

**Impact of World Vision in Gurue and Namacurra Districts,  
Zambezia Province- Mozambique.**

**(1998-2003)**

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## **Abstract**

This dissertation outlines a comprehensive study about Zambezia Agricultural Development Project Phase 2 (ZADP 2). It examines its impact and its relationship to the targeted communities. The study analyses development in the targeted areas and presents an outline of the activities, its conceptual basis, its approaches and its goals. It explores the impact of poverty alleviation and livelihoods between households and their strategies to overcome the food insecurity through on-farm and off-farm income generation. ZADP 2 applied several strategies to help the communities in their struggle against poverty and vulnerability. It was assumed that rural people do not improve their surplus because of the backward technology they use in their farming. To resolve this problem ZADP 2 realized that improved seeds would enable rural people to deal with improved agriculture through an increase in agricultural output, which would increase the quality of life of many. This led to the introduction of improved seeds, which were multiplied on the peasants' farms. It also introduced livestock restocking component.

Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) is an approach put in place in order to involve the targeted communities to actively participate in development process aimed at them. It is recognized in this dissertation that Participatory Rural Appraisal and problem-solving are crucial to successful outcomes, and that, as a result, PRA approach is a fundamental instrument in motivating the targeted people to be fully involved in prioritising their problems and needs. This dissertation also remarks that PRA can succeed if development practitioners are committed to local problem-solving by not overturning real local needs and not disregarding the local knowledge. Several African and international development models were reviewed in order to see how the applied development has been undertaken and how it can be applied in Mozambique.

This dissertation shows that the assumptions held during the ZADP's implementation that all stakeholders involved such as facilitators, livestock promoters, the government and the smallholders would guarantee the sustainability of the project were merely an assumption. It moves on to show that in order to contribute to poverty alleviation, the ZADP 2 should be long-term rather than short-term.

## **Preface**

This dissertation is a result of fieldwork carried out in July of 2002 and July of 2003 in Gurue and Namacurra Districts in Zambezia Province. The two Districts were chosen because they are the ZADP's targeted areas. ZADP1 worked in Gurue from 1994 to 1998 and ZADP 2 from 1998 to 2003. ZADP 1 also worked in Nicosadala District from 1994 to 1998 and ZADP 2 from 1998 to 2003. Namacurra District was included into ZADP's activities only by ZADP 2 from 1998 to 2003. But in this dissertation the large bulk of information is about Gurue and Namacurra. The targeted people were the beneficiaries who received support from ZADP 1 and ZADP 2. The point of departure for this study was to examine how ZADP 2 has impacted on the lives of rural people through its approaches towards poverty alleviation, and to find out how the households changed their social, economical and cultural lives through ZADP 2 intervention.

It is worth mentioning that this work is also based on the experiences of the researcher at World Vision in Zambezia Province where he worked from 1996 to 2003, which made him particularly attentive to the strategies applied in order to contribute to poverty reduction in the rural areas. Some events presented in this dissertation were witnessed and experienced by the researcher. It was very interesting working with the grassroots communities in the rural areas. Here can be encountered a vast spread of poor people and immense poverty and its consequences such as malnutrition, misery, unemployment, poor road access, poor housing, lack of social infrastructure such as health posts, wells for potable water, schools, and so on. This inspired the researcher to spend most of the time on issues of rural development and the problems of the targeted communities.

This led the author to spend a large proportion of time in the rural areas exchanging points of view with the rural people listening to what their real needs were in order to make Zambezia Agricultural Development Project Phase 2, (ZADP 2), more helpful, flexible, effective, sensitive, efficient and equitable in responding effectively to the needs presented by the rural people during the 1997/1998 PRA activities and wealth ranking. The dissertation provides information about ZADP 2 from 1998 to 2003. It is also worth mentioning that the dissertation brings new views and new approaches in rural development, which will ultimately produce better results, if properly implemented. It is important to note that applied

development is no easy task and it is also important to understand that exchanging different points of view between the project officials and the targeted people by listening to them, is the proper way to reach the local needs.

This dissertation shows that if the project officials do not listen to the views of targeted people this often leads to project failures. The dissertation also presents ZADP's weaknesses and strengths.

## **Declaration**

This study represents the original work of the author and has not been submitted to obtain any degree of this or any other form of qualification in another University. Where use was made of the work of others it has been duly acknowledged in the text and in the bibliography.



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## Abbreviations

ADB	African Development Bank
GAA	German Agrarian Action
AGRICOM	Mozambique's state marketing company.
AHM	<i>Arquivo Historico de Moçambique</i> : Historical Archive of Mozambique.
AusAID	Australian Aid
CC	<i>Cooperativas de Consumo</i> : Consumer Cooperatives.
CBNRM	Community Based Natural Resources Management.
CEA	<i>Centro de Estudos Africanos</i> : African Studies Centre.
CEWs	Community Extension Workers.
CLUSA	Cooperative League of United States of America.
CTIP	<i>Codigo de Trabalho Indigena nas Colonias Portuguesas</i> : Code of Indigenous Work in the Portuguese Colonies.
CNP	<i>Comissao Nacional do Plano</i> : National Planning Commission.
DBSA	Development Bank of Southern Africa.
DDADR	<i>Direcção Distrital de Agricultura e Desenvolvimento Rural</i> : District Directorate of Agriculture and Rural Development.
EM	<i>Estudos Moçambicanos</i> : Mozambican studies.
DfID	Department for International Development.
DFO	<i>Divisao de Fomento Orizicola</i> : Rice Division Promotion.
DPADR	<i>Direcção Provincial de Agricultura e Desenvolvimento Rural</i> : Provincial Directorate of Agriculture and Rural Development.
ESAF	Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility.
FAO	United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization.
FFS	Farmer Field School.
FRELIMO	<i>Frente de Libertação de Moçambique</i> : Front for the Liberation of Mozambique.

FRG	Farmer Research Groups.
GDP	Gross Domestic Product.
GNP	Gross National Product.
HDI	Human Development Index.
HM	<i>Historia de Moçambique</i> : History of Mozambique.
HPI	Human Poverty Index.
IMF	International Monetary Fund.
INIA	<i>Instituto Nacional de Investigação Agronomica</i> : National Intitute for Agronomic Research.
IPM	Integrated Pest Management
JEAC	<i>Junta de Exportação do Algodao Colonial</i> : Board of Trade of Colonial Cotton Exportation.
Kcal	Kilocalories.
LC	Lome Convention.
MADER	<i>Ministerio da Agricultura e Desenvolvimento Rural</i> : Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development.
MCH	Maternal Child Health
MOP	Ministry in the Office of the President.
MZM/Mts	Mozambican currency (Meticaïs). (1USD = 24,000,00 MZM).
NLR	Native Labour Regulations.
MR	Mozambican Radio.
NGO	Non-governmental organization.
NRI	Natural Resources Institute.
ODA	Overseas Development Agency.
ORAM	<i>Associação Rural de Ajuda Mutua</i> : Rural Association of Mutual Help.
PAR	Participatory Action Research.

PARPA	<i>Plano de Acção para a Redução da Pobreza Absoluta</i> : Action Plan for the Reduction of Absolute Poverty.
PC	Paris Club.
PTD	Participatory Technology Development: <i>Desenvolvimento Participativo de Tecnologias</i> (DPT).
PM	Project Memorandum.
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal.
PRCA	Participatory Rural Community Appraisal.
PRGF	Poverty reduction Growth and Facility.
PRE	<i>Prgograma de Reabilitação Economica</i> : Economic Rehabilitation Programme.
RRA	Rapid Rural Appraisal.
PROMIZA	<i>Projecto de Microfinança da Zambezia</i> : Micro-finance Project of Zambezia.
RENAMO	<i>Resistencia Nacional Moçambicana</i> : Mozambican National Resistance.
RSP	Research Station Programme.
SAP	Structural Adjustment Package.
SGM	Seed Group Multiplication.
SPGC	<i>Serviços Provinciais de Geografia e Cadastro</i> : Provincial Service for Mapping and Land Registry.
UEM	<i>Universidade Eduardo Mondlane</i> : Eduardo Mondlane University.
USAID	United States Agency for International Development.
USD	United States Dollar.
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme.
VC	<i>Viveiros Comunitatrios</i> : Community seedling nurseries.
VMC	Village Management Committee.
WB	World Bank.
WEP	Women's Extension Program.
WHO	World Health Organization.

WVI	World Vision International
WVRLL	World Vision a Reflection on Lessons Learnt.
ZADP 2	Zambezia Agricultural Development Project Phase 2.

## **Glossary**

*Aldeamentos* Protected and fortified villages.

*Capatazes* Foremen or black overseers.

*Chupa-sangue* Blood sucker, a popular belief.

*Cipaios* Former native policemen.

*Colonato* farm belonged to the *colonos* (settlers).

*Colonos* Portuguese settlers.

*Ezenha* Forced rice cultivation.

*Ekatxasso* Traditional alcohol made from sugar cane or other products.

*Ganho-ganho* Casual paid labour.

*Namahuku* Local plant used as natural pesticide.

*Otteka* Traditional brewed beer.

*Prazeiro* The holder of a *prazo* lease.

*Prazs da coroa* A Portuguese crown state leased to individuals for some generations.

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## **CHAPTER 1:**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1 Introduction**

##### **1.1.1. The purpose of the Study**

The primary objective of this dissertation is to examine how the Zambezia Agricultural Development Project Phase 2 henceforth (ZADP 2) contributed in enhancing local community development in Mozambique. Specifically, it is an attempt to evaluate how the ZADP 2 enabled people to work on their development and how the process can be implemented through the integration of both local and outside knowledge. The study is an attempt to measure the impact of World Vision in Gurue and Namacurra districts of Zambezia province in Mozambique. It also investigates if ZADP 2 in reality achieved its aim of poverty alleviation.

The need to alleviate poverty and improved food security guided the design of the Zambezia Agricultural Development Project Phase 2 in 1998, which was funded by the Department for International Development (DFID), and implemented by World Vision International (WVI). After 6 years for the implementation of the ZADP 2 (1998-2003), and from the lessons learned it is clear that the program has strengths and weaknesses in empowering the local communities. Due to the identified problems during the 1997/ 1998 Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) exercises the project seems to have made significant impact on the local community although it did not meet all problems. It seems the ZADP 2 was interested in both results:

- by expecting to reach 130,000 households and impacts
- by expecting to give opportunities to the targeted groups to access other sources to diversify and increase their incomes through goats, ducks, improved seeds that would enable the households to access new assets (World Vision, A Reflection on Lessons Learnt (WVRLL), 2002:7 and Project Memorandum (PM), 1998:1;17).

Achieving the impact level is not an easy task, since one has to address the major problems that directly affect the rural people's lives, such as goats, wells, schools, health posts, seeds, poor road accesses among others.



The study presents the local communities' views on the programme and also assesses the effectiveness of the programme, with a view to suggesting further improvements in order to meet the real local needs. The needs are inevitably a major constraint to development and a cause of poverty in rural areas.

It also provides recommendations for improving further program implementation in Mozambique as whole and in particular Zambezia as a province. The dissertation presents the problems presented by the communities during PRA studies that directly or indirectly results of poverty that affects the households in rural Zambezia.

Before implementation of ZADP 2, PRAs were undertaken in 1997-1998 in order to find out the problems affecting rural people in Zambezia. To assess the impacts of the program PRAs were also undertaken. The dissertation also looks at strengths and weaknesses of PRAs. In order to bring out the results all reports from ZADP 2 and Project Memorandum were reviewed. This includes an analysis of the role played by World Vision/ZADP in the development of rural Gurue and Namacurra districts.

### **1.1.2. Research problem**

This dissertation starts with May's definition of poverty:

Despite the large numbers of people living in poverty, the definition of poverty has been the subject of some debate amongst policy analysts. The emerging consensus sees poverty as generally characterised by the inability of individuals, households or entire communities to command sufficient resources to satisfy a socially acceptable minimum standard of living. (May, 2000:5)

Poverty alleviation was the motive that guided the design of ZADP 2 in 1998. The ZADP 2 helped the people from rural areas to tackle some problems that cause poverty among households. The dissertation presents problems that have been highlighted by communities during the PRAs. The failure to meet some of the problems hampered poverty alleviation initiatives and the goal of agricultural development. Solving such problems is the best way to fight against poverty and bring development in the communities. The ZADP 2 recognized the need to improve the conditions of the rural people in terms of their subsistence production.

The research issue that concerns this dissertation is a) whether the specific PRA design corresponded with the aims; b) whether the people's needs as identified through the design were taken into account in the practical implementation of the program, and c) whether ZADP 2 succeeded in achieving its goals.

### **1.1.3. Research questions**

The research questions that will be answered in this dissertation are as follows. The basic research issue posed is an evaluation of the ZADP's view of, and programme to deal with, poverty alleviation. This has given rise to a number of research questions concerned with poverty:

- How did people from rural areas define poverty?
- How did ZADP 2 contribute to poverty alleviation?
- Who defined poverty?
- Did the beneficiaries' poverty definitions fit well with definitions within the project?

In addition the dissertation poses a number of questions concerned with the actual program initiated by ZADP 2:

- Were the proposals from the communities met by ZADP 2?
- Although ZADP 2 empowered local communities what were the weaknesses?
- When did the targeted people feel they identified with the ZADP 2 program?
- Can targeting the right people but with the wrong problem cause the failure of the Project and vice-versa?
- Did the targeted groups significantly move away their constraints?
- Can the ZADP's crucial role be attributed to employing national and international workers who benefited from ZADP 2 and thus helping in reducing their deprivation?
- What was the view and role of the stakeholders involved in ZADP 2 (donor, World Vision, Government represented by Department of Agriculture, ZADP 2 officials, people from rural areas who were the targeted group, community extension workers also known as facilitators or motivators and livestock promoters)?

#### **1.1.4. Research methodology and data analysis**

The methods used in this study are: PRA, participatory observations, focus group discussions, reports provided by World Vision, Project Memorandum, and several secondary literature. This being a qualitative study, descriptive analysis is utilized to explain the impacts of the project on the local community.

As mentioned above the primary objective of this dissertation is to examine how ZADP 2 contributed to poverty alleviation through diversifying sources of household incomes hence creating ideal conditions for improving food security.

The research interest is also to understand the dynamic analysis of poverty in its relationship between persistent poverty, assets accumulation and sustainable livelihoods.

The primary sources are all those participants who took in the Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA). PRA exercise is “described as a family of approaches, methods and behaviours that enable people to express and analyse the realities of their lives and conditions, to plan themselves what action to take, and to monitor and evaluate the results” <http://www.ids.ac.uk/ids/bookshop/briefs/Brief7.html> .

Secondary sources comprise the literature that was reviewed. International literature, on rural development in Africa was also reviewed. The main emphasis throughout this extensive literature review was to formulate a model of how PRA can be undertaken without creating expectations in the villages. The material and information was retrieved from libraries at University of Natal in South Africa, at Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo-Mozambique, at Historical Archive of Mozambique *Arquivo Historico de Moçambique* (AHM) in Maputo-Mozambique and at African Studies Centre (*Centro de Estudos Africanos* (CEA) in Maputo-Mozambique. Several reports from World Vision were used in order to understand how World Vision/ZADP 2 impacted. Social, economical and cultural impacts were taken into account. PRA exercise was considered as a key method and approach that helps the development practitioners to draw major conclusions about various factors that affect local communities impeding them to move away from subsistence agriculture, and some constraints in order to diversify their incomes. The literature review enabled the

researcher to highlight the main outline of the ZADP 2 and its applied development strategies for poverty alleviation. The findings have also enabled the researcher to focus on the major issues that were not taken into account during the ZADP 2 implementation and in so doing to make recommendations about those issues that need to be considered in the development policies in Mozambique.

Nyamwaya, (1997:185-186) in his Maternal and Child Health (MCH) program from semi-arid region in Kenya and Jiggins *et al.*, (1995:17;22;23) in their Women's Extension Program (WEP) from Western Province of Zambia, are considered as development models and approaches in which flexibility has guaranteed successes. These approaches facilitate the researcher to argue that Zambezia Agricultural Development Project could be more flexible in order to re-adjust its initial approaches to fit well with the local needs and to reach the proper solutions for poverty alleviation. To underpin this approach, some alternative approaches were partly based on the experiences that do not fit well on the Zambezian realities.

Finally to mention that large information presented in this dissertation is based on own experience from the researcher because served World Vision from 1996 to 2003. From 1996 the researcher was evaluating and monitoring the ZADP 2 in the villages. This enabled the researcher to meet the beneficiaries and discuss with them their understandings. The researcher through meeting the targeted groups brought several re-adjustments made during the project implementation. In July of 2002 the researcher went to Zambezia to undertake further research. During the stay he met communities in Cassine village, in Mucuio village, Muxima village, Mugaveia village, Mucunha village and Muagiua village in Gurue District and undertook a number of focus group discussions. In some of above villages the bridge building were under way. In July of 2003 the researcher also went to Namacurra District to undertake further study. In Namacurra the researcher met targeted groups in Muiebele village, Nevura village, Zimbi village, Newala village, Cafeni village, Cucunha village and M'pelakoddo village. In some areas of both Gurue and Namacurra Districts the researcher only observed the villages. PRA used by ZADP 2 in 1997/1998, the researcher in his duties as project assessor and monitor also used PRAs techniques. The researcher also used some PRA's techniques during July's fieldwork. Although the researcher recognizes the existing other methods like survey that bring out quantitative data, this work is

only based on PRA, which brings qualitative data. The reason is on the one hand because of time constraints. One month could not be enough to design questionnaire and meet rural people because they are busy and need time to respond questionnaires. On the other hand it is argued that using existing instruments has several advantages such time saving, ability to find sufficient reliability and validity data to permit evaluation of the instrument's appropriateness enabling the researcher to compare the results to those of others who have used the same instruments (Long *et al.*, 1985:94).

Another reason that guided the researcher to embark into PRA is that:

PRA activities usually take place in groups, working on the ground or on paper. The ground is more participatory, and helps empower those who are not literate. Visual techniques provide scope for creativity and encourage a frank exchange of views. They also allow crosschecking. Using a combinations of PRA methods very detailed picture can be built up, one that expresses the complexity and diversity of local people's realities far better than conventional survey techniques such as questionnaires (<http://www.ids.ac.uk/ids/bookshop/briefs/Brief7.html>).

PRA employs a wide range of methods to enable people to express and share information, and to stimulate discussion and analysis. Many are visually based, involving local people in creating, for example:

- **Maps** showing who lives where and the location of important local features and resources such as water, forests, schools, health post, and other social services;
- **Flow diagrams** to indicate linkages, sequences, causes, effects, problems and solutions;
- **Seasonal calendars** showing how food availability, workloads, family health, prices, wages and other factors vary during the year;
- **Matrices or grids**, scored with seeds, pebbles or other counters, to compare things such as the merits of different crop varieties or tree species, or how conditions have changed over time (<http://www.ids.ac.uk/ids/bookshop/briefs/Brief7.html>)

Like other methods the PRA approach has some weaknesses (Gill, 1998:13). For example during the exercises the facilitators are required to be careful because some times certain group can dominate the discussion. For instance men are most dominant and because of that the facilitator has to divide the meeting into several groups as

much as possible such as women group, youth group and men group. Even within the groups there are people who dominate the discussions. Because of that the facilitator acts as moderator (Bornstein, 2000:251). Another imperfection of PRA (see chapter 7) is that sometimes it can create unrealistic expectations among communities who think that all their problems will be solved.

#### **1.1.5. Structure of the dissertation**

The dissertation is organized into eight chapters. **Chapter 1** looks at objectives of the study, research problem, research questions, and research methodology. **Chapter 2** is devoted to a literature review and conceptual framework in which several points of view in development issues are presented. **Chapter 3** presents the historical overview of Zambezia such as geographical location, colonial policies, role of companies, cash cropping, agrarian policy, and the socialization of the countryside after independence. **Chapter 4** is devoted to the role of World Vision in Zambezia in particular the Zambezia Agricultural Development Project and top-down and bottom-up development approaches. **Chapter 5** discusses the Zambezia Agricultural Development Project and its main goal of alleviating poverty. **Chapter 6** Analyses the limits of alternative approach applied by Zambezia Agricultural Development Project. Poverty, assets and livelihoods are taken into account in order to answer the questions. In this chapter the following issues are taken into account: poverty in Mozambique and in Zambezia and its causes, concepts of poverty in the targeted communities, poverty definition and measurement and poverty characterization. Households income generation, vulnerability are the key issues in this chapter. **Chapter 7** presents the findings and evaluates Zambezia Agricultural Development Project by considering the Participatory Rural Appraisal as a method undertaken to involve the targeted people. The advantages and disadvantages of Participatory Rural Appraisal are evaluated. The successes and failures of some activities implemented by Zambezia Agricultural Development Project are also evaluated in this chapter. **Chapter 8** summarizes the findings. The conclusions form a basis for building up rural development plans and the recommendations or police implications advise the proper strategies that can be used in rural development.

## **CHAPTER 2:**

# **LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL/THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **2.1. Introduction**

This research adopts Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) as a tool for collecting information from beneficiaries namely that relating to poverty alleviation. PRA is the major approach that “enables people to express and analyse the realities of their lives and conditions, to plan themselves what action to take, and to monitor and evaluate the results” (<http://www.ids.ac.uk/bookshop/briefs/Brief7.html>.p.1). It is argued that Projects embedded in PRA succeed as beneficiaries identify with them, unlike projects based on Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA). PRA emphasizes the process of empowering local people, whereas RRA is merely seen as means of gathering information.

### **2.2. Concepts around rural development**

Theoretical or conceptual framework

The main argument posed throughout this dissertation is that development initiatives played an important role helping the communities to meet the basic needs (Davies, 1996:18). New crops could bring about an increase in productivity hence improve incomes among the targeted groups. The purpose of ZADP 2 was to assist communities to move away from subsistence agriculture, address poverty primarily through increasing food self sufficient of poor farmers and diversifying their income sources by initiating a savings and credit scheme through a Village Bank model targeting the poor (PM),1998: 1;11).

DFID policy is to help the “poorest of the poor”. Taking this as a starting point for identifying ZADP target groups, the poorest of the poor in wealth ranking exercises are mainly widows and single parent female-headed households. They have less labour than wealthier farmers and therefore tend to produce less because they are not able to cultivate as big on area. Further they tend to engage in fewer off-farm income generating activities as their ability to do this is limited by their lack of labour and cash. They are therefore more dependent on casual labour employment than wealthier farmers as a means of earning income during the wet season to purchase food when their supplies run out. This means that less labour is available for crop production ensuring that they

cannot produce enough food to supply their annual needs. There are therefore caught in a cycle of low production (PM, 1998:Annex 2, p. 9).

For development and participation approaches this dissertation uses the conceptual framework developed by Paulo Freire, E.F. Schumacher, Institute of Development Studies, Chambers and Conway and Edwards & Sen. This framework is used to explain the bottom-up approach which gives opportunities to people to express their ideas. The method evolved from Participatory Action Research (PAR) conceptualized by Paulo Freire in his book *The Pedagogy of Oppressed* (1972) (see Thomas, 1992:135;138). PAR inspired the idea of Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA), which gave rise to Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) (<http://www.ids.ac.uk/ids/bookshop/briefs/Brief7.html.p.1>).

E.F. Schumacher in his book *Small is Beautiful* (1973) introduced the new concept called 'tools for self-reliance' approach that tends to adopt a naïve view of community (Thomas, 1992:136;138). All of these views give a wide interpretation of empowerment. Anyaegbunam *et al.*, (1999) gives a contribution in rural development in his Participatory Rural community Appraisal (PRCA). Nyamwaya (1997) brings out the maternal and child health in Kenya that shows the importance of flexibility. Jiggins *et al.*, (1995) is one of those who contributed with her view through the successful Zambia's Women's Extension Program.

For livelihoods and assets the dissertation uses Chambers and Conway (1992) who coined the idea of livelihoods and assets. Such idea is being followed by large number of Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) across the world. Drinkwater & Rusinow (1999), Moriarty (2002), May (2000) and Davies (1996) also mention the livelihood's idea. For the social change through the intervention of NGOs the dissertation uses Edwards & Sen (2000) approaches.

This dissertation has also drawn from the work of Thomas (1992) and Tivedt (1998) in attempting to define what NGOs are, and reference has also been made to Hobart (1993), especially in regard to his view about why NGOs and donors often overturn some local proposals and why local knowledge has been disregarded and neglected by



most NGOs. In regard to who knows best about the real local needs, Crewe and Harrison (1998) were reviewed. The Project Memorandum was reviewed to provide the strategies for poverty alleviation designed before the project intervention. Information from Website explaining what World Vision was also reviewed.

According to (Gardner, 1997:133-134 and Porter, 1995:64-66 and Hobart, 1993:1-5) the emergency of development was historically rooted in the colonial era and thus inextricably linked to the exercise of Northern power over the South. The term development was first coined in the late 1940s after the World War II and vast areas of the postcolonial world were suddenly labelled 'underdeveloped'. Since then, new problem was created, and with it the solutions, all of which dependent upon than rational-scientific knowledge of the so-called 'developed' powers.

The late President of United States of America Truman inspired the development schemes through his 1949's speech when he stressed that:

We must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas. More than half of the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery. Their food is inadequate, they are victims of disease. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant. Their poverty is handicap and a threat both to them and more prosperous areas. For the first time in history, humanity possesses the knowledge and the skill to relieve the suffering of these people (Porter, 1995:66-67).

Alongside the Truman's statement, the World Bank in its 'new development strategy' for Africa through its 1980s adjustment programs, in which places long-term diagnosis, made clear that agriculture is the primary source of growth, transformation and expanding its productivity capacity in a manner which is at once sustainable, equitable and self-reliant. Equity in this context means poverty alleviation for the poor in Africa whose are primarily rural subsistence farmers via asset provision and productivity enhancement. Sustainability refers to 'sound environmental management and human resource development' and self-reliance is at the same time linking with world economy and also building African capacities. The two key themes, then, are 'an enabling environment' which includes a strong defense of devaluation and exchange rate policy by getting right prices. Building African capacities is understood as institutions for enhancing entrepreneurial, managerial and technical capabilities

because it is believed that knowledge is power (Watts, 1995:50;57-58). In turn International Monetary Fund (IMF) introduced in the 1980s the Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility (ESAF) now renamed Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility (PRGF), which deals with poverty alleviation in the less developed countries (Bird, 2001:45 and Lall, 1995:2019). It is said that NGOs in their poverty alleviation plans follow the above approaches.

### **CHAPTER 3:**

#### **HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF ZAMBEZIA.**

##### **3.1. Introduction**

This chapter looks at *prazos* and companies, forced cash cropping such cotton and rice. It also looks at countryside socialization such as cooperatives, communal villages and state farms and civil war. The main objective of looking at companies lies in their large contribution to household incomes generation whereas cash cropping, cooperatives and civil war contributed to household vulnerability associated in livelihood instability. Thus will serve as a basis for understanding the problems faced by World Vision/ZADP in its work.

All societies embarking on a process of radical political transformation find themselves engaging in debates not only about the future, but also about their past. This is a reflection of an often-widespread belief that contemporary problems can only really be understood when refracted through the prism of a past that is being re-interpreted in the light of new realities and recently discovered truths (Simpson, 1992:1).

##### **3.2. Geographical location or research area**

Zambezia province lies in the North of River Zambezi it is bordered in the North by Ligonha River and is separated from Nampula province by Ligonha River. To the South lies the Sofala province. In the West is the Chire River that separates it from Tete province and West is also Malawi. Northwest is limited by Niassa province. Ester wads in the Indian Ocean. Its surface area is 105,800 square kilometers equivalent to 10,580,000 hectares in which 6,000,000 hectares is arable land (PM),1998:5, Annex 3).

Zambezia is the most populous province in the country with a population of 3,478,484 people and representing 20% of Mozambique's population. It is estimated that the rural population is widely dispersed at 29 persons per square km. It is argued that Zambezia's socio-economic and human development index indicators fall below the national average whereas the mortality and fertility rates are the highest in the country and life expectancy at birth is less than 36 years. The national life expectancy at birth is 44.2 years in Mozambique. 75% of the women and 42% of men are illiterate. ([http://www.ine.gov.mz/indicadores2/densidade\\_populacional.htm](http://www.ine.gov.mz/indicadores2/densidade_populacional.htm); PM, 1998:1).

Zambezia province is one of the poorest and has the worst Human Development Index (HDI). It fell from 0.182 in 1999 to 0.168 in 2000. Per capita GDP fell from USD95 to USD78. That of Maputo province on the hand rose from USD168 to USD171. The impressive Maputo province figure is due almost exclusively to the MOZAL aluminium smelter at Beluluane, at outskirts of Maputo city, which began production in 2000. It is MOZAL that is responsible for the enormous jump of 182.9 percent in the value of Mozambique's manufactured production between 1999 and 2000 (<http://www.poptel.org.uk/mozambique-news/newsletter/aim237.html>).

Despite the poverty Zambezia is the richest with regards to natural resources like seafood specially prawns. Prawns are not an important export commodity for the countries earning approximately USD 75 million but also provide essential animal protein hence improve food security (<http://allafrica.com/stories/200302200783.html>). In addition to prawns are often types of fish, which are economically vital (Chingono, 1996:73). The province is also endowed with minerals like pegmatite, which is mined for colombo tantalite that is used in cell phones fabrication, paintings, the automobile industry, electronic and watches. Other minerals are beryl, mica, bismuth, semi-precious stones, heavy mineral sands all of them comprising the Mozambican mining sector. The tantalite plant is located in the Marrupine in Ile District, the largest in the country. The other two tantalite's mines are located in Muiane in the Gile District and other in Morrua in the Ile District. Due to these mines Mozambique is among the three largest tantalite producers in the world (<http://www.imensis.co.mz/noticias.shtml>; Chingono, 1996:73; <http://www.poptel.org.uk/mozambique-news/newsletter/aim232.html>; (<http://allafrica.com/stories/200304170348.html>).

Agriculture occupies a top place in Zambezia. The province produces several crops such as rice, maize, sugar bean, peanut, sorghum, cassava, et cetera (<http://www.sortmoz.com/aimnews/Portuguese/edicoes/3050p.htm>).

It is pointed out that Zambezia alone accounts for about half of the country's rice production

(<http://www.poptel.org.uk/mozambique-news/newsletter/aim249.html>).

The green countryside of Zambezia rambled past below. Zambezia is Mozambique's most fertile province, as well as its most populous. In peacetime, it was a cash-crop cornucopia of rice, maize, coconuts, cashews, cotton, and, in the northern hills, tea; more than half of Mozambique's exports came from Zambezia (Finnegan, 1992:9).

### **3.3. Zambezia under colonial era**

The key point of this period was the introduction of companies and forced cash cropping. Zambezia was strategically divided into four areas for plantations, namely: the first and the most important was along the coast known as coconut since Zambezi mouth to Raraga mouth and also some small plots in Bajone and Moebase; the second zone was for sisal and cotton located in the Licungo bank; the third was of sugar cane located in Zambezi bank mainly in Luabo and in Mopeia; the fourth and last zone was for cotton and sisal too but located in Chire (HM, vol.2, 1983:157 and Serra, 1980:44-46). One may mention that plantations of coconut, of sugar, of sisal and of tea with respective factors constituted agro-industrial (HM, vol.3, 1993:3) because all products were manufactured there.

#### **3.3.1. Companies**

The companies originally started in Zambezia province on the eve of 20<sup>th</sup> Century and were characterized by plantations sector owned by non-Portuguese capital (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:17-18 and Serra, 1980:33-36). The origin of large number of companies from the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century brought with them a new *modus operandi* amongst the Zambezian people because they got the opportunity to have jobs as wage workers. They were then integrated into the labour market and capitalist economy through male labour on six monthly contracts.

By 1629 Portugal had gained sufficient military control in Zambezia to begin land grants called *prazos da coroa*, (1600-1800) meaning terrains of landholders with limited time, as the grants were theoretically for only three generations. The *prazos* system marked the end of slavery phase. In contrary, the *prazo* holder had unlimited feudal power in his territory and became owner (*prazeiro* or landholder of huge state). Profits were made from ivory, gold, and slave trade and from taxes on the African population (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:15 and HM, Vol.1, 1988:26-27 and James, 1988:12;37). The creation of *prazos* was an attempt to Portuguese government to encourage capitalist agriculture through the *prazos*. The *prazos* were officially ended in 1930 (Head, 1980:55 and Hanlon, 1984, 1990:18 and Serra, 1980:33).

During the 1870s the first tiny plantations along the Zambezi River began producing opium, as well as sugar for distillation into alcohol to be sold to Mozambicans and miners in the Transvaal (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:16). With the Portuguese government encouragement many plantations were established in Zambezia. John P. Hornung developed the Sena Sugar States into the largest plantation in the colony, which was nationalized in 1978; Boror developed one of the biggest coconut plantations in the world; Madal and the Zambezia Company also had sizeable estates (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:16;76 and Serra, 1980:35-36). None of these companies was Portuguese. Portuguese started developing the tea plantations in Gurue, Milange, Tacuane and Socone between 1920s and 1950s (Head, 1980:67 and HM, Vol.3, 1993:3 and Lacerda, 1948:20-34, and COLONIA DE MOCAMBIQUE, 1934:5-9, and Ramos, 1965:40-42, and Rebelo, 1963:45-60). Some companies took over some of the *prazos*. Within the companies the workers moved from one *prazo*/company to another in search of the good wage (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:16 and Serra, 1980:42-43). It is might be pointed out that besides internal migration there was external migration when men migrated to then Niassalandy today Malawi, to then South Rhodesia today Zimbabwe and South Africa (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:17 and Serra, 1980:38-41 and O'Laughlin, 1981:14 and Wuyts, 1980:12-14) also in search of good wages. This made them integrated in the regional capitalist economy.

### 3.3.2. Forced cash cropping

#### 3.3.2.1. Cotton and concentrations

As a direct response of the fascist 'new state' of Antonio Salazar which came to power as a result of military coup on 26 of May of 1926 (HM, Vol.3, 1993:28;41 and Hanlon, 1984, 1990:17-18), the government decided to force the rural people to produce cotton as one of the raw materials to sell to the motherland in exchange for manufactured goods and could provide 'a logical solution to Portugal's problem of overpopulation' through resettlement in the colonies. An estimation shows that the Portuguese settlers known as *colonos* or landlessness went to Mozambique as follow: 17,842 *colonos* in 1930; 27,438 *colonos* in 1940; 48,213 *colonos* in 1950; 97,245 *colonos* in 1960 and in 1970 there were over 200,000 *colonos* (HM, Vol.3, 1993:165 and Hanlon, 1984, 1990:21;96 and Finnegan, 1992:28-29 and Wuyts, 1980:14-22). The Portuguese peasants or *colonos* depended on family labour with forced native labour (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:96 and O'Laughlin, 1981:13). Throughout colonial Mozambique, large private monopolies had dominated the export sectors of sugar, tea, tobacco, cotton and sisal. For example, from 1930s to the 1960s, one colonial company controlled the purchase, processing, and export all of cotton to the metropolitanian power ( Mittelman, 2000:93 and Pitcher, 1998:125).

While plantations grew tea, sugar, copra and sisal for export, the commercial agriculture was largely on the Portuguese hands. Settler farmers grew high-value crops, particularly tobacco and food for the settlers in the cities such as rice, meat, dairy products and vegetables (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:96). In Zambezia province many peasants were forced to grow cotton. One of the consequences of forced cotton cultivation was the food shortage, which caused food insecurity and the deterioration of peasants diet (Head, 1980:66-67 and HM, vol. 3, 1993: 153). It could be said forced cotton cultivation impoverished the rural people, as illustrated in the following quotation:

Textiles are usually one of the first areas of industrialization for and underdeveloped country, and the Portuguese's 'new state' was no exception. Portugal's new textile industry depended on having a monopoly market in the colonies and secures supply of cheap cotton. The fascist state tackled this problem in the obvious way: peasants were forced to grow cotton and sell it to the state at well below world market prices. As the men were already forced to do chibalo labour, each woman was required to grow one acre of cotton. This

was enforced through sheer brutality: Women who failed to grow their cotton were beaten and raped. In areas like Nampula where there was less demand for chibalo labour, men were also forced to grow cotton. To make the system easier to police, peasants were made to build roads and move their farms next to the roads. By the late 1940s, more than 600,000 peasant families were producing cotton and Portugal was getting 96% of its needs from its colonies, mostly Mozambique. Forced cropping seemed such a good idea that in areas where cotton would not grow, peasants were forced to grow rice or groundnuts (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:20).

The forced labour law introduced in the country in 1899 known as Native Labour Regulations (NLR) which specified that 'All Natives of the Portuguese overseas are subject to the moral and legal obligation of attempting to obtain, through work, the means they lack for subsistence and to improve their social conditions' was used to force native labour to work at the companies and cash cropping which Hanlon (1984,1990:16-17) calls as 'double oppression'. The Native Labour Regulations mentioned that natives 'have full liberty to choose the method of fulfilling this obligation, but if they fail it, the public authorities may force them to do so' (Hanlon, 1984, 1990: 16-17).

The Native Labour Regulations was enforced by *Codigo de Trabalho Indigena nas Colonias Portuguesas* (CTICP) (1928-1962) or Code of Indigenous Work in the Portuguese Colonies promulgated in 1928 and completed in 1930, which theoretically prohibited the forced work in the plantations and other sectors (HM, Vol.3, 1993:31 and CEA-EM No.2, 1981:27). In practice the forced labour never stopped until Independence. It is true that forced cropping was finally too much. Cotton and rice are labour intensive and have exactly the same cycles as normal peasant food crops, particularly grains, beans, peanuts and large number of several cereals. Even plantation labour peaks are similar to food-crop labour peaks (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:20). So with the men away and the women forced to work on the cotton crop, the family was unable to grow enough food to feed the family. Because of forced cash cropping several severe famines in the 1940s were registered which was strictly linked to forced cotton growing (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:20 and Finnegan, 1992:28-29 and HM, Vol.3, 1993:153). At the end of the 1940-decade because of forced cotton, which caused soils degradation, the food cropping production declined dramatically (HM, Vol.3, 1993:148-153).

Although rural people experienced famines the colonial government answer was more force: peasants were also required to grow cassava. Although cassava is rich in carbohydrates, it is much less nutritious than other food crops because is poor in proteins and minerals. Thus, with the increased cultivation of cassava added to the under nutrition already widespread in the country and malnutrition reportedly increasing, especially among children, who find it difficult to eat enough of the bulky, starchy cassava to gain sufficient nutrients. One could argue that nutrition and health status is central to the quality of people's life and is a key determinant of the survival and health development of children, women and men. The advantage of cassava is because it needs little attention once it has been planted and requires much less work and its season do not conflict with cotton. The cassava at least staved off further famines (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:20 and Jiggins *et al.*, 1995:20-21 and Leslie, 1995:117 and Foster, 1992:13-16).

Rural people usually waked up by 2, 3, 4 hours in the morning and went to the cotton plots. They used firewood as light to illuminate their plots because the administrators accompanied by former native policeman known as *cipaio*, visited the rural people in the morning. Those not encountered in their plots early the administrator registered and in the following day he gave orders to the policeman to beat them by *palmatoria*. People were subjected to corporal violence (Chingono, 1996:39 and and Hanlon, 1984,1990:20 and Pequeno, Vol.1,1995:31 and HM, Vol.3, 1993:92;148-149 and Habermeier, 1981:42). When the concentrations started in 1950s the peasants were divided into two main categories: The first comprised married or single men aged 18 and 55 known as cotton cultivators who were given 100x100 metres (1 ha) as plots to cotton and other 1 ha for food cropping; the second category was simple cultivators e.g. single women and single men who were given 100x50 metres (half of ha) for cotton and other 0.5 ha for food cropping; finally 50x50 metres (1/4) for cotton for young people (Pequeno, Vol. 2, 1995:30-31 and HM, Vol.3, 1993:132 and Habermeier, 1981:38-42).

Besides cash cropping the colonial state was involved to control over the 'natives', in whose central role became the recruitment of labour, both for direct sale abroad and to the existing foreign owned plantations, as well as to stimulate investment by Portuguese capital through *colonos* (Halon, 1984, 1990:17-18 and Serra, 1980:38-41



and O’Laughlin, 1981:14). To ensure that labour was to remain cheap, it was kept migrant. This meant the employer only paid a man enough to keep him alive and pay his taxes which consisted that all Africans had to carry cards showing their work and tax records; the costs of food, clothing, housing and so on for the whole family were carried by the women at home, who maintained the family plots (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:17-18). To resolve the famine problem forced cultivation of subsistence crops such as cassava was later imposed (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:18).

Cassava is relatively hardy crop that needs little attention once it has been planted, and the roots can be stored in the ground until needed. Although it is rich in carbohydrates, it is poor in protein and minerals. Thus, with the increased cultivation of cassava added to the undernutrition already widespread in the region, malnutrition is reportedly increasing, especially among children, who find it difficult to eat enough of the bulk, starchy cassava to gain sufficient nutrients (Jiggins *et al.*, 1995:20-21).

Stricter labour laws were imposed, requiring every able-bodied man to work six months each year. The minimum (and thus the normal) wage of the six months was set at just twice the annual head tax (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:18).

Mozambicans came to the peak of their suffering at the end of the 1950s, and it is recognised that the peasants’ agriculture and small trading which had existed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century had been destroyed. There was no longer any such things as ‘subsistence agriculture’. Peasants were an integral part of the cash economy and they were expected to buy things which forced labour and forced cropping allowed them no time to grow or make meaning no longer peasants but peasant-workers (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:22). This *modus vivendi* left many scars that continue to the present date. The diet was permanently corrupted; after two generations of an enforced diet, primarily of cassava, peasants have become accustomed to it and accept undernourishment. This situation is leading to increased cultivation of cassava as a food crop, and when converted to beer (*otteka*), as a cash crop (Jiggins *et.al.*, 1995:20). They have not (and it will take a long time) returned to the more varied, nutritious mix of crops they grew generations ago (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:22). Decades of monocropping and over cropping have led to soil degradation and erosion that will require technical and social revolutions to redress. Because of the degradation and of the lack of investments in commercial agriculture hundreds of thousands of Mozambicans have spent most of

their adult life working abroad, and have no jobs at home and no means to set themselves up as peasant farmers (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:22).

### **3.3.2.2. Rice**

Rice was another forced cultivation under the circumstances of the II World War. In the decade 1929-1939 the production and commercialization of rice in Mozambique had reduced. As a result it was more cheap importing rice in general from southeast of Asia via Singapore rather than producing internally. Such production reached about 11,000 tones in 1939. Nonetheless, the cargo ships reduced significantly and the political scenarios in the Southeast Asia, namely the Japanese expansion who took over Singapore in its favour, caused an interruption in rice supply to the colony (HM, Vol.3, 1993:93).

In response to the above situation that caused a lack of food in the colony and to promote self-sufficiency through rice production the government decided to introduce forced rice production. Areas for production were created with Europeans responsible for buying, milling and commercialization. This was supervised by *Divisao de Fomento Orizicola* (DFO) or Rice Division Promotion founded in 1942 that had similar power as *Junta de Exportacao de Algodao Colonial* (JEAC) (Board of Trade of Colonial Cotton Exportation) founded in 1938 which initiated dealing with cotton production in 1939. In fact, the forced rice production known in local language as *ezenha* was based on the cotton model as a result of pressure from administrators, former native policemen known as *cipaios* and foremen or black overseers (*capatazes*). The concessionaires distributed seeds, fertilizers and sacks to the peasants and each man cultivated 1 ha and each woman half of ha. The rural people sold the rice to the concessionaires with low price fixed by the government. In that way the concessionaire got much profit because after buying rice from the peasants, they milled it and re-sold it for a higher price than bought from the rural people (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:99 and HM, Vol.3, 1993:84;89-90;92;.93;130-131;148;149-150 and Pequeno, 1995:33). According to Ayisi (1995:41-42) this was a time of virtual slave labour, when Mozambicans were forced to neglect their own food crops to grow cash crops for export to Portugal and to the neighbouring countries.

### **3.4. Zambezia after independence**

This section presents Zambezia under countryside socialization. This was understood as the backbone of development and the decisive factor for the victory of socialism. It meant modernize rural areas through three pillars namely communal villages, collective farms and state farms. Through state farms the peasants would be transformed into wage workers (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:98 and Saad Filho, 1997:200 and Casal, 1988:157-161). Agriculture was seen as a main source of capital accumulation for industrial development, and the bulk of Mozambicans would depend on agriculture for their livelihood for decades to come (Hanlon, 1984,1990:98 and O’Laughlin, 1981:25).

After independence on 25<sup>th</sup> of June of 1975 Frelimo set up a Socialist government, which discouraged private ownership and gave the state control of all utilities, transportation systems, medical and educational facilities. It is true that the transition from colony to independence was not smooth and caused discontent among Portuguese people. By 1976, about 90% of the Portuguese administrators, equipment operators, white farmers, and doctors fled the country leaving behind destroyed equipment and machinery, shops, farms and business were abandoned causing the collapse of the rural trade network, food shortages of export and food crops. They represented the majority of the skilled and semi-skilled labour force; their departure left the country without know-how; before leaving they killed their cattle and destroyed their machinery. Some of them went to then South Rhodesia today Zimbabwe, others returned to Portugal and others to South Africa. Only 40 doctors remained in the country, and only 7 percent of the population could read. By independence the illiteracy rate was over 90%. (Finnegan, 1992:30-31 and Hanlon, 1984, 1990:46;83;96 and James, 1988:57 and Agadjanian, 2001:292 and Herbermeier, 1981:42-43 and Quan, 1987:12 and Saad Filho, 1997:198 and O’Laughlin, 1981:25). The Portuguese settlers played an important role in supplying the countryside with basic goods that people wanted, such as clothing, soap, bicycles, radios, batteries, and tools through their rural shops. Such shops also catered consumer goods for rural people and bought the rural people’s surplus (Quan, 1987:12). The key problem after they left was the failure to supply goods and commercialize peasants’ surplus.

In July of 1975, later after independence, medicine and education were nationalized. On 3<sup>rd</sup> of February of 1976 the land was nationalized, the rented property was nationalized and Lourenço Marques was renamed Maputo also on 3<sup>rd</sup> of February at the same year. In January 1977, just a month before the Third Congress, the insurance industry was nationalized. In May just after the Third Congress the Portuguese and French-owned oil refinery was taken over, at the end of 1977 most banks were nationalized and integrated into the Bank of Mozambique and the then People's Development Bank today Austral Bank (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:46;76).

### **3.4.1. Countryside socialization**

Countryside socialization was agrarian policy adopted by *Frente de Libertacao de Mocambique* (FRELIMO) or Front for the Liberation of Mozambique in its Third Congress held in February of 1977. It was during the Third Congress that the liberation movement officially became Marxist-Leninist vanguard party when Frelimo declared itself as such and signed long-term assistance pacts with the former Soviet Union, Cuba, China etc., and adopted the Modernist Marxist, also known Marxism Leninism as a model for development (Saad-Filho, 1997:193 and Simpson, 1992:10-11 and James, 1988:16-17 and Finnegan, 1992:30 and Pitcher, 1998:124 and Hanlon, 1984, 1990:72;95 and Chingono, 1996:75 and Wuyts, 1990:102-104 and Casal, 1988:161).

It is said that at the Third Congress in 1977, with the aim of tackling the economic distortions and the social inequality inherited from colonialism, Frelimo adopted a strategy of development based on the models of a centrally planned economy. In this model almost all policies and decisions in the economic sphere were made in the context of a central state plan, which set production targets and allocated financial and material resources. Democratic centralism was the order of the day, and it was clear that orders were going to flow from top to bottom. It is worth to say that the Frelimo's line of the revolution which largely influenced the adoption of Marxism Leninism was approved during the Second Congress in 1968 and established that the socialist revolution was the ideology to follow (Simpson, 1992:2;11 and Chingono, 1996:34;75).

“The role of state in the economy was consolidated by the development of state farms and cooperativization of agriculture and the promotion of heavy industry. The overall consequence was that an inefficient bureaucratic structure, albeit without sufficiently qualified personnel, was set up to run the economy” (Chingono, 1996:75) meaning that ‘poorly managed, state-run enterprises in agriculture, industry and commerce were unable to produce a profit and went into debt’ and also led the failure of agricultural production (Chingono, 1996:75 and Hanlon, 1984, 1990:75).

Simpson (1992:11), further goes on to point out that “FRELIMO’s adoption of East European style Marxism entailed the automatic privileging of the urban proletariat, since according to that cosmology it was the proletariat, with the help of a vanguard party, that would fulfill its historic mission of building a classless society”. It is argued that Frelimo came in power with reasonable clear ideas about rural development because during the armed struggle it was fighting in the rural areas were it had organized cooperatives leading the socialization of the countryside. This involved the state and cooperative farms, marking the central approach to economic transformation, in Mozambique in which 85% of the population lives in the rural areas (Hanlon, 1984:1990:73 and Casal, 1991:38-44). The Third Congress made clear that the long-term development agriculture was the base and industry the dynamising factor and the heavy industry the decisive factor. The building of socialism would be centrally planned. The *Comissao Nacional do Plano* (CNP) National Planning Commission due in June of 1980 which submitted a ten-year plan for the radical transformation of the country (also known as 1980-1990 *decada da luta contra o subdesenvolvimento* or decade of fight against underdevelopment), was approved by the People’s Assembly in October of 1981 to deal with the socialization of the countryside (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:73;82;85;95;101 and Mittelman, 2000:94). During the Third Congress it was declared that “the establishment of state farms is a priority objective...all the strategic sectors of the economy must be under state control” (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:73).

Socialization of the countryside and the building of the communal villages were envisaged as a decisive factor for victory of socialism in Mozambique. But socialization of countryside as it effects the majority of peasants has never been a priority in practice, and this is the real root of the problems of lack of resources, people, and organization, which face so many villages. The bias

towards state farms rather than co-ops...the issue is symbolized by the National Commission for Communal Villages, created in 1978 to oversee and assist villagization (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:126).

#### **3.4.1.1. Communal villages**

The communal villages were seen as 'the backbone of rural development'. The phrase 'urbanization of the countryside' or new socialist townships was coined in the hope that it would prevent rural people flow to the cities. The objective was to concentrate dispersed populations so as to deliver social services and to provide a minimum of services like as health, education and clean water, sanitation and agricultural extension services more effectively. It was made clear that the rural people were in the bush and would be very hard for the state to provide them with social services. Hence the communal villages would contribute to the diffusion of scientific knowledge as opposed to the superstition and reactionary traditions allegedly widely held in the countryside. The people were inducted into new ways of socialist living and learn better agricultural techniques. Communal villages were seen as centres of modernization that would leave behind backward lives. The government did not realize that Mozambique is sparsely populated and rural people live on widely scattered family plots, both because traditional farming methods require large tracts of land, and because rural people fled further and further into the bush to escape forced labour, taxation and slavery (Abrahamson & Nilsson, 1995:15-16 and Hanlon, 1984, 1990:98;122 and Saad-Filho, 1997:193-194;200;203 and Casal, 1988:157;166 and Casal, 1991:36;53-61 and Coelho, 1998:65 and Quan, 1987:12 and HM, Vol.3, 1993:112 and Simpson, 1992:12).

Only when people come together can they learn to take political control over their own lives, and participate actively in the political and economic development of Mozambique. The guerrillas model communal villages on the way people came together in the liberated zones for protection. There they received some medical care and education, and did some collective production to support the struggle. The economic base of the communal village is expected to be collective production: agricultural and artisanal cooperatives and state farms. Eventually it is intended that family farms will be reduced to vegetable gardens of less than two acres to provide food but not a cash income. Since independence, 1,350 communal villages have been created. They have 1.8 million inhabitants, 14% of the total population and 18% of the rural population...there are 375 co-op farms in the entire country (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:122).

Socialization of the entire countryside would require 10,000 villages and to achieve this in a decade as was promised in ten-year plan would require 1,000 villages per year, whereas Mozambique got only 1,300 villages—and fewer than 200 real communal villages—in eight years. It was estimated that bringing clean water to 10,000 people would cost 150 million pounds in a time without technicians to plan the villages like in Tanzania where Ujama was lacking skilled planners (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:123;131). The concentration of the rural people in communal villages was undoubtedly the most important aspect of Frelimo's strategy to control rural people labour because in practice the villages were labour reserves for the state farms and cooperatives. This caused conflict because of competition for labour at peak seasons (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:99 and Saad-Filho, 1997:204). It is noted that most peasant crops have three labour peaks: (a) preparing the land before the rains, (b) weeding during the rains and (c) the harvest. Maize, peanuts, rice, some beans and cotton all have the same schedule. Sunflower, cashew nuts, sweet potatoes and cassava have significantly different labour peaks, and can be used to ensure a more balanced demand for labour throughout the year. Rural people found it more profitable to deal with their own crops than working at state farms, and this caused the lack of workforce available to state farms. Even plantations faced the competition for labour at peak weeding time. This led to labour scarcity causing the colonial government to introduce Native Labour Regulations to force labourers to turn to companies and cash cropping (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:115-116 and Coelho, 1998:73 and O'Laughlin, 1981:15;17).

Although the word order was to urbanize countryside through villages, it is known that the rural people were urbanized since long time ago because they built cities (James, 1988:33). The villages nearby can start to provide social services such as schools, health posts, water supply, shops and so on. Villagization was not seen as a new idea because Tanzania implemented it known as Ujama, and the colonial authorities established two kinds of villages. One consisted moving rural people into fortified villages along 'cotton roads' where they could better control them. Another was established during the armed struggle when Portuguese joined peasants in the villages known as *aldeamentos* established between 1968 and 1974 throughout the country in order to keep them away from Frelimo guerrillas. Also Frelimo itself implemented communal villages in the liberated zones that inspired communal

villages after independence (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:98-99;122-123 and Henriksen, 1983:102-108; 145; 154-167 and Pequeno, Vol.2, 1995: 30-35 and Coelho, 1998:61;65-91 and HM, Vol.3,1993:132 and HM, Vol.1, 198.. and Saad-Filho, 1997:203-204 and Simpson, 1992:9 and Pitcher, 1998:120;134).

Although there was a promise that in 1980 there would be appointed a Secretary of State of Communal villages, to give the villages commission much more political clout, this did not happen. Like the co-ops commission, was never adequate staff or resources, which was clear sign that those at the top of the government had lost interest in villagization and also rural people themselves assumed that the lack of interest from top meant that communal villages were less important (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:126).

Some people went voluntarily to the villages and others were forced to move. In some villages there were no services such education, health, running water, even no fertile land leading the failure to meet high expectations. Because of lack of basic services large number of rural people refused to be drawn into communal villages, while others returned to their original homes to farm their lands (Casal, 1988:173;175 and Hanlon, 1984, 1990:128 and Saad-Filho, 1997:205). The withdrawal of the peasants from the communal villages was generally repressed. Those who left communal villages were arrested and deported to 're-education camps' or sent to work in distant parts of the country (Saad-Filho, 1997:205).

In the 1970s and 1980s the army forced people into communal villages in a way that bore little relation to Frelimo's political goals. The main reason raised to justify the compulsory villagization was because the peasants would support *Resistencia Nacional Moçambicana* (RENAMO) or they would suffer against floods. People in the villages burnt down their homes blaming RENAMO (MNR Mozambican National Resistance) to convince the government that it would be better to live in their original homes. The peasants had no choice because those refusing go to the communal villages had their houses burnt down to prevent return. The government did not supply public services to these areas and the RENAMO were also burning their houses as a weapon to demotivate them to stay in the communal villages



(Hanlon, 1984, 1990:128-129 and Saad-Filho, 1997:205 and Chingono, 1996:44 and Coelho, 1998:65 and Casal, 1988:173).

When it is said that we are forcing people into communal villages, it is true. Because if we don't, then the enemy will use these people to destroy their own future. These people are being liberated...they are different from the Portuguese aldeamentos. The objective of the aldeamentos was to impede our liberation struggle. In our villages people will have their own political bodies and cooperative farms and shops for their own benefit...How much physical force is used is never clear; peasants frequently talk of houses being burned and of people moved at gunpoint...Often people are threatened by being told that 'just over the mountain' people had their houses burned, and they will too if they don't move. Like the Portuguese before them, Frelimo will have to make its own decisions about the military merits of forcing people into villages. But I think forced villages are an important source of recruits for the MNR, and are building up antagonism to Frelimo that will take years to move. (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:129).

There are clear differences between *aldeamentos* and communal villages. While aldeamentos were created by the Portuguese government to move away the peasants from Frelimo guerrillas during the armed struggle the communal villages were seen as a place where people would enjoy a good life although the state had not ability to deliver agricultural inputs, services and consumer goods. However the latter services declined because of the deterioration of the economy (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:129 and Saad-Filho, 1997:205). In some communal villages people voluntarily joined the villages and they worked and came back after a period of heavy work whereas in unpopular villages people really lived on the family plot and maintained a token presence in the village (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:128).

In both voluntary and forced villages the planning was quite bad because there was not enough good farmland nearby, so that rural people have to walk many hours to their fields (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:128). The forced labour, the forced cash cropping, the compulsory communal villages made people discontented and this built antagonisms that will take many years to remove. (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:129).

A central problem is that relatively few villages really conformed to the Frelimo model, typified by Josina Machel, of peasants voluntarily coming together to form a village, based on a mix of political motivation and their own desire to improve their

lot. Some villages were formed in that way, especially in the former liberated zones. But most villages resulted from civil war and natural disaster and involved a high degree of compulsion: 1- More than 100 villages in the Limpopo and Zambezi River valleys were created after the disastrous floods in 1977 and 1978... To prevent similar disasters in the future, Frelimo ruled that people could not return to that flood plain but should live in communal villages on high ground. This policy definitely saved lives in floods on the same rivers in 1981; 2- Some communal villages were created to house workers on state farms and other large development projects; 3- Many villages in the north house refugees who returned from Tanzania and Malawi after independence; Many villages in the north are simply converted *aldeamentos*, the 'fortified villages' created by the Portuguese to keep peasants away from the influence of Frelimo during the armed struggle; 5- More than 200 villages in Manica, Sofala, Inhambane, Tete, and Zambezia provinces were created by the military to keep the peasants away from the influence of the MNR (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:128 and Saad-Filho, 1997:203).

Many villages had taken to paying the health worker directly instead of from the co-op (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:126). Such a strategy did not succeed and led to the failure of communal villages allied to scarcity of qualified human resources. The lack of skills and resources, poor staff and absence of technicians to plan the villages had contributed to the failure of communal villages (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:123 and Coelho, 1998:65 and Saad-Filho, 1997:204 and Simpson, 1992:12). It might be said that communal villages was a repetition of the forced cash cropping such as cotton and rice which impoverished peasants and caused many deaths at that time. This can be seen as one of the reasons why peasants abandoned their initial enthusiasm and the communal villages lost its popularity. It is worth adding that in some Provinces like Tete for example, the communal villages were established in the same location as the former *aldeamentos* (coelho, 1998:66).

#### **3.4.1.2. Cooperatives and collective farms**

Cooperativization was seen as the only way to make rapid technical jumps in productivity. It was believed that both state farms and co-ops would be commercial farms largely producing crops for sale. State farms would create a rural working class

to lead the revolution, while co-ops should instill a spirit of cooperative work to improve people's lives. It was believed that Socialism demands radical transformations. Central to that economic and political transformation would be a social transformation which breaks the rural-urban differences hence makes country life sufficiently attractive to stop migration to the cities and that would be done through villagization (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:98;103-109 and Pitcher, 1998:124).

As mentioned above co-operatives emerged from liberated zones implemented during the freedom war and after independence the cooperative farming was encouraged by the representatives of the state. It is true that in 1968 when Frelimo met in its Second Congress (Simpson, 1992:9) it made clear that cooperative production was the proper way of encouraging the peasants. In addition to cultivating their private plots, they should spend time on collective plots, production there being distributed according to the hours put in by each individual. This led Frelimo to commit itself to some form of socialism of agriculture although it was not clear as to which kind of socialism would be followed (Simpson, 1992:9). It was in 1977 that Frelimo made it clear the type of socialism they were pursuing when its Second Congress adopted Modernist Marxist (Finnegan, 1992:30 and Saad Filho, 1997:192-196).

Whatever the reason for the adoption of the cooperatives, it is important to mention that co-operatives caused problems among rural people. Similar to forced cotton production the peasants received small plots for their food cropping, and the cooperatives were seen as a repetition of colonial treatment to the peasants. Frelimo in its Central Committee (1976) determined that the peasants would be allocated small plots not exceeding  $\frac{1}{4}$  ha in the irrigated areas and 1 ha in non-irrigated areas. This figure is evidence that rural people would be unable to rely on their own plots for survival and could not have enough food because small plots were incompatible with traditional rural people cultivation patterns. Thus Frelimo also undermined the farmers' food security by pursuing agrarian policies that reduced the peasantry to poverty and increased their social marginalization (Chingono, 1996:36 and Coelho, 1998:65;77 and Saad-Filho, 1997:204 and Simpson, 1992:13 and Casal, 1988:164-165;169-172;174;178).

According to Coelho, (1998:84-85) cooperatives were installed in the context of a weak and greatly disrupted economy. They not only competed with household agriculture, but also brought further negative influences. In every possible sense household agriculture became treated as 'illegitimate' within the communal villages process, even if occasionally this trend was fought by some state structures. Under the general strategy of development, cooperatives, in parallel with the state farms, were to lead the rural economy and society in the transition to socialism. Household agriculture, which did not receive any state investment throughout the period, was seen as condemned to disappear, as characterized by negative and backward political and economic as well as social and cultural, values. Consequently, although precise data are not available for each case, cooperatives most probably increased already acute competition for village lands. When land distribution is undertaken it is not uncommon for the most fertile soils to be provided to the cooperatives, while the family units have to be limited to the lands remaining sometimes characterised by mediocre soil fertility (Coelho, 1998:84-85 and O'Laughlin, 1981:26).

Frelimo was largely influenced by the Tanzania's over ambitious collectivization also known as Ujama villages that started in 1968 and reinforced in 1973 (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:131) because the Frelimo leaders were in Tanzania at the time of Ujama villages. They did not learn from mistakes committed in Tanzania during the implementation of Ujama villages, although it was intended that the Mozambique's villages would be created after learning from the Tanzanian experience and this would help avoiding repetition for the same mistakes committed in Tanzania (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:131).

Ujama villages were to be based on cooperative production and voluntary adherence without any political mobilization. By 1968 the late President Nherere stressed that no one could be forced into an Ujama village. Further in 1973 he declared that 'to live in a village is order'. But Tanzania lacked the skilled political and agricultural cadres to plan, organize, and motivate rapidly. Contrary, the process increasingly became one of simply creating villages to fulfill quotas and as an immediate solution Ujama was replaced by 'development villages' which did not have collective production. (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:131).

Nevertheless, in the period between 1977 and 1981 voluntary cooperativization as a strategy of development had shown meagre results. Throughout the country there were only 375 cooperatives working collective plots in 1981, employing a mere 37,000 people, representing a few number of the rural population (Simpson, 1992:13).

The government hoped to raise crop yields and rural living standards by encouraging collective organization amongst generally scattered, individual peasant families. But cooperatives did not get enough practical support and the over-enthusiasm of inexperienced local official for bureaucratically planned the communal 'communal villages' led to frequent failures (Quan, 1987:12).

The negative experience drawn from cooperatives affected negatively some ZADP's development strategies. Two examples, illustrate this:

A women in Morrova village in Nicoadala District, when she was asked by a member of DFID during a meeting, why she join ZADP activities later, replied:

I was waiting to make sure that ZADP/World Vision is not like cooperatives. As was also waiting to see the results from the first people who joined World Vision. I did not join them at the beginning because I thought that it was like cooperatives. At the cooperative period we were forced work at the collective plots and we produced. But after harvesting we did not get the produce because the leaders took it. We cultivated big plots but we did not benefit from surplus. When World Vision arrived in our village told to us to form groups to receive seeds and grow at the same plot. Told to us also to form groups to receive goats. By now I am a group member because although we are a group each one grows his/her crops in his/her own plot.

**Source:** *Woman from Morroa*

Another example comes from Gurue District. The community of Nicoria village during PRA said:

"We fear because when you tell us to work in group in the plots for seed multiplication, and communal nurseries this remind us the failed cooperatives in which we worked and produced but the produce went with chiefs. You also want to oblige us to produce for you and after harvesting you will take the products"

And they also added saying that in the neighbouring Administrative Post of Nauela, Alto Molocue District there "was a person who was taking over the peasants' land." This was another motive of being fearful because they said that "the ZADP would take over their land like in the colonial era when the Portuguese took over their land and they did not have fertile land."

It is known that in some areas only a small part of the population was affected by collectivization while in other areas people were made labourers in state farms. The overall effect was the marginalization of the family farming sector, for example, 90 percent of agricultural investment in 1977-1983 went to the state sector, 2 percent to the farming cooperatives, and virtually none to the small family sector (Chingono, 1996:37 and Hanlon, 1984, 1990:105 and Pitcher, 1998:127 and Saad-Filho, 1997:203). Because the cooperative sector was starved of capital, the socialization of countryside did not materialize its objectives (Chingono, 1996:37 and O'Laughlin, 1981:26). The collective production schemes did not succeed in the country because, for example, only three years after the collective scheme began at Eripele in Netia the number of participants dropped from eighty to twenty-six families (Pitcher, 1998:127).

At about the same time, in an attempt to stimulate agricultural production, the government forced many farmers to work on large, state-run farms. But, these unmanageable "cooperatives" were not highly productive, primarily because the people themselves received few of the benefits and thus were not committed to the movement. They continued to live off their own personnel plots, which they farmed after putting in their required hours on the "people's" farms. Not surprisingly, many Mozambicans today are wary of any attempts at collectivization until they can clearly see the benefits of participation (Ayisi, 1995:43-44).

The Third Congress in February 1977 ruled that the state farm sector would be dominant and determinant and that technical resources would be concentrated on state production unities. The co-ops were to be actively supported but clearly ran a poor second. Family farming was ignored and was something to be eliminated by the end eighties decade (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:95;100-102). One could argue that the government tried to embark on countryside socialization in order to solve the problem left by skilled Portuguese. Thus was done by concentrating on big state farms using imported machinery. They expected too much, too fast and failed to support the small family farmers (Quan, 1987:12).

It was believed that state farms would lead the transformation of the country's backward agriculture: they must become the most productive and technological advanced sector. The state farms ran in place of the abandoned settler farms and it

was hoped that the state farms would become models for development and would employ fewer than 400,000 people (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:98). The state farms failed because of lack of skilled people who would manage the imported equipment (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:101 and O'Laughlin, 1981:25).

Frelimo's agrarian transformation programme was guided by Marxism anti-peasant ideologies. These ideologies depicted the peasantry as an inexorably disintegrating residue of the past feudal society. To realize the 'socialization of the countryside' it was thus necessary to transcend the archaic social and economic organization of the peasantry. The thrust was on increasing peasant productivity through introduction of the large-scale and high technology state and collective farms (Chingono, 1996:36-37).

It was made clear that the then *colonatos* that belonged to the Portuguese settlers would be taken to be state farms and collective farms. Colonatos were land taken by force from the natives during the colonial era mainly in the 1930s after Salazar's state coup on 26 of May of 1926 HM, Vol.3, 1993:28 and Finnegan, 1992:29-30 and Saad-Filho, 1997:201-202 and O'Laughlin, 1981:25-26 and Herbermeier, 1981:44-45;49). When the *colonos* arrived in Mozambique they displaced the native people from their fertile lands and sent them to infertile lands. The lands taken by *colonos* were called *colonatos* or place for colonos. In 1977 such *colonatos* were taken as state farms known as *machambas estatais* when the new government nationalized the land ownership, rental property, and social services such education, medicine and law (Finnegan, 1992:30).

The forced cash cropping and countryside socialization are similar and experienced by the peasants as the same because both forced people. The difference is because cash cropping was done during the colonial era whereas the socialization of the countryside was done post-independence period.

It is important to mention that the civil war that started in 1976 and ended in 1992 resulted also in an economic crisis of vast proportions which has made the country the world's poorest, hungriest, most indebted and most aided-dependent. Rural people were forced to leave their original homes as refugees or displaced people. Estimations show that more than 1 million people died either directly as a result of the civil war, or indirectly as result of famine. More than 3,000,000 were driven from their homes as internally displaced or refugees to neighboring countries and more than 8000,000

faced starvation or severe food shortages (Chingono, 1996:1-2;12;15;29 and James, 1988:58 and Simpson, 1992:3 and Finnegan, 1992:4).

Both cash cropping, civil war and the failure of countryside socialization program characterized by government's socialist policies, over-centralization, violent agrarian, modernization and the regimentation/militarization of society intensified the economic crisis in Mozambique and undermined the household livelihoods (Chingono, 1996:1-2).

## **CHAPTER 4:**

### **WORLD VISION IN ZAMBEZIA: ZADP AND ITS TWO DEVELOPMENT APPROACHES.**

#### **4.1.Introduction**

In this chapter I present the general overview of World Vision when it was founded, and its purpose as an organization. Two approaches applied by ZADP in two different time periods are also presented: ZADP phase 1 from 1994 to 1997 characterized by a top-down approach, and ZADP phase 2 of 1998 to 2003 characterized by a bottom-up approach.

#### **4.2. General overview**

World Vision is an NGO and is part of civil society. Civil society is the self-organization of society through the creation of autonomous, voluntary, non-governmental organizations, nonprofit-distributing, private, third or independent sector, self-governing, which operates outside the confines of the market and the state. (Laville, 2000:277 and Salamon *et al.*, 2000:1-2). According to heterogeneity theory also known as market failure/government failure, civil society is to contribute to government's limitation in producing public goods and not satisfying the demand of public goods (Salamon *et.al.*, 2000:7 and Budlender, 2000:123 and Cameron, 2000:627 and Fowler, 2000:598;600 and McGee, 2001:2).



Historically the role of NGOs in development has been argued in different ways. In the 1960s, when the channel was established and conceptualised in most donor countries, NGOs were regarded as marginal actors complementing state-to-state aid as bilateral and multilateral agencies. During the 1980s and the early 1990s were seen as distinctive force in the development field. Their main task was to secure and deepen national support for aid in the donor countries. At the beginning of the 1960s also known as the NGO decade, NGOs were primarily described as places where people learn through praxis about society and how to organize them. NGOs were commonly equated with grassroots movements, often populist or leftist in orientation. From the early 1980s, documents on NGOs in development focused on micro-level development and the need for empowerment of marginal groups. The thinking centred upon loose concepts like the strengthening of local capacities, grassroots participation and mobilization. This was no clear understanding in terms of what social level and to what extent this grassroots mobilization would be effective for societal development at large. Emphasis was often put on specific, marginalized target groups, local economic self-sufficiency and projects aiming at the mobilization of popular organizations like producers' societies, co-operatives, self-help groups, etc. The funds come from foreign donors and Northern NGOs manage it. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB) and also other international financial institutions have also been involved in aid driving (Tvedt, 1998:166-167 and Bird, 2001:38-39;45 and Kasliwal, 1995:133 and Hailey, 2000:403 and Edwards & Sen, 2000:606;612-614 and Behrman, 2001:1-4).

To facilitate the arrival of more foreign aid to Mozambique, the country joined the African Development Bank (ADB) in 1980, the Lome Convention (LC), the Paris Club (PC), the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in 1984. In 1987, the Structural Adjustment Package (SAP) was adopted (Saad-Filho, 1997:209 and Mittelman, 2000:95-97 and Simpson, 1992:4 and Wuyts, 1990:99-102). It was the end of the modernist Marxist development model. Although there is evidence showing that the structural adjustment reforms known in Mozambique as *Programa de Reabilitacao Economica* (PRE) or Economical Rahabilitation Programme and the intervention of NGOs contributed to economic growth, it is true that Mozambique remains a very poor country where more than 60 per cent of

population live less than \$1 per day (Agadjanian, 2001:292 and Mittelman, 2000:104).

World Vision was founded in 1950s by the Christian humanitarian pioneer Dr. Bob Pierce to care for Korean orphans. World Vision is devoted to community development and advocacy for the poor as well as relief programs. It also helps children and their families to build sustainable futures. Approximately half of World Vision's programs are funded through child sponsorship. The first child sponsorship program was established in Korea in 1953 and later expanded into Asian countries, Latin America and Africa. World Vision is one of the largest Christian relief and development organizations in the world working in six continents in over 103 countries. Through its sponsorship program World Vision assists children in the poor communities to meet food, education, health care, training, and so on. 'World Vision focuses on children because they represent the best indicator of the social health of a community. When children are fed, sheltered, schooled, protected, valued and loved a community thrives'. In the 1960s World Vision began its relief efforts delivering food, clothing, and medical supplies to people suffering from disaster. One of the worst disasters that World Vision provided help to the people to meet the immediate needs was a devastating earthquake in northern Iran, in 1962 which killed 120,000 people.

([http://www.wv.org.za/Countries/south\\_africa.htm](http://www.wv.org.za/Countries/south_africa.htm);<http://www.worldvision.org/worldvision/master.nsf/corporatev51?OpenPage>;<http://www.worldvision.org/worldvision/comms.nsf/stable/history>)

Besides sponsorship programs World Vision facilitates the transformation of entire communities with water programs, health care, education, agriculture and economic development, and strategic Christian leadership activities. With its poverty alleviation and development programs, World Vision incorporated vocational and agricultural training for families into its sponsorship efforts, and parents began learning to farm and earn money through small enterprises.

'In 1986, World Vision launched what has become one of its premiere development programs the Ghana Rural Water Project. Each year, hundreds of thousands of people in Africa, mostly children, die from waterborne illnesses such as diarrhoea, malaria,

and so on. The simple solution of clean water prevents thousands of deaths. World Vision began drilling wells in communities and infant mortality dropped’.

([http://www.wv.org.za/Countries/south\\_africa.htm](http://www.wv.org.za/Countries/south_africa.htm);

(<http://www.worldvision.org/worldvision/master.nsf/corporatev51?OpenPage>)

and (<http://www.worldvision.org/worldvision/comms.nsf/stable/history>).

World Vision International arrived in Mozambique in 1983, at the peak of the 16-year civil war that brought so much death. In response to the needs created by the civil war its programs were fully geared to emergency and relief assistance to the displaced people and refugees. With the advent of peace in 1992, World Vision started implementing agricultural development programmes. Since then it has been involved in the provision of food aid, seeds and tools and health care. In 1992 it began a transition from emergency to development programmes. Its overall programme goal is to increase household food security, poverty alleviation and health in rural areas through the application of broad based sustainable technology and human resource development. After the General Peace Agreement signed on 4<sup>th</sup> of October of 1992 in Rome Italy, World Vision played a crucial role working side by side with the government in the resettlement of the 1,5 million refugees and displaced who were dependent on humanitarian aid (<http://www.wv.org.za/Countries/mozambique.htm>; PM, 1998:11 Annex 8 page 6 and Annex 8 page 13).

Since 1992 World Vision has moved from emergency on to development projects such agriculture and natural resources management, child sponsorship, health and nutrition, water and sanitation, education, infrastructure development and micro-credit. It is estimated that throughout the country World Vision reaches 3,000,000 beneficiaries living in vulnerable conditions in five provinces such Gaza, Sofala, Tete, Zambezia and Nampula managing 43 projects (15 Government Funding Development, 17 Sponsorship Area Development Programs and 11 Relief and Rehabilitation. In Mozambique World Vision’s programs are based on an integrated development approach meaning that all projects have equal importance and vital. In 1997, through the infrastructure programs World Vision rehabilitated some 900 kilometres of roads including bridges. ‘The rehabilitated road will allow for a child to get to school. The school will teach tomorrow’s adult about the importance of being

vaccinated as encouraged by the Health Post. At the health post they will be reminded about how to lead a healthy life and avoid diseases like cholera'. World Vision in Mozambique did not finish its emergency mission. For example, the severity of the floods in both 2000 and 2001, which devastated vast areas in Southern and Central Mozambique, killing and displacing many people World Vision had to incorporate an emergency component known as 'integrated relief program' into its main programs acting in both sides as charitable and development organization. (<http://www.wv.org.za/Countries/mozambique.htm>).

Like other NGOs World Vision complements government efforts in poverty alleviation and play a crucial role in land allocation issues, non-formal education through community trainings, community empowerment, support to entrepreneurs, micro loan scheme, health care, and society lobbying. It has secured a more holistic, better-quality approach to create good conditions for poor people to attain food security which is defined as 'access to enough food at all times for an active health life (Budlender, 2000:118-119 and Edwards & Sen, 2000:605 and Fowler, 2000:594-595 and McGee, 2001:2; DBSA, 1994:49; DBSA, 1993:15; Drinkwater & Rusinow, 1999:6;9; Frankenberger *et al.*, 2000:12; Davies, 1996:15).

NGOs are supposed to be more flexible and responsive, as well as cheaper and more efficient, than traditional large and cumbersome state bureaucracies. NGOs are said to be staffed by younger and more enthusiastic people who work long hours for low salaries, and who are prepared to endure hardships to work at grassroots level. Thus NGOs should be able to respond more quickly and appropriately to the needs on the ground and resolve bottlenecks more expertly (Thomas, 1992:134)

World Vision in Mozambique receives and manages funds from different donors such as United States Agency for International Development (USAID), Department for International Development (DfID) formerly called Overseas Development Agency (ODA), Australian Aid (AusAID) and others.

#### **4.3. Zambezia Agricultural Development Project Phase 2 and its two approaches.**

Zambezia Agricultural Development Project Phase 2 (ZADP 2) is an agricultural program comprising two phases. DFID, World Vision UK and Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development or *Ministerio da Agricultura e Desenvolvimento*

*Rural* (MADER) funded it jointly. Management and implementation lies within World Vision International (WVI) in partnership with Rural Association for Mutual Help or *Organizaçao Rural da Ajuda Mutua* (ORAM). Other NGOs, and various Government Departments (e.g. Agriculture) at provincial and district levels are influential secondary stakeholders and partners, whereas smallholders (rural households) trying to improve their livelihoods in a sustainable manner are the primary and key stakeholders. It is important note that the main project partner was Provincial Directorate of Agriculture and Rural Development or *Direcção Provincial de Agricultura e Desenvolvimento Rural* (DPADR) and District Directorate of Agriculture and Rural Development or *Direcção Distrital de Agricultura e Desenvolvimento Rural* (DDADR). Each Director of Agriculture in the target districts had been a key person in implementing and managing project activities with the ZADP district supervisors and technicians placed in the villages.

ZADP 2 also worked with other partners in the agricultural component (CLUSA – to improve the commercialization of agricultural products) in land tenure component (SPGC and ORAM), in the radio educational project (Mozambican Radio (MR) or Radio Mozambique (RM/Media Trust-to improved the dissemination of information) and Rupert's Honey, for the development of commercial honey production. Other organizations with whom ZADP2 collaborated are *Instituto Nacional de Investigacao Agronomica* (INIA) or National Institute for Agronomic Research<sup>1</sup> (on research), Natural Resources Institute (NRI<sup>2</sup>) (on cassava research and rat control) and District Administration (in the general work and bridge construction) WVRLL, 2002:7). To meet its goal ZADP 2 received a donation of 7.753 Pounds for disbursement over four years, 1998/1999-2000-/2002 (PM, 1998:1;11-12). After 4 years there was an extension until May of 2003. ZADP 2 worked side by side with the secondary stakeholders who played a key role in the project where had been involved in drawing up agreeing the log frame. The primary stakeholders influenced the log frame not directly but indirectly through the PRAs conducted during the project monitoring and evaluation (PM, 1998:11-12).

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<sup>1</sup> Belongs to Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development.

<sup>2</sup> NRI is British institution.

Working side by side with all stakeholders ZADP 2 avoided what Crewe & Harrison (1998:67) call 'we know best'. The local knowledge was then taken into account (Bornstein, 2000:251 and Hobart, 1993:5).

ZADP 2 evolved from ZADP 1 which was funded by ODA, commencing in April 1994 and officially supposed to end in April of 1997. But because Phase two was not ready it was extended to June of 1998. ZADP 1 was largely characterized by a top-down approach as a result of its association with displaced people who were being resettled.

Zambezia Agricultural Development Project 2 started in June of 1998 and ended in May of 2003 continuing on the experience and expanding work from ZADP1. ZADP 1 (1994-1998) was an agricultural programme providing relief aid after the war and undertaking trials into improving and selecting crop varieties suitable for the Zambezia province particularly in Gurue and Nicosadala districts. ZADP 2 expanded to additional *Localidades* (villages) in same two districts and also to Namacurra District. In addition to expanding the area of the agricultural programme, ZADP 2 extended activities to include land tenure, micro finance and later an improved access to communities and radio education to have a more holistic approach of improving various rural issues mentioned by the targeted groups during the 1997 and 1998 PRAs exercises and wealth ranking (PM, ZADP 2, 1998:5ss and WVRLL, 2002, iv;7).

#### **4.3.1. Top-down approach**

During the emergency era World Vision/ZADP 1 was characterized by top-down approach (Hobart, 1993:137). Caroline Moser, in her book *Women in Development Projects* (1993) cited by Gardner (1997:138-139), asserts that this top-down approach was largely used in the 1960s and early 1970s and was characterized by 'welfare'-type projects. For example it was linked to charitable notions of 'doing good' for women and children, providing them services and goods as beneficiaries, without demanding any return on their behalf. In the light of the above statement World Vision used a top-down approach because it never saw it as a necessity to consult beneficiaries. Basically World Vision was targeting the needy people and giving them free handouts.

#### **4.3.2. Bottom-up approach: Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA).**

In 1997 ZADP began conducting Participatory Rural Appraisals in several villages in Namacurra and Gurue. This was the beginning of ZADP 2. Its main objective was to assist communities to move away from subsistence agriculture, diversifying their income sources by initiating savings and credit schemes through Village Bank and rising awareness of land rights over communal held land (PM, ZADP 2, 1998:1; Annex 10, pag.1).

Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) has evolved from Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA). RRA itself evolved from Participatory Action Research (PAR) initiated by Paulo Freire (Thomas, 1992:138). PRA is a family of approaches, methods and behaviours that enable the targeted people to conduct their research, to express and analyse the realities of their lives and conditions, to themselves plan what action to take, to find out the solutions, and finally, monitor and evaluate the results. ZADP 2 realized that especially when project activities are intended in a new area, it is recommended to start with a series of participatory rural appraisal to identify farmer's priorities, potentials and main constraints for development. ZADP 2 embarked on the PRA approach because it emphasizes processes, which empowers targeted groups through ideas sharing, whereas RRA is mainly seen for outsiders to gather information. It was made clear that 'this calls for a more flexible process of project planning'. It was also pointed out that PRA would enable the project officials to focus on certain activities through the priorities made by targeted people and avoid setting activities, outputs and targets rigidly at the beginning of a new project. Another argument was that it should be possible to develop new activities as the needs arise. 'This also calls for more decentralization and more site-specific interventions. A particular technology may be very useful in Nicoadala but may be disastrous in a farming system in Gurue meaning that PRA was necessary before implementing a particular technology (PM, ZADP 2, 1998: Annex 10, p.7 and <http://www.ids.ac.uk/bookshop/briefs/Brief7.html>)

PRA has been used to empower people in order to claim their rights (Tujil,2000:619-622 and Fowler, 2000:594. However, despite the fact that ZADP 2 used PRA approach, there is evidence that ZADP 2 as can be seen in tables overturned some of the local priorities. Empowerment is a popular slogan in the world, especially in the

Third World where development is an important issue nowadays. Although it has largely been pointed out that Empowerment in its conceptual origins is associated with Robert Chambers, it was used by him Mahatma Gandhi with his rural movement for self-reliance in India; Paulo Freire, in his PAR; E.F Schumacher in his 'tools for self-reliance' and also Caroline Mose (1993) in her book 'Women in development' cited here by Gardner. All these people in different ways and periods coined the word "empowerment". Caroline Moser emphasized that indigenous movements have influenced empowerment more and development can only come from within the local communities (Thomas, 1992:135;138 and Gardner, 1997:138-139).

The other idea of the 'NGO approach' was the idea of empowering the poor through direct action at the grassroots. Grassroots development as an idea is associated with the name of Robert Chambers...However, does not necessarily see NGOs as having special role in grassroots development, and he does not emphasize the idea as empowerment as such. In fact three particular figures are often cited as the source of such ideas: Mahatma Gandhi, the inspiration of rural movements for self-reliance throughout India; the radical Brazilian educator Paulo Freire; and unorthodox British economist E.F. Schumacher (Thomas, 1992:135).

It is worth to note that "ultimately top-down and bottom-up approaches need to be integrated into a single information system, but local systems need to be tested and found useful in the planning process before they will be given priority by governments and donors" (Davies, 1996:12).

## **CHAPER 5:**

### **ZAMBEZIA AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT: ITS MAIN GOAL OF ALLEVIATING POVERTY.**

#### **5.1. Introduction**

Unlike the ZADP 1 which had only an agricultural component the ZADP 2 as a result of PRAs had three components - agriculture, land tenure and micro-finance which ought to contribute significantly towards poverty reduction. The project design was informed by PRA approach, which continued under way until project end. The inclusion of land tenure and micro-finance was taken in response to rural people's needs and concerns in order to help them get land titles and ensure they will not lose



their lands to the private sector. The micro-finance component was to help rural people sort out the scarcity of financial resources and lack of money within households in order to create some savings through village banks. The land tenure component was allocated to the Rural Association for Mutual Help or *Organizacao Rural da Ajuda Mutua* (ORAM) a national NGO formed in 1992 and registered in 1995, working specially with the family farming sector to raise awareness concerning the national policy on Land Tenure and the Mozambican Land Law, and assisting farming communities to register themselves as associations and obtain land tenure (PM, 1998: Annex 4, p.1 and Annex 8, p. 6). This chapter analyzes also poverty in Mozambique and Zambezia.

## **5.2. ORAM**

ORAM is currently working with a large number of farmers' groups in the several districts of Zambezia province, of which some of them have been legalized and obtained tenure to their land whereas others are in the process of legalization and obtaining tenure to their land (PM, 1998: Annex 4, p.1 and Annex 8, p.6). In Zambezia province most smallholders remained unaware of the attempts to grab land. Over period of 10 years (1987-1997), title to nearly 4 million hectares of land had been requested, constituting 36% of the land area and 63% of arable land (PM, 1998:6-7).

The major tasks of ORAM are the following:

- a) guarantee more land to peasants of family sector individually or even collectively.
- b) divulge the new law of land tenure and to continue the new regulations of land tenure in favour of the family sector as ORAM is a member of National Commission on Land Tenure;
- c) Create at provincial level a platform land tenure committee in order to act as a pressure group for greater transparency in land allocation and management. (PM, 1998: Annex 8, page 6).
- d) educate communities on their entitlement and to help them identify, define and register traditional land rights by working through ORAM
- e) improve the system of land use information and land title allocation by strengthening the institutional capacity of the land registration and Mapping Department in Zambezia (*Serviços Provinciais de Geografia e Cadastro* (SPGC).

Improved procedures and methodologies, professional development quality control systems were introduced to enable SPGC to upgrade its information base and improve its mapping systems to meet the backlog of demands for formal land titling (PM, 1998:7-8).

ZADP 2 understood that these approaches together would ensure that the needs of the communities are recognized through strengthening and improving the transparency of the titling process. This would guarantee security of land tenure and access to land seen as fundamental to sustainable development (PM, 1998:7-8).

The project will assist communities to move away from subsistence agriculture, and diversify their income sources by initiating savings and credit through a Village Bank model aimed to the poor. World Vision International will implement the project in partnership with ORAM, a local NGO and the Provincial and District Department of Agriculture who will be fully integrated within the programme... Access to land and security of tenure is fundamental if Mozambique is to achieve and sustain food security at household and national level. The 1997 Land Bill provides an improved framework for the protection of local communities, including the right to be consulted at the start of any land registration process. New provision for communities to jointly register tenure rights improves the position of smallholders (PM, 1998:1; 5).

The micro-finance component was allocated to then Zambezia Micro finance Project (ZMP) or *Project de Microfinanca da Zambezia* (PROMIZA) today KARELA meaning in the chuabo language: 'be rich'.

### **5.3. PROMIZA**

The PROMIZA designed small size loans initially set at USD30 which required weekly repayments. This would make them attractive to small enterprises such as market stalls, trading in household goods and local produce, from which a regular income would be derived. Although ZADP 2 had realized that experience from Mozambique and elsewhere in Africa has shown that loans targeted exclusively at agricultural production are both high risk and prone to high default rates, it developed credit systems that would support off-farm income generating diversified activities, enabling producers to switch between activities as profitability and risks change. PRA exercises showed that local experience indicated that off-farm income generating activities could be found locally (PM, 1998:8-9).

#### 5.4. Agricultura

Although this study is about ZADAP 2, which includes also the three components this dissertation presents only the agricultural component in detail. The Zambezia Agricultural Development Project operated from 1998 to 2003 in Zambezia province with an approach that would strongly contribute to poverty alleviation in rural areas. Informed by social appraisal, the project-addressed poverty primarily through increasing food self-sufficiency of poor farmers. This would be enhanced through provision of improved seeds, which would increase on-farm incomes; credit, which would increase off-farm incomes; and finally legal rights to land that would enable smallholders hold secure land without fearing private sector.

Stakeholder analysis undertaken during the PRA exercises showed that 30-40% of farming families in Zambezia have not reached food self-sufficiency. The feature of poverty was seen as the absence of productive inputs, shortage of credit, lack of access to markets etc. According to PRA exercises and wealth ranking, 25% of the poorest of the poor in Zambezia were female-headed households and widows who are more vulnerable. Widows and children constitute the large number of those socially isolated and marginalized and lack social support in the community and they lack also social capital (PM, 1998:11-12 and Leslie, 1995:117 and Jiggins *et al.*, 1995:19).

Agriculture in Zambezia provides about 70% of the economy in the province. This province is divided into two regions namely upper Zambezia and lower Zambezia. Rural households mainly work in small-scale family farms - farm size of 0.8 ha at lowland areas such Namacurra and Nicosadala and 1.2 ha at high land areas such Gurue. The climate is humid tropical and the annual rainfall is 1,400 to 2000 mm (variable). There are some private companies that are more involved in tea<sup>3</sup>, coconut, cotton and cattle production. The farming system can be described in the following ways: (a) lowland areas: rice-cassava, rice-coconut, rice sweet potatoes, vegetables, cassava-coconut, and (b) upland areas maize-cassava-sorghum, sorghum-cassava, Irish potatoes, vegetables. All above crops are the Zambezians' staple food. Almost no external inputs such fertilizers or pesticides are used in these farming system. Nearly all cultivations are carried out manually, as very few farmers use tractors for

the preparation of rice fields. In general few sales are made due to poor markets and difficult access to the villages. The sale of agricultural produce at farm gate is limited- the percentage of families selling agricultural produce is more or less 16% (WVRLL, 2002:7).

The ZADP 2, made clear that the project would continue to shift the emphasis from emergency and short-run stabilization to medium-term development issues. There was consensus between government and donors that the agriculture sector would provide the main source of growth and poverty alleviation for Mozambique, particularly the smallholder sector accounted for over three quarters of the population. As was pointed out during the countryside socialization period, agriculture was seen as the main source of capital accumulation of industrial development, and the bulk of Mozambicans would depend on agriculture for decades to come (Ayisi, 1995:42 and Hanlon, 1984, 1990:98 and PM, 1998:6-7).

To meet this purpose the ZADP embarked on a participatory techniques approach which were regarded as sufficiently flexible to target communities to prepare baseline data, and to meet community needs as they are identified. It was believed that such techniques would create conditions to identify and develop new technologies. Input supply would be improved through better access to appropriate crop varieties and credit. It was expected that at the end of the ZADP 2, it would reach 130,000 beneficiaries directly in the form of better nutrition and raised incomes through crop-research and the introduction of new seed varieties (PM, 1998:6-7). The 130,000 does not correspond the population in the target Districts accounted 223,432 people. However it is assumed that because the 130,000 was only direct beneficiaries, there are people who were indirectly benefited from ZADP 2 intervention through the local mechanisms such as borrowing animals, buying animals and also borrowing, buying and working for the seeds.

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<sup>3</sup> Tea companies were initially private. Were nationalized after independence. Were paralysed during the

**Table 1:** Illustrates the total population in targeted areas.

Gurue	District	Namacurra	District	Nicoadala	District	Total
Villages <sup>4</sup>	Population	Villages	Population	Villages	Population	
Incise	7897	Furquia	19630	Nhafuba	2912	
Invinha	2898	Muiebele	14024	Munhonha	24766	
Nicoropale	2232	Mutange	4261	Nicoadala sed	34898	
Nipive	3286	Pida	12426			
Mepuagiua	26193					
Muagiua	17100					
Mucunha	6697					
Mugaveia	9718					
Murrimo	13074					
Muximua	10365					
Vehiua	11055					
<b>Total</b>	<b>110,515</b>		<b>50,341</b>		<b>62,576</b>	<b>223,432</b>

*Source:* Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 1997:7-24

Unlike ZADP 1, characterized by free or subsidized inputs, ZADP 2 was aware that providing a sustainable basic service to communities, in the absence of service delivery networks in Zambezia, necessitated a radical, robust, farmer designed and managed approach. - i.e. Using the Kwesela village example in Zambia where the Women's Extension Program (WEP) members initiated savings through cultivating maize plots together as an association since 1984, ZADP 2 stressed that farming associations were expected to be capable of initiating their own community development programs and eventually become financially viable (Jiggins *et al.*, 1995:22; 29-30 and PM, 1998:7-8). After cultivating a maize plot together the Kwesela group tried wheat, sweet potatoes and cashew seedlings. They received agricultural assistance and learned how to plow with oxen. In 1988, four years after they began, the Kwesela group opened a consumer shop, investing 200 kwashas from

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civil war. Currently have been privatised and are recovering their production.

<sup>4</sup> The word Villages is also understood as Localities (*Localidades*).

the group's savings account. By the 1990, the shop had generated a profit of 4,000 kwashas Jiggins, *et al.*, 1995:29-30).

However the ZADP 2 expectations were not met for two reasons. Firstly it was a short run project whereas Kwesela group is long-run project. Secondly the rural people in Zambezia were largely influenced by the failure of cooperatives and were reluctant to work as an association.

ZADP 2 tried to improve the community agricultural development program through an approach seen as low-cost designed to reach subsistence farmers and provide extension staff with the training required to meet the demands of the communities they would serve. To achieve this goal the concept of Community Extension Workers (CEWs) drawn from ZADP 1 was introduced. The CEW approach was also seen as both low-cost because it would not need financial pressure and was seen as guarantee of sustainability. (PM, 1998:8; 9-10).

The Community Extension Workers would work through participatory technology development which was applied at research stations established in phase 1 dealing both with local and introduced varieties of major crops that was expected to yield more than local varieties. During ZADP 1, seed of improved varieties were distributed to subsistence farmers benefiting an estimated 25,000 households. ZADP 2 realised that there was an absence of relevant technologies to take advantage of this, and hence initiated a subsistence farmer's adaptive research program. Through participatory technology development (PTD) farmers were expected to form a Farmer Research Group (FRG) which with project support would design and evaluate simple experiments on topics they have identified during problem identification exercises through the 1997 and 1998 PRAs. ZADP2 would supply seeds to the farmers, and after the harvest members would repay all inputs received. ZADP 2 also wanted to develop in the villages' an ergonomics component that would be combined with technology development to examine ways to reduce drudgery by modifying existing tools and identifying suitable implements (PM, 1998:9). The ergonomic component did not succeed because there was a lack of support in terms of financial resources from ZADP 2.

The Farmer Research Group (FRG) program emphasized establishing mechanisms for the sale of inputs including goats and seeds through village level retail outlets and demonstrating how these inputs should be used. Cash for seed purchase could be raised from loans from the village bank but the crops would not be sold within four months. It was expected that these loans would be repaid out of income from other enterprises such as grain to a Village Management Committee (VMC). Another approach was seed distribution that was developed through Farmer Research Groups. Such groups were lent seed for new varieties for testing. After harvest the same quantity of seed provided to farmers by ZADP 2 would be returned as grain to a Village Management Committee. The returned grain could either be lent to new group members as seed or sold to provide income for the FRG. Once the FRG had identified a variety they wanted to grow a large-scale seed of such variety could be multiplied using the same mechanism used to test new varieties (PM, 1998:8, Annex 2).

Another approach was the Research Station Program (RSP) conducted through one main Research Station at Muirwa in Nicosia District, one sub-Research Station in Mocuba District and one sub-Research Station in Gurue District. All three Research Stations were initiated during ZADP 1 and made considerable progress with the selection of new varieties which gave farmers improved crop yields, early maturity and pest and disease resistance. These Research Stations were managed by National government Research known as *Instituto Nacional de Investigacao Agronomica* (INIA) belonging to Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development. Alongside Research Stations that were managed by agronomist technicians and agronomist engineers ZADP 2 following the PRAs indicators addressed the research agendas presented by communities such as pest control using natural pesticides, testing of soil fertility maintenance methods using manuring systems, improved fallows and contour farming, early maturing crop varieties of rice and the selection of crops and varieties for second season crop cultivation (PM, 1998:5-6, Annex 2).

Farmer Research Group (FRG) managed an on-farm research program viewed as the most suitable approach to enable communities to learn new technologies. The FRG was formed by the targeted poorest of the poor and of the economically active community members (PM, 1998:6, Annex, 2). The FRG were expected to form their research committee who would deal with seeds. The FRG would receive inputs like

seeds provided by ZADP 2 on a credit basis. Thus inputs would grow on the small area (maximum size of 200m<sup>2</sup> per plot) belonging to a group composed by 5 or 6 farmers which would be divided into two parts - one using existing technology and other part using improved technology. The farmers were expected to evaluate the results of the two technologies by comparing the yield. After harvesting they would repay in kind, and the research group committee would decide how the seed would be used. (PM, 1998:6, Annex 2).

The ZADP 2 introduced the Farmer Research Group because a similar system was successfully tested in Malawi (PM, 1998:8, Annex 2). In this way ZADP 2 did not understand that one strategy can succeed in the certain place and cannot succeed in the other place even in the same country. The example drawn from Green Zones in Mozambique, which succeeded in Maputo and failed in other regions of the country, shows that trying to replicate 'model' projects in other sittings can be problematic (Ayisi, 1995:55-56).

Another approach was tree production through creating a small tree seedling nursery to respond local demand for tree production. This was to provide the local communities with appropriate technology for planting materials. To achieve this plan, several seedling multiplication camps or community seedling nurseries known as *viveiros comunitarios* (VC) were created in many villages. The main purpose was to assure that the promotion of tree-plantation increased the availability of fuel-wood, timber fruits and fodder close to the homestead. It was believed that this approach would also reduce labour and time spent on fuel-wood collection, increase security of supply to each household reduce the pressures on the existing forest resources, and deforestation would be avoided. Such approach was seen as a key determinant to a sustainable development which emphasizes casual relationships between environmental quality and the well-being of both present and future generations of human beings (Davis & Trebilcock, 2001:25). ZADP 2 believed that the tree seedling production would be especially suited to female-headed households as an income-generation activity, as it requires limited resources and limited labour input. Through tree multiplication ZADP 2 was expecting to train CEWs in seedling production and tree management extension, enabling them to provide advice to their communities and, by selling seedlings, to enable them to enhance their business prospects. At the



community nurseries the community members would be trained in seedling management (PM, 1998:8-9, Annex 2).

This strategy faced some problems because the rural people felt that working together at the same plot was similar to the cooperatives introduced after independence. Although group visits to other similar research groups in other villages in order to learn from other groups was arranged, this did not encourage them to work cooperatively. They wanted to grow the crops individually.

Another situation undermining the project was the repayment of the inputs. People said that because of the civil war displacing many people they were not able to pay. They wanted free handouts alleging that they were poor because the civil war had deprived them of many assets (PM, 1998:6-8, Annex 2 and James, 1988:58 and Finnegan, 1992:9 and Chingono, 1996:15; 29). Those who never re-paid the seed credits were the poorest of the poor who ZADP's initially targeted groups. They did not go to farms because they are elderly, disabled etc. ZADP 2 incorporated those economically active. These tried to re-pay the seeds. ZADP 2 targeted the right problem (poverty alleviation) but the poorest of the poor were wrong group.

Although the rural people participated in the on- farm research group through FRG they paid a little attention with the new technologies and neglected the research groups. This complicated the transition from the emergency era to the development era.

The rural people did not understand that seed distribution only worked during the post war and rehabilitation period where there was a need to distribute seeds of improved varieties, and other inputs like working instruments, to farmers who had lost seed stocks and their assets during the war. Without these free distributions it would have been extremely difficult for the rural people to quickly reestablish food self-sufficiency. During the development era it was clear that, whilst the need to distribute seed to rural people no longer prevailed, there was a need to establish financial viable seed sale and distribution networks at village level through credits and sale of inputs (PM, 1998:7-8, Annex 2). Because the farmers know little about agricultural

production this has led to low off-farm incomes in the rural areas (Ayisi, 1995:1995:43).

Another approach was to develop village level trading and crop-processing centers to replace those that existed before the civil war. Through such approaches ZADP 2 introduced the post-harvesting component that used natural pesticides to teach rural people how store their surpluses against insects. This approach was undertaken in several villages using pepper, ash, and other natural pesticides.

ZADP 2 included in its interventions environmental appraisal to secure the devastating effects of environment. This was done through the research and development activities planned under the project to be screened for appropriateness to the local farming systems and for their impact on the local environment. Agricultural inputs such as fertilizer had declined steeply and the low resources level of farmers constrained the use of chemical and mechanical inputs. This would be achieved through implementation of Integrated Pest Management (IPM), which would take place at Farmer Field School (FFS) (Jiggins *et al.*, 1995:17 and PM, 1998:10 and Davies, 1996:25).

Varietal testing for disease and pest resistance will continue to produce planting materials that minimize the need for agricultural chemicals. Crop rotation systems that improved soil fertility and minimize pest and disease build-up and soil erosion will be promoted. The sparseness of population in much of project area and also the promotion of goat management systems based on tethering and hand feeding will minimize impact on natural vegetation and facilitate sustainable folder use. The project will expand the tree planting commenced in phase 1. Seedling nurseries will be expanded to provide species suited for fuel-wood, timber, fruits, folder, etc. (PM, 1998:10).

The ZADP 2 did not reach its environmental approach because although the program has been running for seven (1998-2003) years in the villages there are no significant fruit trees in the communities. In all villages communal seedling nurseries were created. But there were not successful because rural people did not care about them which caused major losses in seedlings. After realizing that this strategy was not working, ZADP 2 moved from the community nurseries seedlings onto school. It was clear that at school pupils and teachers would care for them and in some cases they succeeded. The most prominent community nursery seedling project was in Cassine

Village at Gurue District created at the left bank of Licungo River. The community members were enthusiastic and did well. They produced several kinds of fruit trees like lemon trees, orange trees and so on. Some of these plants were distributed among themselves and each one went plant it at her/his own home. In July of 2002, the Cassine's communal nursery seedling was visited and observed. It was found to be un-weeded and when the community was asked why did they not weed the camp they said that they did not have some body to buy them. After they distributing the seedlings among themselves, they decided to end the program, because the number of people working at the community nursery seedling reduced dramatically. The facilitator for this village said that even he was not interested in continuing alone when people lost their interests.

Two reasons led to the failure of trees in the villages:

- the communities were not well skilled and prepared enough to undersand that such activities would provide them some solutions for their soil infertility problems and fruits.
- the ZADP's officials did not understand that the short-run project would not be able to reach all local needs presented during PRAs specially fruit and soil restoration trees.

During the 1997/1998 PRAs some communities presented lack of trees and soil infertility as a big problem. It was because of that ZADP 2 included the community nursery seedling in its poverty alleviation strategy. In Gurue one example comes from *Impurucunua* village where the community presented soil infertility as one of the problems affecting low production. Soil infertility is problem also at Cassine and Namacurra. Consequently these villages are not able to grow maize on a large scale. They only grow on a large-scale cassava which is poor in proteins and minerals (Jiggins *et al.*, 1995:21).

To overcome the soil infertility in the communities ZADP 2 promised to provide to the communities with *leucayena* or *leucaena* as a tree with multiple functions- such as folder, fuel wood and soil restoration. However, this was never introduced throughout the duration of the project.

## **CHAPTER 6:**

### **POVERTY, ASSETS AND LIVELIHOODS IN GURUE AND NAMACURRA: LIMITS OF ALTERNATIVE APPROACH.**

#### **6.1. Introduction**

This chapter presents state of poverty in Mozambique and Zambezia and discusses its causes. It then presents the livelihoods analysis and the differences encountered between households. The interviewees presented in this chapter show that in reality there are huge differences between households in terms of livelihoods. The chapter also presents income generation both on-farm and off-farm income. “Livelihoods can be made up of a range of on-farm and off-farm activities that together provide a variety of procurement strategies for food and cash, both contributing to food security. ‘Food security is generally defined as access to enough food at all times for an active, healthy life and emphasizes different aspects of having enough to eat’ (Davies, 1996:15 and Frankenberger *et al.*, 2000; 3). It also took into account that agriculture in the rural areas is the most important livelihood strategy and income earner for the people (May *et al.*, 2000:234). Several constraints like land degradation, insects, and lack of proper technology, has hindered the ability of rural people meet their incomes through agriculture (May *et al.*, op cit loc cit) hence compromising sustainable livelihoods.

Livelihood is defined as:

- 1) adequate stocks and flows of food and cash to meet basic needs;
- 2) security referring to secure ownership of, or access to, resource and income-earning activities, including reserves and assets to offset risk, ease shocks and meet contingencies;
- 3) sustainability, referring to the maintenance or enhancement of resource productivity on a long-term basis (Davies, 1996:18).

Sustainable livelihood is, however, a slippery concept with several interpretations, and should include social and economic dimensions of development. The term should therefore be used with caution and should be contextualized when reading environmental policy documents. For the poor, sustainable development may take on several realities. The poor usually exist

in environments that are degraded and marginal, and the poorest sector of the population is resident mainly in the most fragile areas...disasters are specific events that impact directly upon the sustainable of livelihoods and may be defined as serious disruptions of the functioning of society, causing widespread human, material or environmental losses that exceed the ability of the affected society to cope (May *et al.*, 2000:249).

‘Livelihoods comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living: a livelihood is sustainable which can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation: and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels in the long and short term’ (Drinkwater and Rusinow, 1999:1).

“A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required to make a living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stress and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and asstes both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resources” (Moriarty, Patrick 22 March 2002. The World Water Day. Adapted from Chambers and Conway, 1992 (<http://www.worldwaterday.org/devpaper.html>)).

## **6.2. Poverty in Mozambique and in Zambezia and its causes.**

### **6.2.1. Mozambique**

Mozambique is ranked as one of the poorest and the most aid dependent countries in Africa and in the world. Due the combined effects such as fleing of skilled Portuguese labour, mismanagement, the failure of countryside socialization and civil war, the economy of Mozambique was in a state of disaster. In the period of 1980s and 1990s seventy six percent of its budget came from foreign aid (of which 40 percent went to defense) and food accounted for 90 percent of the marketed grain supply. Although 80% of the Mozambicans are employed in the agricultural sector, many of them depend on food aid. These were vulnerable segments of the population who faced difficulty in getting food, in good part because of poor infrastructure, such as roads, and restricted access to markets. About 80% of the food consumed by Mozambicans was imported through aid agencies. The aid agencies worked to relieve the emergency situation in the country. Net disbursements of development assistance from all donors to Mozambique climbed from \$144 million in 1981 to \$649 million in 1987, or to 40.9% of Gross National Product (GNP) (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:22 and Finnegan,

1992:28-29 and Chingono, 1996:71 and Mittelman, 2000:100; 104 and Quan, 1987:34). The Mozambique National Human Development Report 1999, presented in Maputo in 2000, shows that this country has huge differences. Comparing some provinces each other and according to United Nations Development Program (UNDP) Maputo city is ranked as 'medium human development' which Human development Index (HDI) of 0.605 (on scale from 0 to 1). This figures put Maputo on a level with Botswana, Egypt or Algeria. Zambezia Province has a Human Development Index of 0.176, far below even Serra Leone, which has the lowest national index in the World (at 0.252). Income per head in Maputo city is \$1426, which is 12 times the level of Zambezia, at \$134. The Human Poverty Index (HPI) shows that about 60% of people live in poverty. According to the studies there are between 21% and 48% people living in poverty in Maputo city whereas 88% in Sofala province, 68% in Cabo Delgado province, over 80% in Tete and Inhambane provinces, 35% in Maputo province and 65% in Zambezia province (<http://www.mol.co.mz/noticias/bulletin/ppb25e.html>).

"Poverty is therefore characterized by not only an overall lack of assets and the inability to accumulate assets but also an inability to devise an appropriate coping or management strategy" (May *et al.*, 2000:230). Poor people cannot either get the required 2,112 calories and 58 gram of protein per person per day or at least 100 to 400 kilocalories per day as required by FAO as a minimum standard of living. Households with higher levels of income, wealth, or education tend to buy higher quality goods and the South African assessment established 2000 Kcal/person/day or per capita adult equivalent to 2500 Kcal/day. In its turn World Health Organization (WHO) determined that the well-being is characterized by acquisition of 2150 kilocalories per person per day. People not acquiring such kcal are ranked as below poverty line (Doyal & Gough, 1991:196 and DEVELOPMENT BANK OF SOUTHERN AFRICA (DBSA), 1993:13;16;19-20 and May *et al.*, 2000:236 and Wodon, 1997:2086; <http://un.org/News/Press/docs/2000/20001016.sag86.doc.html>) and Ministry in the Office of the President (1995:7-9).

Although Mozambique has been ranked as the poorest and most aided country in the world, it has several resources that make it as potentially rich. It has the all essentials

for development: land, water, mineral, energy exporter, etc. It needs technology and finance. (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:82-83).

### **6.2.2. Zambezia**

Zambezia is Mozambique's most fertile province and it is one of the agricultural richest provinces. It has also several mineral resources (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:111; Finnegan, 1992:9), which before the civil war provided many jobs. Yet today Zambezia is one of poor provinces in the country.

Many communities and many households are vulnerable and suffer from scarcity of assets. ZADP 2 arrived at the right time to help people to move away some constraints that make them vulnerable. Although it is recognized in this dissertation that ZADP 2 did not meet all its goals, there is evidence showing that ZADP 2 contributed in poverty alleviation in the targeted communities through providing assets to them. ZADP's strategy fits well with World Bank, which argues that lack of assets is both a cause and an outcome of poverty. Such assets are poor health, deficient skills, scant access to basic services, and the humiliations of social exclusion that reflect deprivations in personnel, public, and social assets. Human, physical, and natural assets also lie at the core of individual wealth. These assets interact with market and social opportunities to generate income, a better quality of life, and a sense of psychological well-being. Assets are also central to coping with shocks and reducing the vulnerability that is a constant feature of poverty (World Bank 2000/2001, 2001:77). Chingono (1996:40) emphasizing the necessity of skills argues that underdevelopment and poverty is not generally due to a lack of material resources but instead reflects man's ignorance in using existing resources and man's passive acceptance of his situation of wretchedness. To overcome such difficulties efficient skills are needed in order to be able to manage the existing resources.

Poverty in Zambezia has dramatically been increased since last few years when coconut trees started being hit by a strange disease. In the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Zambezia province as one of the biggest coconut plantations in the world (Hanlon, 1984,1990:16) has been hit by the trees' lethal yellowing disease that has reduced the copra production within households. Copra is the main cash crop for the

rural population of coastal Zambezia, and this disease threatens the livelihood of the large number of people

(<http://www.poptel.org.uk/mozambique-news/newsletter/aim240.html>). Acting with the Action Plan for the Reduction of Absolute Poverty (APRAP) known as *Plano de Acção para a Redução da Pobreza Absoluta* (PARPA) the Mozambican Government through Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, World Vision and other partners are taking measures to combat the lethal yellowing disease in order to improve household incomes.

#### **6.2.3. How do rural people define and measure poverty themselves?**

During the PRAs exercises the communities defined poverty as lack of schools, lack of health posts, lack of wells for potable water, lack of money, lack of employment, lack of improved seeds, lack of livestock, lack of assets and poor road access. Such definitions fit well with those made by the government and UNDP. Lack of all these assets has accelerated poverty and made them vulnerable to diseases, disasters such as floods and drought. The civil war destroyed many companies leaving many Zambezians unemployed. Experiencing such problems, rural people are incapable to command sufficient resources to satisfy their basic needs. The rural people mentioned that they are so poor because of the civil war which caused many losses such as small animals, radios, etc. ZADP 2 realized that attacking some of the above problems would have a strong positive effect on food security and income generation for the communities (Mokate, 2000:57 and Torres *et al.*, 2000:74;79 and May *et al.*, 2000:249 and Stavrou, 2000:143 And May, 2000:5-7 and May *et al.*, 2000:21-27).

#### **6.2.4. Characteristics of poverty and wealth in the households**

During the PRA exercises the key informants were asked to rank wealth in their villages. The following table shows that four poverty measurement categories were identified in the targeted communities.



**Table 2: Categories of poverty**

Poorest of the poor (group 1)	Poor (group 2)	Medium (group 3)	Rich (group 4)
Mostly widows and elderly, disabled, no economically active people. Small and old houses in poor condition, with few domestic utensils. Without money to buy consumer goods. Do not produce enough food for whole year. Have poor health. Have small plots, their produce is for at least 3 months after harvesting, have no agricultural tools, have no clothes, blankets, etc. Rarely seasonally employed even they do so.	Young widows, single mothers, can work, have agricultural tools but not good, have plots, produce for 4 months after harvesting, have clothes although not enough, the produce is insufficient. Have been employed by rich as seasonal workers ( <i>ganho-ganho</i> ) and receive some payment that varies between cash or products.	Married, are able to sell their produce and buy consumer goods although in less quantity. Produce for at least 6 months. Have good houses, have agricultural tools, their plots are bigger than those from poor. Have been employed by rich as seasonal workers ( <i>ganho-ganho</i> ) and receive some payment that can be made through cash or products.	Married, have bigger plots than medium, have good agricultural tools, and produce enough for sell and consumption. They produce for at least 9 months have even for whole year. Have clothes, blankets, self-sufficient, are seasonal employees. The poor and mediums have seasonally employed the poor and mediums that receive some payment (money or products).

*Source: PRAS in 1997*

To find the above categories the following method was used: Eight key informants comprising some elders and some village leaders, including women, were then selected. They worked in teams of two groups of people with similar economic circumstances. This resulted in three sets of cards, the largest of which was then subdivided into two groups giving in most cases a total of four wealth groups. In all cases a system of scoring a wealth group was done to allow the results from the four sortings to be averaged and farmers to be placed in a wealth group. After each sorting exercise the two farmers who did the sorting were asked to describe the characteristics of each wealth group (PM, Annex 1,p.7)

Although the above table shows differences between households at the community level, at the national level even those ranked as rich are also poor fall below the

poverty line and live on less than USD1 a day (World Bank, 2001:46; 49-50 and Agadjanian, 2001:292 and Davies, 1996: 61 and Mittelman, 2000:104).

The PRAs showed that within the project area even the wealthiest are, by the standards of neighbouring Southern Africa countries poor. They cultivate less than 3 ha, do not have access to draught animals and so cultivate most of their land by hand and have at best only a bicycle and a radio as luxury assets. They are distinguished from the poorest by being able to produce enough food to sell a surplus and have income generating activities from which they can purchase food in times of crop failure (PM, 1998: Annex 2, p.9).

### **6.3. Differences between livelihoods in the following four households.**

“Household livelihood security has been defined as adequate and sustainable access to income and resources to meet basic needs including adequate access to food, potable water, health facilities, educational opportunities, housing...” Frankenberger, *et al*, 3000:3).

Before presenting the different households one by one, from the poorest of the poor to the rich, one may point out that according to the altruistic and moralistic approach, food is a basic human right that provides nutrition and good health status. It impacts on quality of life and is a key determinant of the survival and healthy development of the members of the household. Spread of diseases, low households income, poor standard of living, space of capabilities, space of commodities, food insecurity or food vulnerability, crowded homes, use of basic forms of energy like firewood, (fuel wood) lack of adequate secure jobs etc., are some of indicators of absolute notion of poverty and causes deprivation intra households (Davies, 1996:22 and Leslie, 1995:117 and Foster, 1992:205; 208 and Cardosa & Helwege, 1992:22 and Doyal and Gough, 1991:155 and FAO, 2000:1 and May, 2000:5 and Frankenberger *et al.*, 2000:2). “The household food security approach that evolved in the late 1980s emphasized both the availability and stable access at the local level” (Frankenberger *et al.*, 2000:2).

Despite the obviously large numbers of people living in poverty, the definition of poverty has been the subject of some debate amongst policy analysts. The emerging consensus sees poverty as generally characterized by the inability of individuals, households or entire communities to command sufficient resources to satisfy a socially acceptable minimum standard of living. The perception of the poor themselves is good source from which an appropriate conceptualization of poverty...can be derived (May, 2000:5).

### **6.3.1. Interviewee 1 (Poorest of the poor)**

Julia Nivira. Interviewed in Mapiazua village Mutange Localidade on 13 of May of 1997. She is a widow living with her 2 young sons or boys. She has 3 small plots one for cassava in whom she harvested 90 kgs, one for rice which also produced 90 kgs one of maize that she did not quantify the produce. Her food security is in dangerous situation because she only stores for 2 months after harvesting meaning that she has food available till September and the remaining 7 months she does not have food available. From September to the month of March that starts the harvest she faces a lack of food. To resolve the hunger she has been temporarily employed (*ganho-ganho*) by the rich people in the village. She also works for other rich people outside of the village. Some times she receives some help from her oldest son who gives her some money. In terms of assets she possesses 1 hoe, 2 buckets, 2 pots, 2 plates, 1 cup, 2 knives.

### **6.3.2. Interviewee 2 (poor).**

Laudina Muchite Interviewed in Zimbi village on 25 of July of 1997. Is a widow, eldest, head of her household. She lives with her 5 grandchildren, 3 boys and 2 girls; also stays with her daughter-in-law that is widow too. During the 1977 season when the PRA was carried out, she said that was not able to produce enough food because of lack of labour. Her grandsons were too young. Only herself and her daughter-in-law cultivate the land. She only grows cassava on her small plots and cannot afford the cultivation in bigger plots. Her daughter-in-law also has her small own plots, one for cassava one for sweet potatoes and one for rice. Laurinda has the following assets: 1 small hoe that was donated by her nephews, 1 panga, 2 plates and 1 bucket, 1 pot. Other assets that she has are 7 cashew nut trees, 2 banana trees and 7 coconut trees. She does off-farm activities because she is a traditional healer and this activity brings money to increase her income. She charges 12,000,00 meticaís (USD 0,50 cents) for each patient. She sold bananas and earned 15,000,00 meticaís. The money she saves and uses to buy clothes and food for her and her household. She said that if the patient does not have money he/she could pay through products such as a small quantity of rice. Her nephews built her house. After harvesting she can have food available for 3 months.

### 6.3.3. Interviewee 3: (medium)

Carlitos Romao. Interviewed on 19 of September of 1997 at Machirica Village Localidade of Furquia. Is married has a daughter who is attending school. He cultivates his plots with his wife and some times his daughter. But the daughter has her own small plots. He has 3 plots - 1 of rice, 1 of cassava and 1 of sugar cane. By the time that the PRA took place he said that he did not produce well because of floods causing many losses of crops. He only produced 450 kgs of rice and 100 kgs of cassava. But in a good year he can harvest more than 450 kgs of rice, 100 kgs of cassava and can have food available for 6 months. He did not give the amount that he earns after selling his produce even *ekatxasso*<sup>5</sup>. In terms of assets he has 4 chairs, 3 pots, 5 plates, 5 cups, 1 broken radio, 1 duck, 35 coconut trees and 10 banana trees. His chickens died because of Newcastle disease.

### 6.3.4. Interviewee 4: (rich)

Toneca Correia. Interviewed on 13 of May of 1997 at Mapiazua village Localidade of Mutange. Is married, has 8 children, 3 girls and 5 boys. He has 6 plots. One plot of cassava ½ ha, one plot of rice 2 has, one plot of maize ½ ha, one plot of peanut ¼ ha, one plot of *feijao jugo* ¼ and one of sugar cane ¼ ha. At the time of PRA and wealth ranking exercises he said that had harvested 3200 kg of rice which sold 750 kg and earned 1.070,000,00 MZM equivalent to USD \$44. With this money he bought his bicycle amounted 850,000,00 MZM equivalent to USD \$30,5 and with the rest 220,000,00 MZM equivalent to USD\$14 bought a radio. The remaining rice was stored for consumption. The cassava was 250 kg, maize 100 kg, peanut was 10 kgs, *feijao jugo*<sup>6</sup> 10 kgs and all of them were for consumption. The off-farm incomes he sold *ekatxasso* alcohol made from sugar as one of income sources that bring money to the household. Through *ekatxasso* selling he earned 100,000,00 MZM. All money that he gains through on-farm and off-farm incomes he saves to buy consumer goods, clothes, schooling, for the children and health care for whole household. This household possesses the following assets: 1 bicycle, 1 radio, 3 chairs, 4 plates, 4 pots, 1 bucked, 3 cups or glasses, 4 hoes, 2 axes, 2 machetes or pangas 2 sickles, 1 ralador<sup>7</sup>,

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<sup>5</sup> *E-katxasso* is traditional beer made from sugar cane. Rural people do it in order to get incomes at households. Those having big plots of sugar cane can sell *katxasso* and buy bicycles, radios and other luxury assets.

<sup>6</sup> *Feijao jugo* is kind of beans but not common in English Language.

<sup>7</sup> Ralador is instrument used to mill coconut.

18 coconut trees, 10 cashew nut trees, 2 mango trees and 3 tangerine trees. In terms of small livestock he has 8 chickens and 1 duck. He said that after harvesting he stores his produce for 9 months and some times can reach next season using produce from last season. The harvest starts in March and ends in June meaning that from June he can have food available till March in the following year. In terms of labour he has seasonally or temporary employed labour known as *ganho-ganho* when he needs because his children cultivate with him.

The above four households showed that there are, of course, differences within livelihood system including rich and poor households (Davies, 1996:61).

#### **6.4. Households risks and vulnerability**

Vulnerability is opposite of food security, is lack or want of food, exposure to risk, shocks, food insecurity and stress (Davies, 1996:19;22). Women and children are prone to poor health status and vulnerable to other problems. Many adult women are household heads. Large proportions of these are divorced and widows. The major implication of this situation is that traditional community support for the most vulnerable families is weak, and women raising children alone are particularly vulnerable because they became more isolated socially. Relatives from which they can call for help for immediate needs, such as cash, labour, housing, or household chores are few. Under such circumstances, women often experience a sense of abandonment and despair. Elderly widows said that they tend to be forgotten by their relatives and hence face problems accessing housing. The female-headed households are the poor and the poorest of the poor. Alongside of female-headed households, the children also live in poverty. The most poor people live in rural areas. This is evidence that women's nutrition and their health status is central to quality of their lives and is a key determinant of the survival and health development of the children (Davies, 1996:4;22-23;62 and Jiggins *et al.*, 1995:19 and PRAs, 1997/98 and Leslie, 1995:117 and MINISTRY IN THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT (MOP),1993:13). The living conditions for the rural people are very bad because of limited access to social services such as basic education, health care, running water in the households (World Bank, 2001:46;49:50). Health and educational outcomes are both the causes as well as the consequences of poverty. Due to the scant and reduced access to the above services, inadequate sanitary and educational conditions, poor people have the

worst health and education, which is the main constraint on their productivity to increase their incomes and secure food security. These make them most vulnerable (PM, 1998:1;4 and MOP, 1995:9;13;17;20;22;26 and Kanbur and Squire, 1999:1). This it was why Zambezia province was the focus of DfID's Rural Development in Mozambique.

In both Districts Widows and single parent female-headed households represented more than half of the very poorest which themselves represent 27% of the population. According to the definitions given by key informants during wealth ranking exercises only the wealthiest 17% of the population produce enough food to supply their annual needs. Interviews with farmers and the definitions of wealth groups given by key informants indicate that widows and female headed households are characterized by a shortage of labour which results in the cultivation of small fields of poor quality, the production of insufficient food to meet their annual needs and few opportunities for raising cash from the sale of produce and off-farm income generating activities. Off-farm and out of season income generating activities such as crop processing, handcrafts, petty trading, dry season crop production, small livestock production and perennial tree crop production are all likely to be attractive to this group (PM, 1998:4 annex 1).

## **6.5. Households income generation**

From the interviews it is apparent that all households in the ZADP operational area have generated their incomes through several sources. Incomes generated through agricultural produce (on-farm incomes) such as selling products and non agricultural sources (off-farm incomes) such selling *ekatxasso*, brewing and selling beer brewed from cassava or maize mixed by sorghum, selling eggs, chickens and other sources (Jiggins *et al.*, 1995:20 and Hanlon, 1984, 1990:124-126 and Davies,1996:61-63).

## **CHAPTER 7:**

### **EVALUATING ZAMBEZIA AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT: THE FINDINGS.**

#### **7.1. Introduction**

This chapter presents the findings that can be considered as impacts in targeted areas of ZADP 2. It first analyses the advantages and disadvantages of the PRA approach. Secondly it deals with the livestock component, which comprises goat and duck

restocking. The strengths and weaknesses of the livestock program are also analyzed. Thirdly the chapter deals with small bridges. In the fourth place it analyses the agricultural component and its strengths and weaknesses. Finally it deals with marketing and its strengths and weaknesses. The ZADP's development approaches presented in chapter 5 are examined in this chapter in order to understand why some of them went well and others did not.

## **7.2. Advantages and disadvantages of PRA**

### **7.2.1. Advantages**

During the PRAs exercises rural people felt included in their decision making because they were able to express and analyze the realities of their own lives and conditions. They together planned what action to take. When the ZADP 2 was underway they monitored and evaluated the results and influenced the ZADP officials to consider their ideas and adapt the strategies to the genuine local needs. In the light of this both government and ZADP 2 changed the top-down strategies to bottom-up. In the real sense the locals were empowered. They did their own investigations, they shared their knowledge, they taught the outsiders, and they identified their priorities (Bornstein, 2000:246;250-251; Edwards & Sen, 2000:605ss; Pottier, 1997:206; <http://www.ids.ac.uk/bookshop/briefs/Breif7.html>).

### **7.2.2. Disadvantages**

Although it was recognised that PRA empowered locals there is no doubt that it brought some disadvantages. Firstly the way that PRA has been conducted can create expectations within the targeted groups - for instance when the facilitators ask the community members to rank their problems the community immediately think that those asking them to rank and prioritise such problems are going to resolve all of them. When the rural people feel that their problems are not being reached and resolved they become disappointed and lose confidence in those working in the field. Another disadvantage is that PRA requires one to draw social maps, resource maps and so forth. During PRAs this created problems in the rural areas. People were not happy. The following example drawn from Nicoria village in May of 1997 illustrates how PRA can face difficulties. At that time when the community members were drawing social and resource maps they suddenly left it and said:

“Why do you ask us to locate in the map our houses, cemeteries, rivers, and so on. We are afraid because we have heard from our neighbouring Nauela that there are white people taking over the peasants’ land. This has reminded us the colonial era where our lands were brutally taken over by force by Portuguese people. You come to us we think that you came take over our land. About location of our houses and cemeteries we are conscious that this is because you want come back at night to suck our blood. We will never draw houses and other places in the map”.

Consequently they did not draw the map and the ZADP 2 team went forward with other methods that are not sensitive such as wealth ranking, incomes, expenditures, flow diagrams, seasonal calendars, food calendars, etc.

In Zambezia the issue related to blood sucking is serious and sensitive. The rural people believe that there are some people who during the night come up into villages and suck blood when the people are sleeping. They store it in barrels which are placed in the cemeteries and mountains waiting for the following day to transport it to the cities where is believed it has been sold to buyers (Pequenino, Vol.2, 1995:82-85 and Bowen, 2002:99). The popular belief is that the bloodsuckers introduce their trickles into bedroom through the precarious houses and suck the blood from the victim who can become malnourished and die. (Pequenino,1995 Annex 19.2: pp.82-85 and Bowen, 2002:99-109) Such popular beliefs have created difficulties for who want to develop the area

### **7.3. Livestock Restocking Component (Goats Ducks)**

ZADP 2 had realized that introducing a livestock restocking component would enable rural people to access mixed sources of their incomes through on-farm and off-farm income generation activities (Davies, 1996:62-63).

At the beginning the goat beneficiaries were only poor (vulnerable) households in the rural society who are interested in rearing goats. As was mentioned in chapter 6, the poorest of the poor targeted groups are elderly and disabled. They are not able to build kraals and take the animals for grazing because they were either old or disabled and lack the energy to work. Because of that it was decided to readjust the program providing goats to those who were economically active. This meant addressing the goats program to all community members who were interested in rearing goats.



In addition the first groups formed in 1996 in two Districts namely Nicosadala and Gurue did not fit well with the local community's understanding. At that time ZADP 1 used top-down approach and it forced the beneficiaries to form groups composed of 8 members, 4 women and 4 men from different households. The ZADP 2 officials understood that it would allow the beneficiaries to work together, facilitate the veterinarians and technicians to assist the goats. The communities viewed this as being against their culture because as they pointed out during the assessment it is not allowed to join women and men who are not married in the same group. The cultural thinking was also met in Zambia where through the Women's Extension Program (WEP) implemented in Western Province of Zambia, the extension staff dominated by males, did not feel comfortable dealing with women and said that was not their custom (Jiggins *et al.*, 1995:21-22;23-24;29).

To find out the proper method an assessment was carried out in Gurue and Nicosadala districts. The communities proposed that groups would be formed of the same sex - groups of 5 members who would receive 11 goats 10 female goats and 1 male goat reared at the group kraal. This also did not work because the beneficiaries complained saying that some members were not caring for the animals. After further assessment the beneficiaries made it clear that they wanted to breed the goats individually. Each member received 3 goats - 1 male goat and 2 female goats that were reared at each individual's kraal. In both methods the animals were received on a credit basis from ZADP 2. The repayment was not to the ZADP 2 but the next group on the waiting list (Pequenino, 2000:2-9 and WVRLL, 2002:24-26).

The goat groups succeeded. The programme has to this day contributed to the improvement of households' lives diversifying sources of incomes for all income groups - the poorest of the poor, poor, medium and rich income groups. Some successful beneficiaries sold their animals and used the money to buy school items for their children; improved their houses and used the money for medical assistance. For example, there are two widows one at Napige village and other one at Fonseca village. These two widows did not have good houses. They received goats in 1998. When they repaid the loans they sold some of their animals used the money earned to re-build their houses. At Intuba village during the research in July 2002, one of the goat beneficiaries showed off his new radio. He said: "I bought this radio because I

sold some of my goats. The money earned from it I used to buy a radio and other household assets”.

**Table 3:** shows the money earned through goats selling in Gurue District.

Village/group	Goats sold	Money earned in MZM	Equivalent to USD
Lioma	3	670,000,00	27.9
Mitatomili	2	600,000,00	25
M’pili	1	350,000,00	14.5
Magar	5	1,310,000,00	54.5
Enhamulu	2	500,000,00	20.8
Invinha	1/2 <sup>8</sup>	150,000,00	6.25
Cassini	2+1/2	700,000,00	29
Mangoni	2	650,000,00	27
Insurupi	1	130,000,00	5.4
Muagiua	2 <sup>9</sup>	600,000,00	25

*Source:* Pequenino, 2000:9-16

USD1=24,000,00 MZM

**Table 4:** Shows the money earned through goats selling in Namacurra District.

Village/group	Goats sold	Money earned in MZM	Equivalent to USD
Cafeni	1	350,000,00	14.5
Cucunha	1	400,000,00	16.6
Nevura	6	2,200,000,00	91.6
Zimbi	10	2,900,000,00	120.8

*Source:* Meeting held in July of 2003 in Muiebele and other villages.

The beneficiaries also use animals for ceremonies like marriage as well as improved the diet of their families. Some times they used them for mutual help<sup>10</sup> (WVRLL, 2002:26; Pequenino, 2000:2-9).

<sup>8</sup> It is strange sell ½ goat. This means that he slaughtered the goat for family consumption and other half sold it.

<sup>9</sup> In Muagiua the information was given in July of 2002 during visit that was done to get information for this dissertation.

Flexibility in Projects has shown success across the world (Tuijl, 2000:617). One example drawn from Kenya needs mention. A development agency in conjunction with the local Ministry of Health launched a project called Maternal and Child Health (MCH) in a semi-arid area. The objective was to reduce the number of child deaths and enhance motherhood. It focused on 'education for child survival and development'. The beneficiaries were to be adult women who initially showed much enthusiasm. After some meetings they lost interest. This caused the development agency to undertake a detailed investigation to discover what the problem was. They concluded that in the semi-arid region women's lives revolve around the ownership and exploitation of goats and good products and they also spent fifty percent of their working lives looking for water. Since the MCH did not make any reference to goats and no water component the women lost enthusiasm. The development agency learned of the centrality of goats and water to the village, reset project objectives, shifting the focus towards improving goat production by funding goat production which supported the goats vaccination and reducing time spent on fetching water through the purchase of donkey carts. Through this re-adjustment women have more time and more income, both of which are largely devoted to improving the health of children (Nyamwaya, 1997:185-186).

At the ZADP 2 intervention area the rural people adhered to the goats program with remarkable enthusiasm because they realized that the goats would create better conditions in their lives by way of bringing wealth. They also perceived that goats would play a crucial role in diversifying income generation sources.

About 640 households from Namacurra and 245 from Gurue districts are benefiting from a livestock program since 1996 in Gurue and from 1988 in Namacurra. The program implemented over 6 years consisted of distributing 1,500 goats to households to help them overcome food insecurity. The goats were purchased elsewhere in Tete and within Zambezia at Morrumbala district. The suppliers were selected from many. Some households got goats before the civil war whereas others were the rearing goats for the first time.

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<sup>10</sup> Mutual help is the survival strategy used by rural people. If some one has his plot and does not finish it on time, has invited his neighbours to work with him. The mutual help is not only for plot. It is

Apart from the goat-restocking program the ZADP 2 also distributed ducks on a credit basis following the goats' methodology and was involved on vaccination against Newcastle disease, which started in 1999. The beneficiaries of duck restocking program are unmarried women, widows, elderly and some cases married women if the husband is not benefiting from the goat-restocking program. The duck-restocking program was conceived as an alternative for the goat-restocking program as the target group claimed difficulties in rearing goats because which demand a lot of effort as well as conditions that they could not afford. The vaccination against Newcastle disease was initially free of charge in order to show the rural people the effect of the vaccine on chickens. At same time as the campaigns to raise awareness against the Newcastle disease, extension agents/rural people were trained to identify and know how to prevent the disease. During the free of charge period many people adhered to the program and about 14,535 chickens were vaccinated in the ZADP 2 intervention area. The number started declining in July of 2001 (with 9,992 vaccinated), in November of 2001 (with 6,274 vaccinated ) and in March of 2002 (with only 277 vaccinated). The reduction in vaccinations was the result of charging. When ZADP 2 decided to charge for vaccinations rural people said they reduced their adherence because of a lack of money. It was made clear that by immunizing 4 chickens the person would pay 1,000,00 Mts. But they said had no money for it (WVRLL, 2002:28-29 and Pequenino, 2001:7).

**Table 5:** Number of goats since 1996 to date

District	Initial number of goats (in 1996/98 <sup>11</sup> )	At the end of ZADP. Number of goats (in 2003) <sup>12</sup>
Gurue	330	2,010
Namacurra	192	1,304

**Source:** *World Vision, A Reflection on Lessons Learnt, 2002:26 and Pequenino, 2000:3)*

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applied for any kind of work. After work can pay them through traditional beer, meet of goat, chicken, pork, etc.

<sup>11</sup> 1996 only for Gurue and 1998 for both Gurue and Namacurra.

<sup>12</sup> The 2010 goats in Gurue plus 1,304 in Namacurra do not reflect real numbers. There are some sold goats, some loan goats and some goats used for family consumption.

The livestock are considered an extremely valuable resource to smallholder farmers and the poorest of the poor not only as a source of nutrition but also as a source of cash. Goats are a valuable source of funds that can be raised to deal with family emergencies such as medical bills, schools fees, clothing and son on. They also improve family diets and are a source of income for households. Ownership of livestock (goats, ducks, chickens, etc.) not only increases the economic capital of rural families but also their social capital and food security (Bias *et al*, 2001, Annex 8:4 and Pequenino, 2000:2-9 and Pequenino, 2001:20 and Cameron, 2000:627).

The goat component strengthened the communities because it represented a big success at community level. Those who received goats are ranked as rich meaning that the livestock program improved remarkably the lives of the rural poor households. If during the wealth ranking in 1997/1998 they were ranked as poorest of poor, or poor or medium today are considered rich in their communities. The ZADP 2 program resulted in direct or indirect goat beneficiaries. The direct beneficiaries are those who received goats from ZADP 2 or from other groups. The indirect beneficiaries are those who have bought from the direct beneficiaries and as well as those using goats to raise loans. Although it is not easy to quantify how many people benefited from the goat component, there are 585 in Gurue and 461 in Namacurra. In both districts 1,046 people benefited from goats. This number did not include the buyers and those asking loans (WVRLL, 2002:25 and Pequenino, 2000:8). Bearing in mind that these 1,046 beneficiaries are individuals, this means a considerable impact on total households. Estimating that each household has at least 5 members the goats' component benefited more than 5,000 people. The duck component benefits 132 people in Gurue and 34 in Namacurra totalling 166 in both Gurue and Namacurra (WVRLL, 2002:26).

However, despite the success of the goat and duck restocking programs there are also some weaknesses, for it is doubtful that it can sustain itself. There is the threat of losses because of the lack of medicine to help the smallholder farmers. During the ZADP 2 implementation period treatment was provided by ZADP 2. From now on however the beneficiaries must manage treatment themselves by paying the livestock promoters. Some beneficiaries will manage it and other will simply say have no enough money. The total trained livestock promoters in both Gurue and Namacurra

were 28 distributed as follow: 20 in Gurue and 8 in Namacurra. The currently active promoters are 14 distributed as follow: 11 in Gurue and 3 in Namacurra. These figures show that many livestock promoters left (WVRLL, 2002:22).

Another problem is that the livestock promoters were initially paid by ZADP. When they were chosen by the communities it was made clear that they would work for their communities who would buy medicine to treat the animals and the breeders would pay them for the service they provided to the community. But this did not work because the peasants were reluctant saying they had no money. Some promoters lost motivation and left. In order to maintain the remaining promoters ZADP 2 decided to pay them but only until the Project end. Since the phasing out ZADP 2 is not clear if the promoters will continue providing the services without any payment. The sustainability of goat restocking program therefore depends on how the beneficiaries and the promoters will behave.

#### **7.4. Small bridges**

ZADP 2 proposed to finance small bridges in the poorest areas of the targeted Districts. During PRAs the communities made it clear that one of the causes of poverty was the inaccessibility of the areas due to streams and swamp crossings. Improving the transport network would the communities to market their crops. (PM, 1998:10, Annex 2).

In response to such community requests ZAPD 2 constructed some small bridges in the targeted areas - building 26 small bridges in 4 villages in Gurue, 3 villages in Namacurra and 1 village in Nicoadala. Building such small bridges was a response to one of the communities' priorities. Although it does not represent all bridges presented during PRAs it is undeniable that "there is evidence on the productivity effects of physical infrastructure development, suggesting that investment in rural infrastructure can generate sizable income gains (both farm and non-farm) in underdeveloped rural economies" (Lipton and Ravallion, 1997:2630). The small bridges improve access to communities and its impact is comparable with that of the goat and duck restocking programs, in contributing to poverty alleviation.

**Table 6:** bridges built.

Gurue	District	Namacurra	District	Nicoadala	District
Village	No. of bridges	Village	No. of bridges	Village	No. of bridges
Mucunha	7	Pida	5	Munhonha	1
Murrimo	1	Muiebele	4		
Mugaveia	1	Mutange	6		
Muximua	1				
Total	10		15		1

*Source: World Vision Quarterly Report-October- December 2002. Annex 2:28).*

Besides small bridges, ZADP 2 built two offices one in Namacurra District and one in Gurue District as a part of institutional support. These two offices constitute one of the major tasks made by ZADP 2.

### 7.5. Agriculture

As was pointed out in chapter 5, ZADP 2 supported approaches that would contribute to increasing the farmers' incomes through the introduction of new varieties of food crops, such as grains and vegetables, to satisfy local needs. It would thus also contribute to improving the serious deterioration in the food security that makes people from vulnerable rural areas when the household reserves run out. Some of such approaches are: Participatory Technology Development through Farmer Research Groups (FRG), Seed Multiplication Groups, Farmer Field School, Community Extension Workers (CEWs), On-Farm Research Program, Tree Production, Manual Water Pumps, Manual Presses, etc.

The Farmer Research Groups (FRG) were farmers groups who undertook a participatory investigation to respond the community needs using the available resources, such as natural pesticides understood as low-cost technologies and inputs. The communities themselves designed the research agenda and monitored the designed technologies in collaboration with community extensionists (facilitators) or CEWs and project extension agent. During the two cropping seasons (1997/98 and

1998/99) 35 FRG were formed. They grew rice, maize, groundnuts, cowpea, common bean and pigeon pea. The FGR was done through Farmer Field Schools (FFS). The concept of FFS was developed from various sources including the international research institutes and a FAO methodology developed it in Southern Asia under Integrated Pest Management (IPM) programs. ZADP 2 implemented a two-year pilot project aimed at identifying the problems in the Zambezia farming system. The objective was to draw on low-cost technologies in order to increase yield by unit area and diversification of income sources under the Zambezia social-economic conditions. To implement the FFS the ZADP 2 technicians were trained in October of 1998 during 3 weeks. As a result of such training several FFS were carried out during the season cropping (1998/99 & 1999/2000). In total 59 FFS were formed and the community gave the plots (WVRLL, 2002:14-15).

The FRG and FFS approaches fit well with Gittinger *et al.*, (1987:139-140) and Gillepsie and McNeill, (1992:42) who argue that Africa has lost crops each year because of diseases, insects, animals, types of crops grown (old or new varieties), the quality and quantity of land (soils not appropriate for cultivation), water supply (irrigation), type of technologies, tools used and other agricultural inputs such as seed (bad quality of seeds), fertilizers, natural pesticides, which were not sufficiently supplied causing the yield reduction.

Another approach supported by ZADP 2 was Seed Multiplication Groups (SMG). Farmers who received one seed variety from ZADP 2 and multiplied it in a cooperative plot formed the SMG. Such variety was regarded as priority in the community through ranking. The SMG members were regularly trained in agro-technique methods that ensured a guarantee of good quality seed. The SMG started in the 1997/98 cropping season. At the end of such season an evaluation was done. The farmers said that they were pleased with ZADP 2 giving them opportunities to learn new technologies. However, at the same time they said that working on the same plot was not a proper way because they noticed that some of SMG members did not work together with other members. They said that it would be better if each group member receives his/her seed individually and multiplies at his/her own plot. From 1998/1999 cropping season each SMG member received from ZADP 2 certified seed on an interest-free credit basis depending on the size of their plot. After harvesting each



member was expected to return the same quantity. This seed return was not to ZADP 2 but to the Seed Management Committee (SMC) created to manage seed in the community. The SMC was responsible to collect, dry, select seed and grain from SMG and give to other beneficiaries in the following cropping season. ZADP 2 was aware that by doing this it was strengthening the community to create a seed supply network because SMG were seen to minimize seed scarcity at the community level. Since the commercial network had collapsed rural people had no chance to obtain agricultural inputs such as seeds. The SMC would provide seeds to the communities and also sell as a grain to other people to generate profit that would be used for maintenance of SMG (WVRL, 2002:17-20).

SMC strategy was not sustainable because some people did not repay the seed. They said that they had lost the seed because of floods and also drought. In this case ZADP 2 continued supplying seeds to the communities till it left. But the failure of this approach was not only due to natural disasters but also the lack of interest of the SMG members as they spent most of the time in their own plots. In fact the floods caused mostly by cyclones have caused losses in many hectares of crops in Zambezia and other parts of the country, through swamping crops and missing livestock. Many cashew and other trees that can provide farmers with income have been submerged or uprooted leaving the farmers lacking a source of income and making them dependents in the country's relief agency

(<http://www.poptel.org.uk/mozambique-news/newsletter/aim246.html>). Because of the floods the need for food aid has increased due to factors such as the serious drop in households' food reserves, the brown streak virus that attacks cassava crops, and the increase in the prices of basic foodstuffs, hitting rural people families' purchasing power and food insecurity

(<http://www.poptel.org.uk/mozambique-news/newsletter/aim247.html>). Besides floods other factors (for example droughts) cause a serious deterioration in the food security status of the vulnerable population making people highly food insecure. The combination of these factors cause crop failure followed by poor harvest. Food insecurity is most critical in zones where household access to food and income is heavily dependent on rain-fed agriculture (<http://www.poptel.org.uk/mozambique-news/newsletter/aim249.html> and Davies, 1996:76ss).

Manual Water Pumps were brought into the villages and it was expected that the villagers would buy them and use them in their farms to irrigate their crops. The Manual water pumps were demonstrated to the villagers. But they did not buy them because, as they said, of “a lack of money”. They said they were not able to afford them as the pumps were very expensive. ZADP 2 intended to sell each manual water pump at 3,000,000,00Mts equivalent to USD125. In searching to meet people’s problems and overcome food vulnerability, ZADP 2 also brought in to the villages manual presses that would be sold to the farmers to make cooking oil. Each manual press was valued at 3,000,000,00 Mts equivalent to USD125. Manual presses were also demonstrated to the farmers in order to train them to manage the presses. Some farmers took some manual presses on a credit basis. But they never paid for them. Some presses were merely broken while others did not make enough cooking oil because the owners were lacking in sufficient raw material. In order to produce raw material to be used to make cooking oil, ZADP 2 distributed to the farmers sunflower seeds to grow in their plots, and after harvesting to use for making oil in these manual press. Such a strategy did not succeed because what the farmers produced was not enough. Each year they produced only in one season and the rest of the year there were no sunflowers. It was expected that the manual presses owners would profit through buying sunflower from the farmers or providing the service to the farmers and charging for this. This profit would be used to repay the credit advanced. Because farmers never had enough sunflowers to either sell to the manual presses owners or ask for the service, the presses did not perform. In general all agricultural strategies did not succeed because the farmers knew little about improved agricultural production techniques (Ayisi, 1995:43).

Because the vast majority of farmers practice backward agriculture systems – e.g. they farm a small area with only basic hand tools example hoes- the low-cost technologies introduced by ZADP2 was meant to help them. Like in the communal villages where the rural people were expected to learn better agricultural techniques ZADP 2 was also providing agricultural techniques to the farmers. In Mozambique rural families have traditionally lived as subsistence farmers on scattered family homesteads, clearing tracts of bush for cultivation and moving on after some years to allow the soil to recover its fertility (Quan, 1987:12). The ZADP 2 agricultural program was trying to help rural households increase their yields. In Zambezia and

elsewhere in Africa agricultural food production has declined in recent decades. This continent, in particular Sub-Saharan countries, the average index of food production per head shows a marked decline between 1971 and 1981 and between 1986 and 1989 putting large numbers of population below the poverty line (Barnet and Blaikie, 1992:127). However, although ZADP 2 was intending to help rural people by fighting against poverty, it did not understand that in Zambezia during the colonial era the key feature of rural people's life was the colonial state's control over, and super exploitation of, labour. All men were forced to work half the year on plantations. Both men and women were also forced into cash cropping and working for the *colonatos*. This legacy hindered their understanding of the ZADP's strategies for poverty alleviation. Because some times the extensionists forced them to receive seeds, it was clear in their minds that it was like forced cash cropping (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:96-97). The CEW approach was seen as low-cost and a guarantee of sustainability of agricultural programs in the villages. However, because the Community Extension Workers were chosen from their communities to advise them about agricultural technology and link these communities to outside markets, this approach did not have a significant impact because of the general lack of motivation and the low literacy level. Like in the Communal Villages, where it was expected that the villagers would pay the village health workers, ZADP 2 also expected that the farmers would pay the Community Extension Workers. In the Communal Villages the villagers could not afford it, thus the health workers abandoned their jobs because they did not receive support and could no longer afford to spend time in the health post instead of growing food to support their families. Likewise the farmers could not afford these payments to the CEWs. Because the CEWs did not receive any payment made by farmers some of them abandoned their posts (PM, 1998:8 and Hanlon, 1984, 1990:126).

It was believed that the CEWs once elected from the communities would continue with the ZADP 2 activities when it ended. From 1998 to 2002 December ZADP placed its own extension workers in the villages. These were removed from the villages in December 2002. When CEWs were selected it was made clear that they would not receive money from ZADP 2. The CEW were not ZAPD workers. They were community servants. They theoretically agreed. But suddenly they started claiming a 'salary' from ZADP 2 saying that they worked for farmers, wasted their time and benefited nothing. In order to maintain them ZADP 2 started paying them

until the project end. The question now is how the activities will be sustained without ZADP who paid the CEWs. (PM, 1998:Annex 2, p.2 and WVRLL, 2002:21).

In July 2003 the researcher went to Namacurra District where met CEWs, livestock promoters and the community. The following question was asked: How do you feel after ZADP left in December 2002?

- 1- Community: “We have no seeds. Some of us still have the improved seeds received from ZADP 2 and others have lost them. The facilitators do not come to help us in our farms and also do not treat our goats because their claim payment. We have no money to pay for their services. If one goat is sick will die without any treatment”.
- 2- Facilitators (CEWs): “We are now without any help. During the ZADP 2 implementation we received bicycles, we received money from ZADP 2 paying for the services that we provided to the farmers. It was USD 6 equivalent to 100,000,00 MZM for one farm each facilitator assisted. If had more than one farm to assist, the amount was timed to the number of farms. ZADP 2 gave several assets. Now the peasants are not able to pay us for the services. Then we cannot let our farms to help the community without any benefit”.
- 3- Livestock promoters: “During the ZADP 2 implementation it gave us medicine that we used to treat goats and it paid us some money according to the number of goats each one treated. Now we have no money to buy such medicines. We cannot treat the goats. The community is not able to pay us for the service”.

The above statements show that there is a doubt about the sustainability of the ZADP's activities in the villages. Although it was clearly explained to them that these activities were for their benefit, both, peasants CEWs and livestock promoters saw themselves as World Vision's workers. In the past, during the forced cash cropping, they had received crops from the concessionaires who bought them from the farmers after harvesting. During the socialization of the countryside some of them worked at the cooperatives. When ZADP arrived and told to them to form groups to receive crops, they clearly did not understand that the production would be for them. Instead their minds were dominated by their past experiences influenced by cash cropping and cooperatives (see chapter 3).

Like at the cooperatives where the government hoped to raise crop yields and rural living standards by encouraging collective organization amongst generally scattered,

individual rural families, ZADP 2 also hoped for the same results by introducing its approaches such as FFS, SMG, FRG, etc. As the cooperatives failed because they did not have enough practical support, so ZAFP 2 by using 'barefoot' and poor CEWs, no different from the farmers who they were expected to serve, also foundered when the CEWs lost their enthusiasm and asked payment. It is hence unclear and questionable if the agricultural strategies introduced by ZADP 2 will be sustainable.

The strengths of these approaches applied in agriculture were that the farmers were involved in identification, design, implementation, evaluation and monitoring processes for the success of agricultural technologies through participatory methods. Farmers selected promising technologies through FRGs. Group members acquired knowledge for seed production, identification and land preparation, season and seed density, isolation and post-harvest, dissemination of yielding varieties and tolerances to pest and diseases. The dissemination of promising seeds was/is done through selling to the interested people both inside or outside of the village, seed for work in exchange for seed. The expectations placed during the project design was that the intervention would result in a process that could be sustained after the project end. To achieve this goal ZADP 2 worked side by side with the government and national NGOs to strength them to improve their capacity as service providers to rural communities. It was also expected that ZADP 2 activities would have more impact on economically poor households and would encourage activities that would build the capacity of rural communities to manage their own programs and reduce their external dependence. This was achieved through FRG, SMG, SMC and village seed network (WVRL, 2002:12-14; 18).

The weaknesses of the program were the following. Agriculture is a high-risk activity that needs more time to prepare the farmers. The farmers that formed the SMC did achieve their training but did not learn more how to select seeds. They disseminated more grain rather than seed. Both their local and non-local seeds are vulnerable to diseases, insects and other severe factors such as floods, lack of chemical inputs, weak technical supervision that make them still dependent on external suppliers. The loss of seeds is another weakness. ZADP 2 continued supplying seeds to the communities rather than producing them and becoming self-sufficient in seed production and self-seed suppliers. The natural low-cost technologies through natural pesticides did not

work because of a lack of specialists in this field in Mozambique and within ZADP 2. Although the technicians were trained in Farmer Field School (FFS) for 3 weeks in October of 1998, this was not enough time and was opposed to the FAO recommendations that the training should be undertaken during the whole cropping season (approximately 6 months). To illustrate the lack of specialists, farmers from Mucunha village complained that natural pesticides were a failure and that it was inefficient. In Murabue, farmers were encouraged to use chilli paper but when they applied it no pest died. They said that they did not know how to prepare and apply it and the dosage to use. They also said that it was unclear to them how to use natural pesticides because the message was not well given to the farmers. They have their local plant called *Namahuku* that is potential natural pesticide. But because they were not well informed the dosage and the safe interval they feared to apply it (WVRL, 2002:15;18 and Pequeno, 2001:5).

ZADP would not be able to reach the agricultural strategies because it misunderstood the three related issues which should have been learnt from the government failure during the communal farms implementation:

- the intimate linkages between the various sectors and the extent to which rural people have one foot firmly planted in the cash economy;
- the need to take account of labour supply and demand
- it takes time for a radical transformation of agriculture (Hanlon, 1984,1990:114-115).

The lesson should have been clear during the Seed Group Multiplication (SMG) Farmer Field School (FFS) where the farmers refused comparing it with cooperatives. This led to a change allowing them to multiply their seeds on their own plots. However some times ZADP 2 'forced' farmers to receive seeds. This was done through extension workers who were required to form a certain number of groups. In both cooperatives and collective plots under ZADP 2 three labour peaks played a crucial role in producing a failure of countryside socialization and led to undermining of all ZADP 2's strategies: preparation of the land before rains, weeding during the rains, and the harvest. These caused the rural people to say that they were busy with

their own crops and they did not have enough time to grow crops in the same plots with other people (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:114-116 and Habermeier, 1981:45-53).

## **7.6. Marketing**

Before the Portuguese settlers left there existed a network of shops or *cantinas* in the villages at which farmers could exchange produce for household goods and farm equipment and inputs. These were all first abandoned and further destroyed leaving the community without outlets for their products or places to buy household goods. Besides shops there were also some facilities like hammermills in which rural people went to process their maize and other grains. During the PRAs all communities in both Namacurra and Gurue Districts wanted ZADP help them establish these shops and hammermills again. If necessary, they were willing to build these shops if this would encourage a business person to establish a trading operation in the village to help people to buy consumer goods, tools, sell their produce and process them. They stressed that the community would provide him with land and local materials for the shop and other facilities if ZADP were able to supply materials that they could not produce locally (PM, 1998:10, Annex 2 and HM, Vol.3, 1993:28-30 and Hanlon, 1984, 1990:16-17; 22; 96).

The network of rural stores (shops or *cantinas*) played an important role during the colonial era because it formed the hub of the rural economy, selling inputs, buying and storing produce. The commercialization of agriculture is a major challenge because is the key to poverty alleviation (PM, 1998, Annex, 6, p.2 and HM, Vol.3, 1993:30 and Hanlon, 1984, 1990:46-47;112;116 and James, 1988:54 and Chingono, 71-79-80). In the Zambezia province many rural shops were destroyed during the civil war and were abandoned by the Portuguese settlers after independence. These two factors combined to leave the network of marketing weak and a scarcity of skilled traders. The lack of maintenance also wrecked the rural shops and the road network. Few vehicles reached the villages. Consequently smallholders were forced to transport their surpluses either by bicycle or on their heads to sell them in town because there is no market into rural areas.

To replace the commercial network the state owned People's Shops or *lojas do povo* took over the abandoned rural shops in some villages. The People's shops were

poorly established and late abolished. In March of 1980 the late President Samora Machel said publicly that they were taking up too much of the state's energy and resources (Coelho, 1998:81 and Cravinho, 1998:101). The state was not able to create a rural trade network because of lack of marketing experience. There were complains that the prices charged by the People's Shops were too high and villagers had to pay for their heavy transportation costs and for the incompetence and low productivity of their staff. Above all, the administrative and bureaucratic costs and the under-capitalisation of the state-run supply sector resulted in the absence of products so that in 1980s the People's Shops' shelves were empty. (Hanlon, 1984, 1990:110-126 and Coelho, 1998:62-81).

The staffing of People's Shops was taken over by Agricon that was created in 1981 to dedicate itself to economically efficient marketing by providing agricultural tools and buying produce from peasants in the rural areas. From 1981 to 1984 Agricon was financed by the state. From 1984 the state stopped financing Agricon and it started to decline. In 1989 given the bad state of Mozambique's roads in most rural areas, Agricon could not afford the maintenance of its trucks to transport goods and as the solution it used tractors as appropriate transportation. Today Agricon does not exist in Mozambique (Cravinho, 1998:103-109).

Although the People's Shop's staff was taken over by Agricon, it was not seen as a solution of the problem. Thus to resolve the failure of People's Shops the state embarked on Consumer Cooperatives (CC) to overcome some of these problems. These gave control over to the villages both the buying of cooperative surpluses and the selling of these products at reasonable and fair prices, and it was hoped that local revenues would be invested to a greater extent in village development. Such revenues would enable the villages to access several kinds of tools that they lacked. This approach did not work because the cooperatives were faced with the constant absence of tools or provision of poor quality tools. Consequently people from the border regions, e.g. Tete Province, went to Zambia and Malawi to acquire tools. (Coelho, 1998:81).

During PRAs the farmers presented lack of shops as one of their priorities. ZADP had realized that the marketing role is pivotal in ensuring that the rural people have an



## **CHAPTER 8:**

### **CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **8.1. Introduction**

This chapter deals with the conclusion and recommendations. After assessing the Zambezia Agricultural Development Project, it is clear that the Zambezia Agricultural Development Project has had a positive impact although there it did not reach all needs prioritised by communities during the 1997/98 PRAs. The major impact and the main achievement of ZADP 2 has been the launch of several strategies that facilitated the targeted groups receiving goats, ducks, improved seeds etc., which contributed to their social, economical and cultural transformation. Through goats, ducks and improved seeds they have acquired good positions in their villages, have acquired money and they have incorporated these strategies into their daily lives (Edwards & Sen, 2000:605-616 and Cameron, 2000:627-635 and Jiggins et al.,1995:37). Prior to the ZADP 2 implementation the large number of rural people did not have goats, did not have early maturing varieties of crop and other assets.

#### **8.2. Conclusion**

The central issue in evaluating ZADP 2 is identifying which areas it succeeded in and which ones it did not succeed. This paper evaluated the individual measures according to their strengths and weaknesses. Thus, allowing the reader to conclude in which areas does ZADP 2 succeed according to its main goals. Chapter one introduced the work pointed out the relevance of PRAs methodology and its importance in getting information on the ground. Chapter two highlighted the concepts of development since 1940s to date. The reader was then introduced to the crux of the rural development issue. Thereafter, the reader was exposed to the different development strategies from either individuals or institutions such as the World Bank. Chapter three introduced the Zambezia under the colonial era, and post-independence. The reader was exposed to both, companies, cash cropping and countryside socialization. The paper highlighted the similarities and differences of each approach and how they influenced the ZADP 2 activities. This chapter has underlined that economically Zambezia Province is dominated by subsistence agriculture. It had a large number of companies that provided employment to many Zambezians integrating them into the labour market and into capitalist economy as wage workers in the companies on one

hand and as the forced cash cropping on the other hand. Some of the companies were destroyed during the 16 year civil war and other went bankrupt leaving many unemployed workers causing source income deprivation and decrease of incomes in the households. The companies played a crucial role in creating livelihoods and assets for households whereas cash cropping caused severe famine. During the countryside socialization the new government attempted to transform the peasants as wage workers through state farms. This did not succeed. Chapter four examined the concepts of World Vision's approach since its foundation in the 1950s. The reader was also familiarized with the main achievements reached by World Vision to date giving a new and fresh outlook of World Visions performance in its field. Chapter five dealt with the ZADP's main goal of poverty alleviation. The chapter presented several approaches and components used by ZADP to overcome poverty and food insecurity. The reader was thus able to see what component and approach contributed to poverty alleviation. Chapter six looked at individual strategies to overcome poverty at the household level. The reader was thus able to understand the strategies used by each category to resolve the household problems related to lack of assets and consumer goods. The reader was also exposed to the importance of measuring poverty and also the definition of poverty according to the rural people. Chapter seven dealt with the advantages and limitations of the PRA approach, the areas in which ZADP 2 succeeded and did not succeed. It analysed the strengths and weaknesses of this approaches. It showed how some weaknesses were associated with the forced cash cropping and countryside socialization periods.

In general ZADP 2 impacted positively (see table 7). It is important to underline that although there is evidence showing that some progress has been registered this cannot be attributed only to the presence of ZADP 2. There are various factors that have contributed to development in these communities. First of all is the peace that all Mozambicans are enjoying since General Peace Agreement signed on 4<sup>th</sup> of October of 1992 that created conditions for people be resettled in their original homes. Secondly, the presence of Zambezia Agricultural Development Project and World Vision and the presence of other NGOs - such as Oxfam who built several better schools in the several villages, German Agrarian Action (GAA) who built better health posts in some villages, wells for potable water, and other project from inside World Vision -providing the communities with social infrastructure.

**Table 7: Inputs and Outputs**

Inputs	Outputs/outcomes	Limitation problems
<p>-Introduction of improved seeds, early maturity seeds, pest resistance seeds,promising technologies.</p> <p>-New technologies through FFS, SMG, FRG and post harvest.</p> <p>-Livestock program through goats, ducks and Newcastle disease vaccination.</p>	<p>-Farmers are trained to deal with new technologies.</p> <p>-Farmers acquired knowledge that enables them to increse their production.</p> <p>-Farmers were trined to deal with some natural pesticides in seed store (ash and papper).</p> <p>-Farmers were trained on goats and ducks care.</p> <p>-The successful farmers sold some of their animals and earned money used for several purposes.</p> <p>-CEWs of facilitators were trained to help their communities in new technologies. They are network linking their villages with externsl seed suppliers.</p> <p>-Livestock promoters (village veterinary assistants or barefoot vets) were trained to constitute the livestock network; they help their communities on goats and ducks with veterinary care, to animal health services by providing advice on animal nutrition, housing and breeding.</p>	<p>The expected sustainability of new technologies was not significantly achieved because of:</p> <p>1-Agriculture is a high risk activity which is prone for floods, droughts, diseases, insects, animals, etc.</p> <p>2-Lack of quality land, irrigation, new crop vairieties, fertilizers and improved technologies.</p> <p>3-Use of old crop varieties, bad quality of seeds, use of backward agricultural tools, soils not appropriate for cultivation. The proposed low-cost technologies such as <i>leucaenas</i> for soil restoration were not introduced until ZADP 2 came to an end.</p> <p>The Community extension Workers (CEW) and Livestock promoters were motivated during ZADP's implementation period because they received payment from it. After ZADP 2 end they did not receive any payment.</p>

All these activities were designed to help rural people to overcome food insecurity and provide them food self-sufficiency. ZADP 2 was limited by the short-run nature of the project, budget constraints and hence not able to cover all the issues and needs raised by the rural people it canvassed. Furthermore some problems were not relevant to ZADP 2's aims. For instance lack of employment, lack of tractors, lack of fishing nets, lack of instruments used to prepare *ekatxasso*, etc. ZADP tried to resolve such problems indirectly through livestock restocking in which was believed that by earning money through goats selling they would be able to use that money to meet other needs not directly covered by ZADP 2 (Davies, 1996:62-63).

### **8.3. Recommendations and remarks**

It is important that projects be realistic about the degree of the commitment that can be expected from participants and their motivation for joining a specific project. On the other hand, many poorest of the poor initially joined the ZADP 1 and ZADP 2 because it offered access to goods and services that were in short supply rather than because they were committed to the development. It is recommended that projects must be careful in selecting the beneficiaries. ZADP 2 did not select its beneficiaries according to the main objective which was development rather charitable objectives.

The poorest of the poor need handouts rather than production inputs. Some inputs were merely lost because they said that they were not able to grow crops.

It is also recommended that projects must not make assumptions that people will want work together. It was a failure because ZADP 2 simply assumed it but the rural people were clearly not willing to work together on the plots for seed multiplication as well as rearing goats.

It was also assumed that the Community Extension Workers and Livestock Promoters would guarantee the sustainability of the project. It was assumed that they would build the community network as intermediaries such as providing medicine to the smallholder to providing technology to the farmers.

A project wishing to make an impact must be a long-run project. Short-term projects like ZADP 2 cannot make a substantial impact. ZADP 2 left un-realised priorities and left the beneficiaries without in depth knowledge in these areas (Ayisi, 1995:62).

To move peasants from poverty it is necessary to invest in new techniques and new varieties of crops, to invest in their futures through schools and health posts. Building the social capital known as the social resources upon which people draw in pursuit of their livelihoods can include membership of formal groups, informal connections or network, relationships of trust etc. Increased social capital, can lead to protect natural capital (e.g Community Based Natural Resources Management) (CBNRM), increased physical capital (e.g. access improved by community action) increased human capital (e.g. knowledge gained from schools) and increased financial capital (e.g. trust based lending or marketing) will empower local communities to deal with their own development (May *et al.*, 2000:253 and Bias *et al.*, 2001:52 and Annex 5<sup>13</sup> and Fukuyama, 2001:7-19 and Bornstein, 2000:246-247 and Drinkwater &Rusinow, 1999:8-9 and Bigsten and Levin, 2001:4).

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<sup>13</sup> This Annex 5 is in the Bias, 2001.

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