through the levying of criticism as well as displaying an attitude of ‘critical citizenship’ (Scott, 1985, 1998).

\(^{182}\) See Appendix I.
8.3.3. Mozambican ‘Uncritical Citizenship’: Views from the N13

According to Corbridge et al. (2005), the proposition that neoliberal technologies of rule (good governance, public participation, and the inclusion of civil society organisations) can contribute to participatory development depends upon a conception of informed involvement. They note that the production of educated and critical citizens is not something that happens overnight; men and women have to be acquainted with the costs and benefits of participation, and informed of the possible consequences of development (Corbridge et al., 2005; Sen, 2001). Mattes and Shenga (2013) also make this connection, arguing that their observation of the lack of a critical dispensation amongst Mozambicans may be partially explained as a function of living in a low-information society, the primary features of which include a lack of schooling and limited access to news media (Mattes & Shenga, 2013). This correlation, between access to public information and a sense of ‘uncritical citizenship’, is the focus of this section. The evidence suggests that the study area is characterised by a population with a low level of information, a factor which contributes to the existence ‘uncritical citizens’, but with some caveats for urban areas (Mattes & Shenga, 2013). In addition, poor awareness of issues related to the Corridor and the road rehabilitation suggests that affected individuals are not in a position to articulate criticism, participate in local development, or resist the state (Scott, 1985, 1998).

Mattes and Shenga (2013) describe a lack of schooling and limited access to news media as distinguishing characteristics of a low-information society. Both characteristics are present within the study area. First, according to the VCC (2011), primary school completion rates along the corridor are only 8%, almost half the national average of 15%. Second, poor transport, sparse electrification, and an almost non-existent internet presence places access to news media out of the reach of most affected individuals (COMESA, 2013; Hanlon & Smart, 2012; VCC, 2011). As a consequence, knowledge within the study area is transmitted orally, with most individuals receiving public information through representatives of the state, or through informal conversation (Site Visit, 02/08/2014). In the absence of broad mechanisms for participation in the development of the N13, the study revealed that most affected

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183 Of the respondents consulted during the course of this study, the majority were illiterate, and few had attended secondary school. This trend was pronounced in rural communities (Site Visit, 02/08/2/140).

184 To some degree, the expansion of mobile telecommunications networks have improved access to communications and media, however for most individuals along the N13, even a basic mobile phone is seen as a luxury, and mobile data is largely unaffordable (Marusso, 31/07/2014; Mutivasse #1, 17/07/2014; Namina, 18/07/2014; Nacuca #2, 17/07/2014).
individuals obtain knowledge on local development through hearsay or personal observation (Cebola, 13/11/2014; Site Visit, 02/08/2014).

Reliance on informal sources of information has led to a largely uninformed citizenry, particularly with regards to the Nacala Development Corridor and the rehabilitation of the N13. Among nearly all respondents, awareness of the Corridor development was sporadic, inconsistent, and full of misinformation. More than half of respondents reported no knowledge of the project whatsoever. This was particularly the case in rural areas and communities located far from the rail line, such as Mavila Uma (21/07/2014), Metacusse (02/08/2014), Mutuali (01/08/2014), Nacata (01/08/201), and Zimbabwe (21/07/2014), where signs of the corridor development were limited. Communities near the rail line reported seeing newly painted train engines branded with Corredor de Desenvolvimento de Norte (CDN), so their awareness extended at least as far as that name (Chica, 19/07/2014; Nacuca, #1, 17/07/2014; Namina, 18/07/2014). However, even a number of respondents in urban areas, where information on the project was most freely available, reported no awareness of the project (Malema #1; 02/08/2014; Malema #2, 02/08/2014; Mutivasse #1, 17/07/2014, Mutivasse #2, 17/07/2014; Rapale #1, 17/07/2014).

Among those respondents who had some awareness of the corridor, a few reported having learned about the project during official consultations prior to the start of the rehabilitation work (Chica, 19/07/2014; Lurio, 31/07/2014; Marusso, 31/07/2014; Mavila Uma, 21/07/2014; Nacuca, #1, 17/07/2014; Namina, 18/07/2014; Natikiri #1, 16/07/2014). However, as previously described, those who had participated in formal participatory mechanisms were a small minority within the study area, so the remainder of the participants who reported awareness of the Corridor explained obtaining information largely through informal conversation, such as private discussions in public spaces (like markets) and hearsay from those who had obtained information through official channels (for example, AP #33, 01/08/2014; Cuamba, 30/07/2014; Lurio, 31/07/2014; Metacusse, 02/08/2014; Nacata, 01/08/2014; Nacuca #1, 17/07/2014; Namiconha, 19/07/2014; Natikiri #2, 16/07/2014; Nioce, 02/08/2014; Steel, 16/10/2012; Zamba and Nataniel, 22/10/2012). These informal processes of information dissemination have resulted in a significant amount of misinformation being understood as fact by respondents, with a number of participants describing details of the project which were distorted or incorrect (e.g. AP #33, 01/08/2014; Cuamba, 30/07/2014; Namina, 18/07/2014; Namiconha, 19/07/2014).
Furthermore, for the majority of respondents, knowledge regarding the road rehabilitation was also low, with official information only available to a minority. As with the Corridor development, the principal source of official information was participation in the consultations which preceded construction (AP #37, 02/08/2014; Lurio, 31/07/2014; Malema #1, 02/08/2014; Marusso, 02/08/2014; Metacusse, 02/08/2014; Muessi, 01/08/2014; Mutivasse #1, 17/07/2014; Mutuali, 01/08/2014; Namina, 18/07/2014; Rapale #4, 17/07/2014; Ribáuè #1, 19/07/2014; Zimbabwe, 21/07/2014). However, a few individuals also recalled hearing about the rehabilitation on the radio, the only form of news media cited by respondents (Malema #1, 02/08/2014; Metacusse, 02/08/2014; Muessi, 01/08/2014; Mutuali, 01/08/2014). For most respondents the leading source of knowledge dissemination concerning the rehabilitation was informal conversation and hearsay, sources which contributed to misinformation (AP #33, 01/08/2014; Mutivasse #2, 17/07/2014; Namiconha, 19/07/2014; Malema #1, 02/08/2014; Malema #2, 02/08/2014; Nioce, 02/08/2014; Rapale #1, 17/07/2014; Rapale #4, 17/07/2014; Zamba and Nataniel, 22/10/2013). For example, in Nioce (02/08/2014), respondents were unfamiliar with the designation ‘N13’. They referred to the road as the ‘80’ because the only information they had observed regarding the rehabilitation had been the new speed limit signs placed in their community, designating the new speed limit as 80 Km/h (Site Visit, 02/08/2014). Finally, for the majority of respondents, a major source of information regarding the construction came from observing the rehabilitation work occurring within their communities (Cuamba, 30/07/2014; Malema #2, 02/08/2014; Nacata, 01/08/2014; Zimbabwe, 21/07/2014). In fact, several respondents who reported receiving no notification described learning about the project only by seeing construction equipment arrive outside their door (AP #42, 02/08/2014; Lurio, 31/07/2014; Mutuali, 01/08/2014; Nioce, 02/08/2014). One individual described this moment:

When the construction workers came I was scared because I had not heard anything about the project. Just all of a sudden there were people from all over Mozambique working outside my door. I had no idea what was going on (Mutuali, 01/08/2014).

This lack of formal knowledge regarding the rehabilitation was again most pronounced in rural communities, but also appeared in denser urban areas where the road works were less apparent (Cuamba, 30/07/2014; Malema #1, 02/08/2014; Malema #2, 02/08/2014; Mutuali, 01/08/2014; Namiconha, 19/07/2014; Nioce, 02/08/2014; Rapale #1, 17/07/2014; Rapale #4, 17/07/2014).
At the time of the fieldwork, road works were not currently ongoing within a number of the district capitals (i.e. Malema, Rapale, and Cuamba), with construction stopping at the limits of town and starting again on the other side (Site Visit, 02/08/2014).

In sum, the lack of citizen awareness surrounding the rehabilitation of the N13 and the Nacala Development Corridor supports Mattes and Shenga’s (2013) argument that Mozambique is a low-information society. Within the study area, education levels are low, access to news media is minimal, and reliance on informal sources of information has led to a largely uninformed citizenry, contributing to the existence of ‘uncritical citizens’ in the study area. The previous section suggested that individuals who are poorly connected to the state are more likely to resist the state through the levying of criticism as well as an attitude of ‘critical citizenship’ (Scott, 1985, 1998). Moreover, this analysis suggests that that the positionality of an individual also impacts his or her ability to access information regarding local development issues (Cebola, 13/11/2014). As a consequence, those with low awareness of the project were less likely to be critical, as their lack of knowledge of the project seemed to preclude them from offering criticism. This was pronounced in rural communities (i.e. Mutuali, Nacata, and Zimbabwe), where education levels are lower and individuals are more likely to be distant from local authorities. Conversely, respondents in urban areas (i.e. Malema, Namiconha, Rapale, and Ribâuê) were more likely to be educated and are therefore able to offer a critical perspective. However, these individuals, despite living in urban areas, did not appear to have significantly better access to public information than their rural counterparts, and often showed similarly low levels of awareness regarding local development issues. This could be because these individuals were more likely to be unemployed or economically marginalised in some way, distancing them from local centres of power (Cuamba, 30/07/2014; Malema #1, 02/08/2014; Malema #2, 02/08/2014; Namiconha, 19/07/2014; Rapale #1, 17/07/2014; Rapale #4, 17/07/2014).

8.3.4. Weapon of the Weak: Criticism and Fear in Mozambique

The previous section has explored Mattes and Shenga’s (2013) concept of ‘uncritical citizenship’ within the context of the rehabilitation of the N13. The analysis suggests that the concept is generally appropriate for describing the ways in which affected individuals exercise, or fail to exercise, one ‘weapon of the weak’, that is, the levying of criticism by a citizen of the state (Mattes & Shenga, 2013; Scott, 1985). In particular, it shows that respondents were
generally uncritical of local development issues and that this ‘uncritical citizenship’ can be at least partially attributed to the consequences of living in a low-information society, namely: low levels of educational achievement, constrained access to news media, and the reliance on informal information streams in the face of poor official knowledge circulation (Mattes & Shenga, 2013). The section has also described how the positionality of an affected individual (spatial, economic, social) and his or her relationship to local officials appears as a determinant to both their access to public information and their likelihood to exercise alternative forms of participation, such as delivering a complaint or levying criticism (Scott, 1985, 1998).

Corbridge at al. (2005) note that narratives of participatory development are often reticent about the costs of participation for affected individuals. As such, they frequently ignore the intangible costs of acts of resistance in non-democratic or closed political societies (Corbridge et al., 2005). During the course of this study one such cost emerged, a palpable fear on behalf of some citizens to express a dissenting voice. Respondents from a number of communities described a genuine fear of state power, as well as an atmosphere of tension and intimidation clouding their interactions with local officials (AP #38, 02/08/2014; Namiconha, 19/07/2014; Nioce, 02/08/2014). To most, this was most evident when resisting by either delivering a complaint or voicing criticism (Malema #2, 02/08/2014; Namiconha, 19/07/2014). Cebola (13/11/2014) describes observing this tension:

> Sometimes they were afraid. They were afraid to criticise or to complain, because they thought that if they complained then maybe the government would imprison them, or they would be reprimanded by the local authorities.

As the quote at the beginning of the chapter illustrated, under such conditions many respondents reported declining to pursue alternative participation pathways altogether, preferring to maintain their silence and anonymity (Malema #2, 02/08/2014; Namiconha, 19/07/2014; AP #50, 02/08/2014). As a cost of alternative participation and disincentive towards critical speech, fear of state power is only briefly hinted at by Mattes and Shenga (2013), however, it helps to explain Mozambicans’ reticence to resist the state and exercise a

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185 Such narratives that do exist often focus on personal, financial, or opportunity costs, i.e. trade-offs that can be monetised or otherwise calculated in some way (Corbridge et al., 2005). However, in Mozambique, there are very few English-language accounts of participatory development, so it is difficult to assess if this observation applies within a Mozambican context.
sense of ‘critical citizenship’. Fear, as a disenfranchising impact, also supports the literature on non-democratic or post-conflict states, which stress the enclosed and immutable nature of such political spaces (Hanlon, 1991; Israel, 2009; Koch, 2013; Nelson, 2013; West, 2007). Such fear is evidence of the authoritarian Mozambican state.

8.4. CONCLUSION

This chapter contributes to the overall aim of the study by describing alternative forms of participation and resistance in Mozambique, through the experiences of affected individuals along the N13. It pursues three of the study’s research objectives. Building on objectives explored in Chapter Seven, it: interrogation the role of intermediaries, such as civil society organisations and traditional leadership, in shaping interactions between citizen and state along the N13, and; explores how local development, the construction of the Nacala Development Corridor, and the N13 highway rehabilitation have affected the ways in which citizens and local agents of the state ‘see’ each other. In addition, the Chapter interrogates how citizens within the study area resist or struggle against the state through alternative forms of participation. Moreover, it contributes to the study’s objective of providing a theoretical understanding of state-citizen relations in development processes in a post-conflict developing country.

Scott (1985) argues that in absence of neoliberal technologies of rule, an alternative form of participation, in the form of small everyday acts of resistance take place. Scott’s (1985) concept of ‘weapons of the weak’, i.e. the resistance of citizens against government officials or systems of rule, provides an understanding of how poor and marginalised people maintain a sense of dignity and self-worth in the face of the preponderance of state power. The evidence presented in this study, however, suggests that within Mozambique these interactions are complicated and framed by the unique ways in which citizen’s along the N13 ‘see the state’, and in turn how the state ‘sees’ or fails to ‘see’ its citizens within development (Corbridge et al., 2005; Scott, 1998). First, the previous chapter described how a citizen’s positionality, in particular his or her position relative to the state and local intermediaries, informs their ability to engage local government over issues of development. This chapter suggests that an individual’s positionality also determines his or her ability to resist the state through alternative forms of participation, namely, delivering complaints and exercising criticism.
The delivering of complaints is interpreted here as a ‘weapon of the weak’ (Scott, 1976, 1985, 1990). The evidence suggests that affected individuals who had been included in participatory processes were more likely to report positive interactions when complaining to local officials. Conversely, individuals marginalised from political processes were less likely to have delivered a complaint, or describe a successful resolution if they had. These interactions with local government do not occur from a position of equality, and are characterised by paternalism, hierarchal relations, and non-participation. Through this lens respondents ‘see the state’, in the sense that by delivering a complaint, state institutions, and the power arrangements that underpin them, ‘come into view’ (Corbridge et al., 2005). Yet, to affected individuals, this ‘view’ is coloured by their feelings of powerlessness, as well as their perceptions of the powerlessness of the local officials, who serve as ‘trustees’ in the interests of their citizenry, but also must act within their mandates dictated by the national government.

The levying of criticism is the second ‘weapon of the weak’ used by citizens within the study area (Scott, 1976, 1985, 1990). The use of this ‘weapon’ illustrates the power dynamics associated with resisting the Mozambican state. The analysis suggests that Mattes and Shenga’s (2013) concept of ‘uncritical citizenship’ is appropriate for describing the ways in which affected individuals within the study area exercise, or fail to exercise, alternative forms of participation. Moreover, this sense of ‘uncritical citizenship’ can be at least partially attributed to the consequences of living in a low-information society, namely: low levels of educational achievement, constrained access to news media, and reliance on informal information streams in the face of poor official knowledge circulation (Mattes & Shenga, 2013). Moreover, an affected citizen’s ability to exercise a sense of ‘critical citizenship’, through an act of resistance or alternative form of participation, including delivering a complaint or levying criticism, appears to be strongly tied to that individual’s positionality (spatial, economic, social), in particular, his or her position relative to the state and powerful intermediaries such as traditional leadership (Scott, 1985, 1998). As a consequence, those who are in a position to resist the state are unlikely to do so, as they are also better positioned to benefit from the preponderance of state power within development processes. Thus, the role of the Mozambican state as ‘Governo Papa’, ‘Father Government’, goes largely unchallenged due to a lack of democratic processes and the dominance of an authoritarian state, and is further reinforced through development.
CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSION

“They take the earth up in their machines and then they drop it again. It’s like drinking your tea and then eating the sugar. What have they accomplished?”
–Used Clothing Salesman from Cuamba (30/07/2014)

As this study has described, intensive infrastructure development has been a hallmark of modern Mozambican history (Domínguez-Torres & Briceño-Garmendia, 2011; Newitt, 1995). Since the conclusion of the Civil War in 1992, and Mozambique’s subsequent neoliberal turn in the mid-1990s, this development has been increasingly characterised by spatial development initiatives (SDIs), in the form of development corridors and infrastructural mega-projects (Domínguez-Torres & Briceño-Garmendia, 2011; Mold, 2012; Tate, 2011). The case study chosen for this research, the Nacala Development Corridor and the Rehabilitation of the N13 Highway, is among the most significant development projects currently being implemented in Mozambique, and typifies the Mozambican state’s proclivity towards infrastructural investment (Byiers & Vanheukelom, 2014; Kuhlmann et al., 2011; Tate, 2011).

A survey of literature on infrastructural investment in developing nations suggests that often affected citizens are able to negotiate with the state over local developmental outcomes through engagement with governance mechanisms and the advocacy of interested intermediaries (Bebbington et al., 2008a; Bebbington et al., 2008b; Bryceson et al., 2008; Mendoza et al., 2007; Pieck, 2013). In Mozambique, participation in developmental decision-making processes is a legal right, enshrined in the 1990 Constitution, which affirms the state’s commitment to neoliberal forms of governance, and explicitly declares that development policies should be formulated “in collaboration with…appropriate partners”, namely, affected citizens, and intermediaries, like civil society (Mozambique, 2004, p. 172). However, an examination of Mozambique’s experiences suggests that the dominance of the state within developmental processes, as well as a lack of commitment to governance, limits the ability of Mozambican citizens to equitably engage the state regarding infrastructure and development (Ahlers et al., 2012; Castel-Branco, 2003, 2007; Castel-Branco et al., 2005; Cunguara & Hanlon, 2012; Funada-Classen, 2012; Hanlon, 1991; Hanlon & Smart, 2012; Jindal et al., 2012).
This problem gives rise to the question posed by this study: What are the impacts of the development of the Nacala Development Corridor and the rehabilitation of the N13 Highway on local citizens, and how have these impacts affected the relationship between citizen and state within the study area?

It is critical to understand the Mozambican context in which this study takes place. Mozambique has had a traumatic history, characterised by conflict and exploitation. As a Portuguese colony for over 400 years, Mozambique endured the violence of colonial occupation, the slave trade, and a prolonged resistance struggle (Finnegan, 1993; Newitt, 1981, 1995; Nordstrom, 1997). Despite a sense of optimism and commitment to an active developmental state, independence, concluded in 1975, brought further hardship as renewed violence and civil war devastated the nation and reversed new developmental gains (Arnold, 2008; Cabrita, 2001; Finnegan, 1993). The conclusion of peace in 1992 signalled a shift in outlook for the Mozambican state. Breaking with the developmentalism of the post-independence period, Mozambique, during the 1990s, embraced neoliberal institutions and ideology, partnering with the IMF and the World Bank to reduce government expenditure and encourage free market investment (Hanlon, 1996; Hanlon & Smart, 2012).

Neoliberal Mozambique has witnessed significant macro-economic growth over the past two decades (Dibben, 2007; Phiri, 2012). However, the benefits of these developments have not been universally distributed throughout the country. Despite impressive growth rates, poverty, particularly in rural areas, remains persistent, and in some instances has grown (Cunguara & Hanlon, 2012; Giesbert & Schindler, 2012). Rapid growth has also exacerbated regional tensions between the politically-marginalised yet resource-rich north and state institutions concentrated in the capital Maputo (Hanlon & Smart, 2012; Phiri, 2012). A resurgence of political violence since 2013, has left a state well-poised for future development, yet exhausted by conflict and plagued by uncertainty (AIM, 2013; Arndt et al., 2016; Frey, 2016b; Hanlon, 2013).

To explore the question posed by this study within this Mozambican context, this research adopts a qualitative approach, drawing on interviews (86), focus groups (27), observation, and primary document analysis, which are analysed using thematic analysis. The fieldwork took place across two pilot studies (March 2012 and October 2012) and an extended fieldwork
period within the study area (July and August 2014). In addition, key-stakeholder interviews were conducted in Maputo and Durban, South Africa (2012-2014).

The study was conducted in communities alongside the N13 Highway, within the Nacala Development Corridor, in order to examine the immediate impacts of the highway rehabilitation, as well as any effects that might be felt from the development of the Corridor. The study area encompassed the breadth of phase one\textsuperscript{186} of the N13 Highway Rehabilitation Programme, extending from the city of Nampula in Nampula Province to the city of Cuamba in Niassa Province. This case study was selected for a number reasons, including: the importance of the two infrastructural mega-projects to Mozambique’s national development objectives; the location of the projects in a remote and infrastructurally deficient region; the scale of the projects which contributed to a diverse range of involved actors; and their extended timeframe which allowed for several periods of data collection.

Infrastructural investment is widely touted within neoliberal institutions as the main pathway to growth and development for developing nations, particularly in Africa, where major infrastructural deficits exist (Calvet & Broto, 2015; Lucas & Thompson, 2016; Mold, 2012; Straub & Terada-Hagiwara, 2011). Within the global north and middle income countries, infrastructure development is generally accompanied by governance mechanisms which are meant to hold the state accountable to its citizens (Lucas & Thompson, 2016; Wahid et al., 2016; Young & McPherson, 2013). Moreover, within some developing contexts, such as in Latin America, social movements have proven successful in challenging the state over infrastructure development (Bebbington et al., 2008a; Bebbington et al., 2008b). However, in Africa, most states are characterised by a lack of accountability and a weak capacity to govern (Akanbi, 2013; Mold, 2012). Moreover, African social movements have failed to coalesce around infrastructural issues, and have been unable to challenge the dominance of state power within infrastructure development (Akanbi, 2013). The literature on Mozambique, in particular, suggests that regarding infrastructure development, weak governance structures accompanied by a passive sense of citizenship leaves the citizenry poorly positioned to confront the state through formal governance mechanisms (Broto et al., 2015; Dominguez-Torres & Briceño-Garmendia, 2011; Mattes & Shenga, 2013; Sumich, 2010).

\textsuperscript{186} See Chapter Four for a description of NDC and the various phases of the NRCP
In response to this problem, the aim of this thesis is to analyse the construction of the Nacala Development Corridor and the rehabilitation of the N13 Highway, in order to interrogate the impacts of the development on local citizens and examine the relationship between citizen and state within these processes. The study utilises this analysis in order to address a theoretical question regarding the nature of state-citizen negotiation within infrastructure development.

In order to achieve this aim, nine objectives were proposed:

1. To explore the importance of infrastructure investment and infrastructural mega-projects, like the Nacala Corridor and the rehabilitation of the N13, in Mozambique’s overall development vision.
2. To investigate how Mozambique’s development vision and agenda is interpreted and received by local communities, specifically in the rural north.
3. To examine how individuals within the study area interpret and react to the changes occurring within their communities.
4. To explore how local communities have experienced the impacts of development, specifically the construction of the Nacala Development Corridor and the Rehabilitation of the N13 Highway.
5. To examine the degree to which affected individuals along the N13 have participated in the negotiation of local development outcomes.
6. To interrogate the role of intermediaries, such as civil society organisations and traditional leadership, in shaping interactions between citizen and state along the N13.
7. To explore how local development, the construction of the Nacala Development Corridor, and the N13 highway rehabilitation have affected the ways in which citizens and local agents of the state ‘see’ each other.
8. To interrogate how citizens within the study area resist or struggle against the state through alternative forms of participation.
9. To provide a theoretical understanding of state-citizen relations within development processes in a post-conflict developing nation.

These nine objectives guided the data analysis across the three results chapters. Chapter Six addresses the first two objectives. It frames development at a national level by exploring how development within the country is generalised, both in Maputo and the study area. This contextualisation facilitates understandings of state-citizen relations within the study area.
Chapters Seven and Eight focus specifically on developments taking place within the study area. Chapter Seven addresses objectives three, four, five, six, and seven. It examines how citizens along the N13 have experienced the impacts of the rehabilitation and the construction of the NDC, and how they have engaged the state to negotiate local developmental outcomes. Chapter Eight addresses objectives six, seven, and eight. It explores citizenship within the study area, and the ways in which citizens engage or resist the state through alternative forms of participation. Finally, objective nine is the over-arching theoretical objective of this study. It has been informed by the analysis in each data chapter, and is addressed in the following section.

This study revealed that in the case of the Nacala Development Corridor and the rehabilitation of the N13 Highway, state-citizen relations in Mozambique are complex, and are constantly being reshaped by the transformational impacts of infrastructural development.

Both the Nacala Development Corridor and the rehabilitation of the N13 Highway typify neoliberal developmental tendencies within the Mozambican state. Mega-projects, like the NDC and the rehabilitation of the N13, are radical programmes for change, which seek to bring development through broad strokes. Moreover, neoliberal arrangements reinforce the role of the state as developmental planner and decision-maker, but designate significant responsibility for implementation to intermediaries, such as donors and the private sector. However, as literature on infrastructural mega-projects suggests, these types of radical changes were often rejected by the citizenry which they are meant to serve, who instead look to development for incremental quality of life improvements (Castel-Branco, 2003, 2007; Castel-Branco et al., 2015; Castel-Branco et al., 2005; Hanlon, 1996; Hanlon & Smart, 2012; Scott, 1998). In Mozambique, this rejection of the state’s neoliberal development vision is also accompanied by a sense of citizen disenfranchisement from developmental decision-making processes, a feeling that was amplified within citizens in the study area by a perceived pro-south bias on behalf of the state, as well as resurgent political violence across the country.

Using Corbridge et al.’s (2005) metaphor of ‘sight’, if the Mozambican state sees through its population to development, Mozambican citizens largely ‘see the state’ through development. The research shows the state is broadly coming into view through the development associated with the Corridor and the N13 rehabilitation. Largely, affected citizens have coped with the impacts of the two projects. However, as a result of these developments and their varied
impacts, citizens along the N13 are increasingly encountering the state in their daily lives. Through the intensification of local development, it has been necessary for affected citizens to alter their relationship with a previously ‘invisible’ distant government. The rehabilitation in particular, has dramatically increased the number and nature of interactions of local communities with state institutions, largely through local government, by forcing affected individuals to negotiate their continued existence in relation to the road. Furthermore, although the Mozambican state is avowedly neoliberal in outlook, it has not successfully integrated neoliberal technologies of rule (good governance, public participation, and the inclusion of civil society organisations) into development practice. As a result, processes of negotiation over local developmental outcomes are shallow, with the state dominating in decision-making processes. Moreover, in the absence of a flourishing civil society, citizens are often forced to negotiate through traditional leadership who act as intermediaries, and who are not necessarily accountable to the citizenry and are not universally accessible to citizens within the study area. As a consequence, participatory mechanisms within the study area appear shallow or non-existent, while only citizens positioned close to centres of power are able to meaningfully contribute to the negotiation of local developmental outcomes.

Owing to the impacts associated with these developments, citizens within the study area are increasingly seeking to hold the state accountable on development issues. However, in the absence of formal participatory mechanisms some citizens have turned to alternative forms of participation in order to have their voices heard. The efficacy of these ‘weapons of the weak’, namely the delivering of complaints and the delivering of criticism, is strongly tied to a citizen’s positionality, in particular their position relative to the state or traditional leadership (Scott, 1985). As a consequence, alternative forms of participation are unevenly available to citizens within the study area, and are largely ineffective at challenging the state’s dominance in development processes. Furthermore, reflecting the findings of Mattes and Shenga (2013), the majority of citizens within the study area were reluctant to resist the state through alternative forms of participation, instead demonstrating a passive sense of ‘uncritical’ citizenship. The study suggested that individuals willing to resist the state were generally better educated and located in urban areas, where information and state institutions are more accessible. However, as a consequence of the overwhelmingly rural nature of the study area, the study uncovered only a few individuals who were able to successfully challenge the state through alternative forms of participation, such as delivering complaints and levying criticism.
This study has provided empirical evidence of Mozambican state-citizen relations within a contemporary developmental context. Mozambique, English-language empirical research on infrastructure provision is sparse, with a paucity of research on the tensions that arise between citizen and state within affected communities. This is also true for the rest of Africa, where the unique experiences of citizens affected by infrastructural development are generally under-researched. Moreover, the research contributes to theoretical debates within governmentality studies and adds to a growing body of governmentality studies within the global south.

In their study of development, citizen, and the state, Corbridge et al. (2005) observed that within the negotiation of developmental outcomes, the state fails its citizens on a regular and predictable basis. The theoretical objective of this study has been to explore the extent to which this is true in Mozambique; to provide an understanding of state-citizen relations within development processes in a post-conflict developing nation. The study found that through developments associated with the construction of the Nacala Development Corridor and the rehabilitation of the N13 Highway, interactions between citizen and state have multiplied, and the Mozambican state has increasingly ‘come into view’ for citizens in the north.

In India, Corbridge et al. (2005) note that these sightings are shaped by encounters between citizen state at a local level. For rural Indians, previously outside the pale of state power, this occurs through development and the extension of state services into previously rural areas; through interactions such as accessing state grants, requesting an identity card, or participating in a school board meeting (Corbridge et al., 2005). This thesis described similar processes occurring within the study area. Because of the development of the Nacala Development Corridor and the rehabilitation of the N13 Highway, citizens within the study area are increasingly encountering the state in their daily lives, primarily through interaction with local government over impacts stemming from the rehabilitation, such as the destruction of property, resettlement, dust, or employment opportunities. For most affected individuals, it is through these interactions that a previous ‘invisible’ state has increasingly ‘come into view’.

Corbridge et al. (2005) caution against forming a homogenised view of ‘state-poor’ encounters. They argue that encounters between citizen and state vary from individual to individual, while a differently poor citizen may form a dramatically different sighting of the state than their neighbour (Corbridge et al., 2005). This observation was also apparent in the context of the N13, where a citizen’s position relative to centres of power, namely local officials or traditional
leadership, affected a number of characteristics of their sighting of the state: namely their impressions of local development, their hopefulness for the future, and their willingness to resist the state through alternative forms of participation such as delivering a complaint or levying criticism. Indeed, in authoritarian Mozambique, where the circulation of information is low, and participatory processes are non-democratic and tokenist, the positionality of a citizen more significantly factors into a citizens view of the state, while only well positioned citizens are able to meaningfully contribute to the negotiation of local developmental outcomes (Arnstein, 1969).

The authoritarian nature of the Mozambican state further structures the interaction between citizen and state around development. Murray-Li (2007b) observing development processes in democratic Indonesia, describes an interventionist developmental state, motivated by a sense of ‘trusteeship’ and a ‘will to improve’, working in conjunction with civil society organisations to engage its citizenry as equals over the consequences of development. While it can be said that the Mozambican state has also made efforts to engage its citizenry over the impacts of the Nacala Development Corridor and the rehabilitation of the N13, these interactions are not of an inclusive, participatory nature, rather they are distinguished by a sense of ‘Governo Papa’, a paternalistic and hierarchal notion of state power that structures citizen-state relations within the study area. This is abetted, first, by the authoritarian neoliberal Mozambican state and the dominance it exerts with regard to developmental issues, and second, by a passive citizenry which is largely unable, due to the general lack of participatory process, or unwilling through a fear of the state, to react to the impacts of development they experience and challenge the state. Or when negotiation fails, due the lack of a flourishing civil society to resist the state effectively.

Mattes and Shenga (2013) speculate this archetype of the passive, ‘uncritical citizen’, can be explained through a combination of factors, including: the poor dissemination of official information; fear of voicing dissent within a post-socialist, authoritarian state; the domination of political discourse by Frelimo after 41 years as the ruling party; an electoral system that distances citizens from political processes, and; cultural and societal characteristics shaped by indigenous tradition and centuries of Portuguese colonial rule. All of these factors could be observed to some extent within the study area and highlight the importance of the Mozambican context in understanding citizen-state relations within Mozambican development. A context that continues to change as rapid economic growth confronts lingering rural poverty, and
resurgent political violence threatens future developmental gains. As the used clothing salesman from Cuamba asked at the start of this chapter, “…what have they accomplished?”
REFERENCES


IFAD. (2012). Enabling Poor Rural People to Overcome Poverty in Mozambique (pp. 8). Rome, Italy: International Fund for Agricultural Development.


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APPENDICES:
APPENDIX I: INTERVIEW RESPONDENTS

A)  Pilot Interviews:

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<td>Texeira</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Ticotico</td>
<td>Capulana Vendor</td>
<td>Ribáuè, Mozambique</td>
<td>October 17th, 2012</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Uaferro</td>
<td>Employee at Nuarro Lodge. From Malema.</td>
<td>Memba, Mozambique</td>
<td>October 19th, 2012</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>Vashko</td>
<td>Manager at Nuarro Lodge</td>
<td>Memba, Mozambique</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>Zamba and Nataniel</td>
<td>Ministry of Culture</td>
<td>Ilha de Mocambique</td>
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### B) Key Stakeholder Interviews:

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E) Focus Group Interviews:

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<td>18</td>
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<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Natikiri #2</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Women</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>Ribáuè #2</td>
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<td>204</td>
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F) Informal Interviews:

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<td>37 E: 522661 N: 8331216</td>
<td>Men sitting</td>
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<td>July 22, 2014</td>
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<td>July 22, 2014</td>
<td>37 E: 518389 N: 8334507</td>
<td>Bicyclists carrying charcoal</td>
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<td>July 22, 2014</td>
<td>37 E: 513775 N: 8337567</td>
<td>Two women shucking beans</td>
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<td>July 22, 2014</td>
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<td>July 22, 2014</td>
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<td>Drunk women with children</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>July 22, 2014</td>
<td>37 E: 505503 N: 8341162</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>July 22, 2014</td>
<td>37 E: 491470 N: 8343096</td>
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<td>July 22, 2014</td>
<td>37 E: 481881 N: 8343914</td>
<td>Women selling cabanga (maize</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>beer)</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>July 22, 2014</td>
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| 17  | July 22, 2014     | 37 E: 439067  
N: 8337935 | People walking with sugarcane                           |
| 18  | July 22, 2014     | 37 E: 436116  
N: 8334933 | Men playing bao                                         |
| 19  | July 22, 2014     | 37 E: 429264  
N: 8336612 | Man sitting by his house                                |
| 20  | July 22, 2014     | 37 E: 427184  
N: 8346674 | Woman walking on road                                   |
| 21  | July 30, 2014     | 37 E: 241594  
N: 8362270 | People sitting in front of house                        |
| 22  | July 30, 2014     | 37 E: 245507  
N: 8363084 | Woman at her house, overlooking construction             |
| 23  | July 30, 2014     | 37 E: 249450  
N: 8363589 | Family sitting by house                                 |
| 24  | July 30, 2014     | 37 E: 253037  
N: 8364243 | Women selling vegetables                                 |
| 25  | July 30, 2014     | 37 E: 255525  
N: 8364284 | People by road selling vegetables                       |
| 26  | July 31, 2014     | 37 E: 273916  
N: 8364114 | Man selling charcoal                                    |
| 27  | July 31, 2014     | 37 E: 284781  
N: 8358473 | Man selling potatoes and onions                         |
| 28  | August 1, 2014    | 37 E: 289340  
N: 8353010 | Owner of baracca on the side of the road                |
| 29  | August 1, 2014    | 37 E: 295817  
N: 8350511 | Men outside shop                                         |
| 30  | August 1, 2014    | 37 E: 303599  
N: 8347816 | Man walking on road                                     |
| 31  | August 1, 2014    | 37 E: 305446  
N: 8347155 | Man selling onions on road                              |
| 32  | August 1, 2014    | 37 E: 308828  
N: 8346366 | Women selling beans and bananas                         |
| 33  | August 1, 2014    | 37 E: 315382  
N: 8345091 | Family with house on road                               |
| 34  | August 1, 2014    | 37 E: 318455  
N: 8345042 | Man selling sundries on road                            |
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<th>N:</th>
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<td>People selling tomatoes on road</td>
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<td>August 2, 2014</td>
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<td>August 2, 2014</td>
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<td>August 2, 2014</td>
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<td>August 2, 2014</td>
<td>362283</td>
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<td>Family living next to road</td>
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<td>48</td>
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<td>50</td>
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<td>415166</td>
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<td>Men building a house</td>
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APPENDIX II: ADMINISTRATIVE HIERARCHY
APPENDIX III: CREDENTIALS

UNIVERSIDADE EDUARDO MONDLANE
Faculdade de Letras e Ciências Sociais
Centro de Análise de Políticas (CAP)

CREDENCIAL

No âmbito da sua pesquisa de campo sobre o Corredor de Desenvolvimento do Norte de Moçambique, fica devidamente credenciado o Sr. MARC KALINA, Doutorando em Estudos de Desenvolvimento da Universidade de KwaZulu-Natal (África do Sul) e Estudante Visitante no Centro de Análise de Políticas (CAP) da Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, para realizar entrevistas junto da Administração Nacional de Estradas (ANE).

Desde já agradece-se o apoio que lhe será prestado para o sucesso desta pesquisa.

Maputo, 11 de Julho de 2014
Encontro realizado no Gabinete da Secretaria de Infraestrutura e Meio Ambiente.

A Secretaria apresentou o projeto e a resolução de 18 de abril de 2014 e a seguir ao pedido de atendimento, os procedimentos foram a seguir:

Nelson Amaral

A Secretaria de Infraestrutura e Meio Ambiente

A Secretaria de Infraestrutura e Meio Ambiente apresentou o projeto e a resolução de 18 de abril de 2014 e a seguir ao pedido de atendimento, os procedimentos foram a seguir:

Nelson Amaral

Assinado em: 30 de abril de 2014
Apresentou-se nesta Secretaria Comum da Localidade de Muesse, no dia 01.08.2014, regressa após dos trabalhos.

Muesse, 01.08.2014

(Chefe da Localidade)

Jornal Afonso Mendonça (Fernão)
— APRESENTADO —

NESTA SECRETARIA COMUM DA LOCALIDADE DE NOGUE, SUSH REGISTO Nº 100/SSLN/023-3/2014, EM 02/08/2014, E REGRESSA A SUA PROCEDENCIA APÓS CONCLUSÃO DOS TRABALHOS.

O CHEFE DA SECRETARIA COMUM

[Assinatura]

[Seal]
UNIVERSIDADE EDUARDO MONTLANE
Faculdade de Letras e Ciências Sociais
Centro de Análise de Políticas (CAP)

CREDENCIAL


Desde já agradece-se o apoio que lhe será prestado para o sucesso desta pesquisa.

Maputo, 11 de Julho de 2014

Raimondo Cardoso Manamonga, PhD
(Professor Auxiliar)
SECRETARIA DE DISTRITO
DE MALOMA NO 20 310.14
E RÉSPONSA A PEDIDOS
PRESOS NO 10.14
ADMINISTRAÇÃO DO DISTRITO DE MALOMA
Mualoma, 20.14

O CÉU DA SECRETARIA

O CHEFE DA SECRETARIA

A PRESENTOU-SE A JUNTA
SECRETARIA COMUM DA
LOCALIDADE DE NUESSE
NO DIA 01-08-2014, REGISTREU
APÓS OS TRABALHOS.
NUESSE, 01-08-2014
O CHEFE DA LOCALIDADE
BAITE BERNARDO (TÉCNICO)
A) Interviews Introduction:

Hello, my name is Marc Kalina, and I am a Doctoral student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in Durban, South Africa. I am conducting research investigating the impacts of the N13 Highway Rehabilitation Project on local development and the environment. As an important stake-holder in the development process in this region of Mozambique I am requesting that you participate in this research by granting me an interview. The information collected will only be used for the purposes of completing my Doctoral dissertation.

Your responses will be kept confidential at all times. Your personal details are not required for this study. Your participation is voluntary and you may withdraw your permission to participate at any stage. I am willing to provide your organisation with a copy of the report upon completion.
B) Key Stakeholder Interviews:

Section A: Background

1. What is the name of your department/organization? (Discussion: A) How long has it existed? B) If foreign, how long has it been active in Mozambique? C) Where is it based? D) How is it funded? E) What are its goals? F) What is its legal mandate?)

2. What is your current position? (Discussion: A) What are your responsibilities? B) Who are you answerable to? C) How long have you been in this position? D) Have you held any other relevant positions?)

3. How long have you worked in Mozambique (For Foreigners)

4. What is your experience of working in Nampula and Niassa Provinces in the past? (Discussion: A) How often? B) For what purpose? C) What are your impressions of development in the area?)

5. Has your department/organisation been actively involved in infrastructure projects in these provinces or Mozambique in general? (Discussion: A) Which? B) What has been the nature of the involvement?)

6. How does your department/organisation interact with the Mozambican government?

7. What are your department/organisation’s main achievements?

Section B: A Mozambican Modernity

1. How do you interpret the state’s development vision? (Discussion: A) What development model is Mozambique following? B) Is it taking the route of the West? C) How has it diverged? D) Is there one coherent vision? E) Or do you see conflicting visions for a ‘modern’ Mozambique? F) Why has there been such a strong focus on infrastructure development? G) To what degree is modernisation and development in Mozambique a process of co-production by different actors?)

2. What are the state’s (local, regional, national) set of development goals and how well are its interventions tailored towards achieving them? (Discussion: A) What is the role of infrastructure development in achieving these goals?)

3. What are the state’s indicators/ criteria (published/expressed by correspondents) for success in achieving its development goals (on this and other projects) and how are they being measured and communicated?
4. What is the current state of infrastructure development in Mozambique? (Discussion: A) What are the major projects?)

5. If you were to list a range of actors who collectively act to get large-scale development projects implemented, who would these actors be? (Discussion: A) What role does each play/ B) How would their roles differ?)

6. To what extent do economic goals override environmental and social concerns in the development process? (Discussion: A) Do you see this as an increasing trend as infrastructure projects are rolled out? B) What are the main drivers pushing /influencing the integration of environmental and social concerns with development?)

Section C: The Nacala Corridor

1. Are you aware of the Nacala Development Corridor Programme? A) What details do you know of the project? B) When did you first hear of the project? C) How did you hear about it? How was it described to you? D) How did you initially feel the project would affect the area, positively and negatively? E) What has been your involvement? F) How important is the project within the State’s development programme? G) How do you think the state’s goals and development vision is interpreted and accepted by decision-makers in the north? H) How do you think the state’s goals and development vision is interpreted and accepted by local communities in the north?

2. Are you aware of the N13 Highway Rehabilitation Project? (Discussion: A) What details do you know about the project? B) When did you first hear of the project? C) How did you hear about it? D) How was it described to you? E) How did you initially feel the project would affect the area, positively and negatively? F) What has been your involvement? G) How do you think the N13 Project correlates with the larger Corridor Programme?)

3. Who are the actors in this project, and at what scales are they active (i.e. Local, Provincial, National, Global)? (Discussion: A) What is the role of foreign donors and contractors? B) How is that role perceived by your organisation? C) By the Mozambican government? D) How has the State influenced project design, monitoring and evaluation?)

4. What do you think are the broader implications of the Nacala Development Corridor and specifically the N13 Highway Rehabilitation Project for local people? (Discussion: A) How has the state presented the improvements that will be created through the project to local people living in the development corridor? B) How do you expect the project to affect local communities now that it has begun, positively and negative? C) Have there been any social
or environmental issues associated with the project? D) Has there been any form of skills transfer as a side-effect of utilising foreign contractors?

5. To what extent have local people experienced the social, economic, and environmental impacts of the N13 Project? (Discussion: A) How has the life of local people been changed by the project?)

6. How was the environmental and social impact assessment for the N13 project conducted? (Discussion: A) Who conducted the assessment? B) How well did it conform to national guidelines? C) What was the role of expert consultants? D) What role did donors have in shaping the assessment process?)

7. What are the mechanisms for managing the social and environmental impacts of the intervention? (Discussion: A) How are these being monitored?)

Section D: Participation

1. To what extent have local people participated in, or contributed to, the social, economic, and environmental assessment of the N13 Project? (Discussion: A) How would you categorise the level of participation, why? B) How, if at all, has the participatory process influenced project design or implementation? C) Have these processes led to any mitigation of social or environmental impacts? D) What requirements have the donors placed on these processes?

2. What are the state’s guidelines/ criteria (published/expressed by correspondents) for participation and how are they being assessed? (Discussion: A) How are these indicators measured? B) What are the enforcement mechanisms for non-compliance?)

3. What role does your organisation play in the environmental impact assessment process? (Discussion: A) What are your understandings of the success of the EIA process in preventing or mitigating social and environmental impacts? B) To what extent do current EIA practices conform to state policy and guidelines? C) To what extent do EIA practitioners conform to guidelines on public participation?)

Section E: Environmental Governance

1. To what degree is the Cuamba- Nampula N13 Highway Rehabilitation Project ‘typical’ of the current development model applied in Mozambique? (Discussion: A) How does it compare to similar large-scale infrastructure projects, like the Maputo Corridor, etc.? B)
How do the environmental and social challenges of this project compare to other similar development projects?)

2. To what degree has the Chinese development model, and the participation of Chinese contractors, influenced these processes? (Discussion: A) How has the participation of Brazilian actors influenced the process?)

3. In your opinion, what is the state of environmental governance in Mozambique? (Discussion: A) How has this changed over the past decade? B) Have participatory processes adapted to changing legislation? C) How have donor policies affected environmental governance? D) How has Chinese and Brazilian investment affected environmental governance?

4. How have environmental governance mechanisms changed or shifted in the last decade? (Discussion: A) Has there been a shift in governance and participatory mechanisms in general? B) How will the experience of this project affect future large-scale infrastructure projects in Mozambique? C) Has Mozambique’s environmental legal framework proven adequate to regulate the environmental and social impacts of projects of this scale?)
C) Provincial and District Level Stakeholder Interviews:

**Section A: Background**

1. How long have you lived or worked in the area?
2. What is the name of your department/organization? (Discussion: A) How long has it existed? B) If foreign, how long has it been active in Mozambique? C) Where is it based? D) How is it funded? E) What are its goals? F) What is its legal mandate?)
3. What is your current position? (Discussion: A) What are your responsibilities? B) Who are you answerable to? C) How long have you been in this position? D) Have you had any other experiences relevant to the development of this region?)
4. To what extent has your department/organisation been actively involved in infrastructure projects in these provinces or Mozambique in general? (Discussion: A) Which projects? B) What has been the nature of the involvement?)
5. How does your department/organisation interact with the Mozambican government (or other branches of the government)?
6. What are your department/organisation’s main achievements?

**Section B: A Mozambican Modernity**

1. What are the state’s (local, regional, national) set of development goals and how well are its interventions tailored towards achieving them? (Discussion: A) What is the role of infrastructure development in achieving these goals?)
2. How do you think the state’s development goals and vision is interpreted and accepted by the major decision-makers in the north?
3. How do you think the state’s development goals and vision is interpreted and accepted by local communities in the north?
4. What indicators or criteria (published/expressed by correspondents) does the state use to measure success in achieving its development goals (on this and other projects). How are they being measured and communicated?
5. To what extent do economic goals override environmental and social concerns in the development process? (Discussion: A) Have you noticed that this has changed over time? B) What are the main drivers pushing /influencing the integration of environmental and social concerns with development?)
Section C: The Nacala Corridor

1. Are you aware of the Nacala Development Corridor Programme? A) What details do you know of the project? B) When did you first hear of the project? C) How did you hear about it? How was it described to you? D) How did you initially feel the project would affect the area, positively and negatively? E) What has been your involvement in the programme? F) How important is the project within the State’s development programme? G) How important is the project here in the north?

2. Are you aware of the N13 Highway Rehabilitation Project? (Discussion: A) What details do you know about the project? B) When did you first hear of the project? C) How did you hear about it? D) How was it described to you? E) How did you initially feel the project would affect the area, positively and negatively? F) What has been your involvement with the project? G) How do you think the N13 Project fits in with the larger Corridor Programme?)

3. Who are the actors in this project, and at what scales are they active (i.e. Local, Provincial, National, Global)? (Discussion: A) What is the role of foreign donors and contractors? B) How does your organisation view foreign aid/contractors? C) How has the State influenced project design, monitoring and evaluation?)

4. What do you think are the broader implications of the Nacala Development Corridor and specifically the N13 Highway Rehabilitation Project for local people? (Discussion: A) How has the state presented the improvements that will be created through the project to local people living in the development corridor? B) How do you expect the project to positively and negative affect local communities now that it has begun? C) What are the social or environmental issues that have emerged? D) Has there been skills transfer with the local population?)

Section C: Participation and Environment

1. To what extent have local people experienced the social, economic, and environmental impacts of the N13 Project? (Discussion: A) How has the life of local people been changed by the project?)

2. How was the environmental and social impact assessment for the N13 project conducted? (Discussion: A) Who conducted the assessment? B) How well did it conform to national
guidelines? C) What was the role of expert consultants? D) What role did donors have in shaping the assessment process?

3. To what extent have local people participated in, or contributed their views to, the social, economic, and environmental assessment of the N13 Project? (Discussion: A) How would you categorise the level of participation, why? B) How, if it all, has the participatory process influenced project design or implementation? C) Have these processes led to any minimizing of social or environmental impacts? D) What requirements have the donors placed on these processes?

4. What indicators (published/expressed by correspondents) does the state use for participation and how are they being assessed? (Discussion: A) How are these indicators measured? B) What are the enforcement mechanisms for non-compliance?

5. What role does your organisation play in the environmental impact assessment process? (Discussion: A) How successful do you think the EIA process is in preventing or mitigating social and environmental impacts? B) To what extent do current EIA practices that you have experienced conform to state policy and guidelines? C) In your experience to what extent do EIA practitioners conform to guidelines on public participation?

6. What are the mechanisms used for managing the social and environmental impacts of the intervention? (Discussion: A) How are these being monitored?

7. In your opinion, what is the state of environmental management in Mozambique? (Discussion: A) How has this changed over the past decade? B) How have donor policies affected environmental management? C) How has Chinese and Brazilian investment affected environmental management?
D) Local Officials and Other Local Stakeholder Interviews:

Section A: Background

1. How long have you lived or worked in the area?
2. What is the name of your department/organisation? (Discussion: A) What are its goals? B) What is its legal mandate?)
3. What is your current position? (Discussion: A) What are your responsibilities? B) Who are you answerable to? C) How long have you been in this position? D) Have you held any other relevant positions?)
4. What are the main achievements of your department/organisation?
5. What other departments/organisations do you interact with?
6. Are you aware of any community organisations and if so, name them and state what their purpose is?

Section B: Development

1. How do you interpret the state’s development vision?
2. What is the state’s set of development goals (local, regional, national)? How do current development projects fit in with these goals? (Discussion: A) What is the role of infrastructure development in achieving these goals?) B) How do you think the state’s goals and development vision is understood and accepted by decision-makers in the north? C) How do you think the state’s goals and development vision is understood and accepted by local communities in the north?
3. Has your department/organisation been actively involved in infrastructure projects in these northern provinces or Mozambique in general? (Discussion: A) Which? B) What has been the nature of the involvement?)

Section C: Nacala Development Corridor

1. Are you aware of the Nacala Development Corridor Programme? A) What details do you know of the project? B) When did you first hear of the project? C) How did you hear about it? How was it described to you? D) How did you initially feel the project would affect the area, positively and negatively? E) What has been your involvement? F) How important is the project within the State’s development programme?
2. Are you aware of the N13 Highway Rehabilitation Project? (Discussion: A) What details do you know about the project? B) When did you first hear of the project? C) How did you hear about it? D) How was it described to you? E) How did you initially feel the project would affect the area, positively and negatively? F) What has been your involvement? G) How do you think the N13 Project fits in with the larger Corridor Programme?)

3. What do you think are the broader development impacts of the Nacala Development Corridor and specifically the N13 Highway Rehabilitation Project for local people? (Discussion: A) How has the state presented the improvements that will be created through the project to local people living in the development corridor through their adverts and documents? B) How do you expect the project to affect local communities now that it has begun, positively and negative? C) Have there been any social or environmental problems associated with the project? D) What skills have local communities learned from foreign contractors? (to what extent)

Section C: Participation and Environment

1. To what extent have local people experienced the social, economic, and environmental impacts of the N13 Project? (Discussion: A) How has the life of local people been changed by the project? B) Have there been negative environmental effects?)

2. To what extent have local people participated in, or contributed to, the social, economic, and environmental assessment of the N13 Project? (Discussion: A) Has there been consultation in your area? B) If so, did you participate in the process? C) if not, do you know anybody who was consulted? C) How would you categorise the level of participation, why? D) How, if it all, has the participatory process influenced project design or implementation? E) Have these processes led to any mitigation of social or environmental impacts?

3. How was the environmental and social impact assessment for the N13 project conducted? (meetings/interviews?) (Discussion: A) Who conducted the assessment? B) How many local people were involved?? C) Did you play a role in the process?)

4. To your best knowledge, how have the negative social or environmental effects of the construction been managed/minimized? (Discussion: A) Has there been a monitoring process?)
E) Focus Group Interviews:

Section A: Background

1. How long have you lived or worked in the area? (Year)
2. How large is your household?
3. What is your occupation and what are your household’s sources of cash income?
4. To what extent do you rely on agriculture and what do you grow?
5. Are you an active member of a local community organisation? (Discussion: A) Which one? B) What is its function? C) How and when do you participate?)
6. How do members of your household use the current road? (Discussion: A) Details for each member)
7. How often do you travel to Nampula/Ribáuè/Malema/Cuamba?
8. What methods of transport do you use?
9. Does your household own a bicycle/s or other method of wheeled transport (Discussion: A) If yes, do you use the road to travel on? B) What are the problems with using the current road?)

Section B: Development

1. How have your lives changed over the past decade? (Discussion: A) To what extent have these changes been what you have desired? B) Is change occurring rapidly enough? Too rapidly?)
2. What are your expectations for Mozambique’s future? (Discussion: A) How do you picture your children’s lives?)
3. What do you think is the state’s vision for the future?
4. What types of changes (besides the road) has the state implemented that has affected your life? (Discussion: A) How do you feel about these interventions?)
5. Do you think road construction is a valuable way for the state to spend its money? (Discussion: A) Why? B) What do you think would be more helpful? C) Who are the main people to benefit from the road?)
Section C: Nacala Development Corridor

1. Are you aware of the Nacala Development Corridor Programme? A) What details do you know of the project? B) When did you first hear of the project? C) How did you hear about it? How was it described to you? D) How did you initially feel the project would affect the area, positively and negatively?

2. Are you aware of the N13 Highway Rehabilitation Project? (Discussion: A) What details do you know about the project? B) When did you first hear of the project? C) How did you hear about it? D) How was it initially described to you? E) How did you initially feel the project would affect the area, positively and negatively?

Section D: Participation and Environment

1. How do you expect the project to affect the community now that it has begun, (positively and negatively)?

2. What changes have you observed in the area since construction began? (Discussion: A) How has the life of local people been changed by the project? B) What impacts have there been on the environment? C) What interactions have their between your community and those building the road, foreigners and Mozambicans?)

3. To your best knowledge, how have the negative social or environmental effects of the construction been managed? (Discussion: A) Has there been a regular process of measuring the impacts?

4. To what extent have local people been consulted in the social, economic, and environmental assessment of the N13 Project? (Discussion: A) Describe the participation process whereby local people have been included B) Have you complained about any negative side-effects of the project? C) Is the voice of local people being heard?

5. Were you or anyone in your households, ever part of a consultation process about the possible impacts of the project? (Discussion for yes: A) By whom? B) How did you participate? C) What types of questions were you asked? D) Do you feel like your input was valued? E) Have you noticed whether or not your input has affected how the project is carried out) (Discussion for no: A) Do you know anyone that has been consulted? B) If they do then continue the “yes” discussion)

6. Do you feel there has been enough consultation for a project of this size?
7. At any point has anyone in your household been hired to work on the project? 
   (Discussion: A) In what capacity? B) For how long? C) What were your/their impressions 
   of the job? D) If you/they no longer work on the project, why?)
8. Do you feel the community is getting its fair-share of employment from the project?
9. What are your impressions of the process of relocating people due to the building of the 
   road? How are they being compensated? (Discussion: A) Is anyone here been/being 
   required to relocate? B) What are your impressions of the level of compensation? C) Do 
   you feel like it is a fair process?)
10. What stories can you tell us about the building of the road and your experiences with this?
F) Informal Interviews:

Section A: Background

1. How long have you lived or worked in the area?
2. How large is your household?
3. What is your occupation and what are your household’s sources of cash income?
4. How much does your family rely on agriculture for subsistence or income?
5. Are you an active member of a community organisation? (Discussion: A) Which one? B) What is its function? C) How do you participate?)
6. How do members of your household use the current road?
7. How often do you or your family members travel to Nampula/Ribâuè/Malema/Cuamba and what for?
8. What methods of transport do you use?
9. Does your household own a bicycle/s or other methods of wheeled transport (Discussion: A) If yes, do you use the road to travel on? B) What are the challenges with using the current road?)

Section B: Development

1. What three types of development would you wish for most in this area?
2. What development has taken place in this district over the past 5 years? (Discussion: A)
3. How have the changes met your expectations?
4. What are your expectations for Mozambique’s future? (Discussion: A) How do you picture your children’s lives in their future?
5. What do you think is the state’s vision for the future?
6. What positive types of development changes (besides the road) has the state brought about that has affected your life? (Discussion: A) How do you feel about these interventions? What do you expect from the national/provincial state?)
7. To what extent do you think road construction is a valuable way for the state to spend its money? (Discussion: A) What other ways might be more helpful?)
8. Are you aware of the N13 Highway Rehabilitation Project? (Discussion: A) What details do you know about the project? B) When did you first hear of the project? C) How did you hear about it? D) How was it described to you? E) How did you initially feel the project would affect the area, positively and negatively?
Section C: Participation and Environment

1. How do you expect the project to affect the community now that it has begun, both positively and negatively?

2. What changes to life in this area have you observed since construction began?
   (Discussion: A) How has the social life of local people been changed by the project? B) Have there been environmental impacts? C) How have you interacted with those building the road, foreigners and Mozambicans?)

3. To your best knowledge, how have the negative social or environmental effects of the construction been managed/minimised? (Discussion: A) Has there been a monitoring process to check what is being done?)

4. To what extent have local people been part of, the social, economic, and environmental assessment of the N13 Project? (Discussion: A) What was the level of participation, explain? B) Have you complained about any negative side-effects of the project? C) Is the voice of local people being heard?) D) who would you complain to?

5. Were you or anyone in your household, ever part of a consultation process (meetings) about the possible impacts of the project? (Discussion for yes: A) who held these? B) How did you participate? C) What types of questions were you asked? D) Do you feel like your input was valued? E) Have you noticed whether or not your input has been included in the way the project is carried out) (Discussion for no: A) Do you know anyone that has been consulted?)

6. Do you feel there has been sufficient consultation (meetings with the community) for a project of this size?

7. At any point has anyone in your household been hired to work on the project?
   (Discussion: A) In what capacity? B) For how long? C) What were your/their impressions of the job? D) If you/they no longer work on the project, why?)

8. Do you feel the community is getting its fair-share of work from the project?

9. People are being located for the building of the road. How is this being done and how are people being compensated? (Discussion: A) Is anyone here in this area been told to relocate? B) What are your impressions of the level of compensation? C) Do you feel like it is a fair process?)
G) Translator Interview:

Section A: Background

1. What is your name and background?
2. What is your previous work experience?
3. What are your previous experiences of working in the Nampula Province?
4. Have you previously done translation work before? (Discussion: A) If yes, explain)Yes/no – get him to explain
5. What were your expectations for this project?
6. Describe your responsibilities while working on this project?

Section B: Interviews and Fieldwork

1. What three main difficulties did you experience with the interviews?
2. What three main difficulties did you experience with the focus group interviews?
3. In what way do you think that the participants were influenced in their answers by the presence of the researcher as a white English speaking American male?
4. What are your general feelings regarding the success/failure of the interviews?
5. In what way did you endeavour to translate the meanings and feelings of the participants to the researcher that people were expressing to you
6. Is there anything that surprised you from the interviews?
7. In hindsight, is there anything you think we should have done differently? (Discussion: A) How would you alter the research design in order to improve results or achieve the aims better?)

Section C: Translation and Language

1. How would you describe the language used by participants during interviews? (Discussion: A) Did it vary between focus groups and interviews? B) What factors might have influenced language or tone?)
2. Give examples of some of the ways they used language to express what they were trying to say, for examples, by comparison to other things, by the use of idiom or cultural narratives.
3. In what ways did participants use particular Makua or Portuguese expressions or idioms when describing their experiences?
4. What did the respondents enjoy discussing? And not enjoy discussing?
5. To what extent do you feel the questions addressed the issues respondents wanted to discuss? (Discussion: A) Was there too much structure? B) Not enough?)
6. To what extent do you feel that participants changed their responses to some of the questions in order to give a better impression of their work or lifestyle?
7. Did you feel that you were able to adequately translate the participants’ responses? (Discussion: A) Are there any examples where something was untranslatable?)
8. What difficulties did you experience when translating the participants’ responses?
9. Did you find it difficult to relate the cultural nuances/differences presented in the interviews? (Discussion: A) If yes, why was it difficult?) B) Any examples)
10. To what extent do you feel that the meanings the participants were trying to convey were altered or changed through translation?
11. To what extent do you feel your translations were shaped by the kind of information that you felt I wanted to obtain?

Section D: Positionality

1. In what ways do you think that you and I are different to the types of people we interviewed?
2. To what extent do you think that respondents perceived us at ‘outsiders’? (Discussion: A) Do you think they accepted and believed the introduction? B) To what extend did they trust us and why?)
3. Do you feel that we were able to gain the trust of participants?
4. In what ways do you think that my positionality as the researcher (e.g. my age, gender, race, class, education) may have influenced responses provided by the participants?
5. Do you feel that the participants were in any way concerned that their responses to our questions might get them in trouble, or have some other consequences?
6. Do you feel that participants expected us to address their complaints or in some way solve their problems?
7. What was the main information that the respondents brought up that was not asked for?

Section E: Mozambique and Modernity

1. Based on our participants’ responses, how do you interpret what they believe is the state’s development vision? (Discussion: A) What development model is Mozambique
following? B) Is it taking the route of the West? C) How has it diverged? D) Is there one coherent vision? E) Or do you see conflicting visions for a ‘modern’ Mozambique? F) Why has there been such a strong focus on infrastructure development? G) To what degree is modernisation and development in Mozambique a process of co-production by different actors?)

2. Based on your experiences, how do you interpret the state’s development vision? (Discussion: A) What development model is Mozambique following? B) Is it taking the route of the West? C) How has it diverged? D) Is there one coherent vision? E) Or do you see conflicting visions for a ‘modern’ Mozambique? F) Why has there been such a strong focus on infrastructure development? G) To what degree is modernisation and development in Mozambique a process of co-production by different actors?)

**Section F: Participation and Development**

1. Based on participant responses, how do you think they interpret the broader implications of the Nacala Development Corridor and specifically the N13 Highway Rehabilitation Project for local people? (Discussion: A) How has the state presented the improvements that will be created through the project to local people living in the development corridor? B) How do they expect the project to affect local communities now that it has begun, positively and negative? C) Have they noticed any social or environmental issues associated with the project? D) Have they reported any form of skills transfer as a side-effect of utilising foreign contractors?

2. In your experience, what do you think are the broader implications of the Nacala Development Corridor and specifically the N13 Highway Rehabilitation Project for local people? (Discussion: A) How has the state presented the improvements that will be created through the project to local people living in the development corridor? B) How do you expect the project to affect local communities now that it has begun, positively and negative? C) Have there been any social or environmental issues associated with the project? D) Has there been any form of skills transfer as a side-effect of utilising foreign contractors?

3. From participant responses, to what extent have local people experienced the social, economic, and environmental impacts of the N13 Project?

4. In your experience, to what extent have local people experienced the social, economic, and environmental impacts of the N13 Project?
5. How did local people report their lives as having been changed by the project?
6. In your opinion, how have local peoples’ lives been changed by the project?
7. How did local people report their participation or consultation on the social, economic, and environmental issues of the N13 Project? (Discussion: A) How did they categorise their level of participation, why? B) How did they feel about their level of participation?)
8. In your experience, to what extent have local people participated in, or been consulted on the social, economic, and environmental issues of the N13 Project? (Discussion: A) How would you categorise the level of participation, why? B) How, if it all, has the participatory process influenced project design or implementation? C) How did local people feel about their level of participation?)
APPENDIX V: SAMPLING BREAKDOWNS

Section 1: Cuamba-Malema 110km

Cuamba 0km Population: 110,474
- 0-11km: 132 households
- 17.5-36km: 185 households
- 17.5km: Village of 12 households
- 36km: Lurie 40 households

11.5-17km: 60 households
- 59.5km: Village of 40 households

17.5-36km: 185 households
- 110km: Malema Population: 1500
- 103km: Caaultuna 20 households
- 83.5m-103km: 107 households

83.5km: Nacata 20 households
- 83.5km-103km: 69 households

66m-83.5km: 69 households
- 66m: Mutuali 60 households

Note: Household equals 1 house + outbuildings. All numbers are estimated.
Approximate number of households between Cuamba* and Malema*: 1087 (excludes*)

(Author, 05/07/2012)
Section 2: Malema-Ribaue 107km

Note 1: Household equals 1 house + outbuildings. All numbers are estimated.

Approximate number of households between Malema* and Ribaue*: 901 (excludes *)

(Author, 05/07/2012)
Section 3: Ribaue-Nampula 137km

Note 1: Household equals 1 house + outbuildings. All numbers are estimated

Approximate number of Households between Ribaue* and Nampula*: 1960 (excludes*)

(Author, 05/07/2012)
APPENDIX VI: CODE TREE

Nodes compared by number of items coded