Community Need, Government (in)action and External Pressure: A Study of Civil Society and Land Rights in Mozambique

Nicholas R. Hess

Dissertation presented for the Degree of MA in International Development

University of Sheffield

2012

Approximate number of words: 16,150

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Acknowledgements

There are so many people that deserve recognition for the successful completion of this dissertation. First of all I would like to thank everyone at ORAM for their generosity, hospitality and patience particularly when it came to my poor Portuguese. A special thanks goes to ***Abel Saind*** *for his friendship and personal interest in my project as without him none of the research would have been possible and to* ***Dulce Mavone*** *for making ORAM's resources available to me. I would also like to thank* ***Saquina*** *for her genuine kindness in opening MuGeDe's doors and constantly feeding me in different locations across southern Mozambique. I would like to convey my heartfelt appreciation to my Mozambican 'family' for making Avenida 24 de Julho home, I hope you know that you guys made my trip unforgettable.*

Dan Hammett, Chasca Twyman, Pat Noxolo, Deborah Sporton *and the entire University of Sheffield Geography Department, thank you for all your work putting together this truly remarkable and stimulating International Development Masters Programme.* ***Steve Connelly****, thank you! Thank you for putting up with my constant changes (I don't even know how many sets of research aims/objectives/questions I have sent to you over the months), without your guidance and encouragement I don't think I would have been able to get this far.*

And last but certainly not least, my friends and family, both back home in Austin/Colorado as well as Chicago (good luck by the way) and Atlanta, and new ones here in the UK, this year has been an incredible experience thanks to y'all. Obviously a special thanks to my parents ***Catherine Haenni*** *and* ***Peter Hess*** *for their encouragement as well as financial and emotional support, not only this year but throughout my education. Thanks pops for endless help with this dissertation and that giant crayfish! And mom, thanks for always being there for me and YES I am looking for a job, promise! And finally to my grandfather for instilling a bit of his intellectual curiosity in me at a young age and challenging me as an adult. Thank you all!*

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List of Acronyms

ACORD	Agency for Cooperation and Research in Development - *direito de uso e aproveitamento da terra*, state-granted land right documentation
FDC	*Fundação para o Desenvolvimento da Comunidade*, Foundation for Community Development
FDI	foreign direct investment
GDP	gross domestic product
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MuGeDe	*Mulher, Gênero e Desenvolvimento*, Women Gender and Development
NGO	non-governmental organisation
NPA	Norwegian People's Aid
ORAM	*Associacao Rural de Ajuda Mutua*, Rural Organization for Mutual Help
UNAC	*Uniao Nacional de Camponeses*, National Peasants Union
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WB	World Bank

Abstract

The growing global demand for agricultural products is generating investment opportunities in land, particularly in places like Africa where large tracts of land are made easily available by weak government institutions. Without a strong voice or political power, the needs and demands of rural communities who live and rely on this land are often disregarded. There is an effort being made by communities, associations, NGOs and other aspects of civil society to push back and protect the rights of rural peasants.

Using issues of land and land rights in Mozambique as a case study, this research explores how civil society is formed in relation to community needs, government (in)action and investor pressures. Community and investor relations with the land and each other are discussed to better understand the conflict that is being created as a result of increased pressure on land. Within the Mozambican context, conflict between these two stakeholders is generally compounded by the government which practices both bottom up community development and top down promotion of large scale land deals which often ignore the rights of communities. Low levels of education and poor democratic representation has left rural peasants with minimal capacity to independently work towards securing their rights to land, but they are not without resources. Mozambique has one of the most progressive land laws in Africa in regards to protecting the rights of peasants; yet it is not able to prevent the abuse of rural populations which is rampant across Africa. However, there is a growing capacity within civil society, which still is relatively weak compared to the government, to challenge the marginal enforcement of the law.

In researching this conflict during my two-month stay in Mozambique, civil society's role in community empowerment and capacity building in my mind began to emerge as an important tool of protecting peasant rights and promoting rural development. Associations and national non-governmental organisations which form the core of civil society serve to promote community-based development with the aim of making them visible to government and integrating rural Mozambicans into the larger Mozambican society. Ultimately these activities contribute towards enhancing civil society in Mozambique which I will try to locate between de Tocquevillian and Gramscian conceptions of civil society.

1: Introduction

With the fall of the Soviet Bloc and its transition to democratic forms of government, the concept of 'civil society' has resurfaced as an area of theoretical discussion (Kumar 1993). Particularly in the early years of this resurgence the discussion focused primarily on broad Western definitions and applications of the concept. Limited academic attention was paid to civil society in the African context. When civil society in Africa was of interest to academics it was often to address the question of its existence, rationalised within the Western context of promoting democratisation, treated as a new concept in Africa and defined in relation to unrepresentative governments (see Bratton 1994; Hutchful 1995; Kasfir 1998; Makumbe 1998; Orvis 2001).

Despite the limited academic attention given to civil society in Africa, civil society has developed and become an integral aspect of African society (Banks and Hulme 2012). Associations, NGOs and other forms of civil society have become essential in promoting community-based development programs, albeit with varying success. This is the case in Mozambique where civil society has become instrumental in defending the land rights of rural peasants in the current global demand for agricultural land.

This dissertation examines land use, land rights and associated issues in Mozambique as a case study to develop an understanding of how civil society in Mozambique can operate apart from the government. I will examine the historic, social, economic, political and cultural contexts as well as government and investor pressures to generate and contextualise the understanding of civil society. My discussion of the existing literature on land issues in Mozambique in the second chapter will provide the background information, including the historical context, the 1997 land law, peasant dependency, investor interests and government policies. The chapter concludes with a discussion on the concept of civil society and a working definition of the term. My research questions, discussed in the third chapter, are designed to create a framework in which civil society in Mozambique can be explored. Chapter four begins by explaining the context in which my research was carried out and outlines the structure of ORAM, the organisation I was working with. This is followed by a discussion of the research methods used to obtain data, the justification for said methods, issues of positionality and then a section on analysis and limitations of the data.

The fifth chapter is the core of this dissertation as it presents my research findings, discussion and analysis. Each section within this chapter corresponds to the research questions and relies on empirical data gathered over seven weeks conducting research in Mozambique. The importance of land to communities and investors and the conflicting interests that arise from the differing perspectives is examined first, followed by an examination of the different strategies for land-based development promoted by different elements within the Mozambican government. The role NGOs play in land issues is then discussed using specific examples from the research, which leads into a discussion on civil society in Mozambique based on empirical data developed in the previous three sections. This dissertation concludes by comparing civil society in Mozambique to Western theoretical perceptions of the term.

2: History, Land and Civil Society: an Overview

This section will begin by examining the importance of land and agriculture in Mozambique, the particular issues and circumstances surrounding the issue of land rights, the position and responsibility of NGOs within this context and then introduce and define the concept of civil society. Without first understanding the specific issues associated with the case study it is difficult to apply and understand the theoretical discussion of civil society and its role within the land rights issue in Mozambique.

2.1: Historical Context

The issue of land rights in Mozambique is highly contentious and can be loosely characterised as a divide between government and investor versus community or society and civil society. While historical events going back 400 years impact land issues, they are more directly influenced by the period leading up to Mozambique's independence from Portugal in 1975 and the years since. The current political context and power relations therefore are much more crucial for the land rights debates in Mozambique than historical factors.

The independence movement in Mozambique was championed by The Liberation Front of Mozambique (*Frente de Libertação de Moçambique*—Frelimo), an organisation supported by China, the Soviet Union and leftist parties throughout Europe (Hanlon and Mosse 2010). After independence Frelimo was able to transform their resistance network which reached into all levels of society into a political machine (Hanlon 2010) and effectively integrated party and government thus creating a one party state that to a certain extent still exists today (Manning 2010). While there were attempts by Frelimo to separate party and state, they were not successful: "[t]he result was that membership was often overlapping, civil servants were (and continue to be) members of Frelimo as a matter of course, and the military and security services were the armed wing of the party" (Sumich 2010, 685). In the years following independence Frelimo began promoting socialist ideals; social services were nationalised, areas such as health and education were expanded (Hanlon and Mosse 2010) and efforts to increase national unity and suppress tribalism were taken (Kyed 2009).

But independence from Portugal did not afford Mozambique the ability to act freely: "In a sad geopolitical irony, one of Africa's more radical regimes had the ill fortune to share borders with two of Africa's most reactionary and aggressive white minority regimes: Rhodesia and South Africa [both of which] committed their vastly superior power to making sure that Frelimo did not succeed in its aims" (Sumich and Honwana 2007, 3). The 1981 election of Ronald Reagan in the Unites States and the

subsequent proliferation of the Reagan Doctrine, which was designed to limit the influence of the Soviet Union, further compounded the political situation in Mozambique. Cold War rhetoric was intensified which drummed up Western support of domestic and foreign opposition forces (Kouki 2011) and helped spark and maintain a brutal civil war lasting over ten years. Prior to the war Frelimo had attempted to decentralise power, but the resulting breakdown of commerce and social structures increased the reliance on the government for food and services and thus entrenched the centralised control of the party (Hanlon and Mosse 2010).

At the same time Mozambique became more reliant on international aid, and by the time the peace accord was signed in 1992 both the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) were vying for control of economic policy in Mozambique (Hanlon and Mosse 2010). Structural adjustment policies were imposed, limiting the role of the government in the economy (Plank 1993). Imposed austerity required the government to cut the wages of civil service employees such as teachers, nurses and police to poverty levels which forced them to subsidise their wages with bribes (Hanlon and Mosse 2010) and ultimately created dependency on donors for principal services such as healthcare (Shandra, Shandra and London 2012). Over the past decade the approach of financial aid from large international donors to Mozambique has shifted, emphasising general budget support versus project support, promoting local governance instead of building central government and focussing on good governance as opposed to promoting democracy (Manning and Malbrough 2012). Mozambique remains one of the most aid dependent nations in the world with an estimated 1.2 billion dollars, or 23 percent of national income coming from international aid in 2004 (Renzio and Hanlon 2009). The large amount of aid combined with the political agenda endorsed by large donors post-peace accord gave rise to what Renzio and Hanlon call a "pathological equilibrium" where petty and large-scale corruption became institutionalised and tolerated "as long as political stability was maintained and the neo-liberal economic policies of the World Bank and IMF and the other main donors was implemented" (2009, 249).

Politically, Mozambique is currently what Shenga and Mattes (2008) define as a "low-information democracy". This refers to the low level of informed political awareness and public knowledge concerning political and economic developments resulting from an adult literacy rate of 46 percent and from extremely low access to public knowledge due to opaque government practices and limited independent news outlets. Although Mozambique is technically a multi-party democracy, Frelimo's

weak domestic political opposition has allowed it to maintain effective control over the political arena with 76 percent of the seats in parliament and the presidency (Manning and Malbrough 2012).

These historical events and circumstances combine to create a very unique national context in Sub-Saharan Africa. Mozambique is de facto a single party state with low levels of tribalism and high levels of domestic social cohesion (Weinstein 2002) meaning that membership to Frelimo is significantly more advantageous than community or tribal affiliation. In addition there is substantial social vulnerability and dependence on the government (Hanlon and Mosse 2010) yet government responsiveness is often limited due to lack of capacity (Waterhouse 2009), excessive bureaucracy (Toulmin 2009), corruption (Pfeiffer 2004) and high levels of aid dependence, or to use a more neutral term, "aid intensity" (O'Connell 2001).

2.2: Law, Land and Agriculture in Mozambique

Mozambique is one of the least developed nations in the world; it ranks 184 out of 187 countries in the UNDP Human Development Index (UNDP 2011). Because of this, rural Mozambicans depend heavily on land and their rights to the land. Therefore the 1997 land law which has been described as "one of the most democratic process in Mozambique in the 1990's" (Hanlon 2004, 603) and has been heralded as one of the most progressive land laws in Africa, is a huge victory for people relying on land for their livelihood (Hanlon 2004; Nhantumbo and Salomão 2010; Fairbairn 2011). The legislation was the first attempt at NGO and civil society's inclusion in designing policy (Kanji, Braga and Mitullah 2002), and NGOs "like [*Associacao Rural de Ajuda Mutua*, Rural Organization for Mutual Help] ORAM and [*Uniao Nacional de Camponeses,* National Peasants Union] UNAC [sic] were instrumental in fighting for the provisions in the new land law to benefit peasants" (Hanchinaman 2000, 11). The law nationalised all land but did not redistribute it, meaning all land became the property of the state. Land can be leased to individuals, communities or private investors through a process of state-granted land right documentation (*direito de uso e aproveitamento da terra* – DUAT) which is the single form of land tenure rights and is transmittable, inheritable and exclusive. DUATs can be awarded to individuals, communities or companies, both domestic and foreign for a renewable 50 year lease. Individuals or communities must go through a legal process of delimitation (a formal certification process using trees or stones to define boundaries) or demarcation (a more accurate measuring process including the installation of concrete boundary indicators) to obtain a DUAT and be afforded legal protections (Tornimbeni 2011). As is the case in many Sub-Saharan countries, official documents

substantiating people's land tenure in Mozambique are nearly non-existent. Therefore the most essential and progressive aspect of the law for the rural poor is the use of verbal testimony to authenticate land claims (Norfolk and Tanner 2007).

The law attempts to strike a balance between acknowledging the rights of the rural poor and facilitating foreign direct investment (FDI) in agricultural projects, all while maintaining government ownership of the land. The law's success has been mixed, but Fairbairn argues that although the law has been "underfunded, incompletely enforced, and sometimes downright undermined … [it] has undoubtedly prevented the no-holds barred scramble for Mozambican land that might have begun a decade later in its absence" (2011, 8).

These protections are important because land is at the centre of economic, social and political life and is essential for the survival of millions of people, "[a]part from labor [sic], land is the primary physical asset used by rural Mozambican households for food production and income generation" (Mather, Cunguara, and Boughton 2008, 20). Agriculture is the principal economic activity in Mozambique, employing 80 percent of the population (Cunguara and Garrett 2011). With roughly 62 percent of Mozambique's population of 23.5 million living in rural areas (CIA 2012) there is a heavy reliance on access to land and other natural resources. 99 percent of the farms are smallholders (Cunguara and Hanlon 2010): the "average farmer only produces enough food to feed the family adequately for less than eight months of the year and […] the poorest families only produce enough to provide adequate food for half the year" (Oakland 2011, 12). While seasonal and annual climatic events such as drought or flood have direct effects on food security, the persistence of food shortages is largely a result of low productivity caused by unimproved inputs which keep farmers from realising the full potential of their land (Tschirley and Benfica 2001). For example, in 2008 "less than four percent of farmers used inorganic fertilisers or irrigated their fields, five percent used pesticides, nine percent used animal traction and less than two percent used tractors" (Cunguara and Moder 2011, 563). The inability to adopt improved technologies and the resulting low outputs persist for several reasons; low output prices caused by a lack of market access, low levels of education or knowledge of improved technologies and fear of debt serve as "disincentives to agricultural technology adoption" (Uaniene 2006, iv).

Despite Mozambique's 7.2 percent growth in gross domestic product (GDP) over the last decade (African Economic Outlook 2012) levels of rural poverty have not decreased and have even shown

signs of increasing (Arndt et al. 2011; Hanlon and Cunguara 2012). In other words the substantial economic growth over the past decade has not benefitted a large percentage of the population. This has resulted from growth occurring outside of the small-scale agricultural sector highlighting "the importance of agriculture for poverty reduction and confirm[ing] the need for investment in and attention to this sector, particularly in Mozambique" (Arndt et al. 2011, 21). In addition low population density, poor infrastructure, market fragmentation and low smallholder integration into the market lead to high transaction costs (Heltberg and Tarp 2002) further hindering the ability of the rural poor to benefit from the national growth in GDP.

The average Mozambican farmer is only able to cultivate 1.2 – 1.5 hectares and produces very low outputs (FAO 2005; Ministerio da Agricultura 2005) with current agricultural technology. As 62 percent (about 50 million hectares) of Mozambique is considered arable (World Bank 2012) there is substantial potential for increased agricultural outputs and profitability which has made it a "target for "land grabs" by foreigners for the past 400 years" (Oakland 2011, 7), a trend that has intensified over the last decade. Elements within the Mozambican government have been actively promoting large-scale agricultural projects through FDI both domestically and abroad (Vermeulen and Cotula 2010), primarily for biofuels, forestry products and sugar, in order to create economic development, reduce poverty and bring much needed infrastructure projects (Hartley and Otto 2008; Robbins and Perkins 2012). A 2008 report produced for the Mozambican government outlines the Ministry of Energy's priorities to "develop the national energy sector, reduce oil imports and alleviate the economic burden of imports, and enhance energy security" (Econergy 2008, ES-1) through the promotion of large-scale biofuel projects.

Abundant land resources, favourable environmental conditions and social factors including low population density, minimal domestic demand and the government's inclination to reduce environmental and economic controls make Mozambique an attractive target for investment (Arndt et al 2009; Nhantumbo and Salomão 2010; Schut, Slingerland and Locke 2010). Countries like Finland have been promoting Mozambique domestically as a "country with vast unexploited natural resources and […] tremendous amount of business opportunities available basically in all sectors" (Embassy of Finland 2009), and in official documents released on Wikileaks the American government asserts that "Mozambique's agricultural sector [is] ripe for U.S. investment" (WikiLeaks 2011).

Despite this, investors cite policies and protections put in place to guard the livelihoods of rural smallholders, such as the lack of individual titling, as obstacles to development. The linear model of agrarian change, based in modernist thinking prescribes a general evolution from communal or government ownership to individual tenure (Chimhowu and Woodhouse 2006) despite the "mounting evidence of the pitfalls of individual titling, which has high economic and social costs and negative consequences for the poor" (Kanji, Braga and Mitullah 2002, 7). As a consequence this shifts the discourse from a rights-based to a market-based approach to land rights. With limited financial resources, the rural poor are in a highly unfavourable position when it comes to advocating for their rights within a market-based discourse. While publicly Frelimo maintains that they have no plans for land privatisation there are elements within the government that echo the investor's recommendation for land privatisation (Oakland 2011).

Even within the national government and Frelimo there are more progressive elements, such as the recently appointed Agricultural Minister Jose Pacheco, that see the need to focus on small and medium farm development. Pacheco, a trained agricultural manager, began his time in office by promoting the Strategic Agricultural plan "which set out major shifts in policy. Donors and foreign investors received hardly any mention, and the stress is on domestic investment and the development of small and medium commercial farmers, making them more productive and competitive" (Norfolk and Hanlon 2012, 13). The same report that outlined the Ministry of Energy's prioritisation of large agricultural projects also highlighted the Ministry of Agriculture's focus on the "need to expand the agricultural sector in a socially and environmentally sustainable way, as well as contribute to rural development and employment creation" (Econergy 2008, ES-1). There have been increased government interventions in providing technology such as animal traction and mechanisation according to the Oakland Institute (2011). This reveals the conflicting development strategies within the government.

2.3: Large-Scale Agricultural Projects and the Growing Social Response

Global economic and social conditions such as emphasis on alternative energy, market liberalisation, increase of global population, changing diets and rising commodity prices have led to a proliferation of land and resource based investments globally (Cotula et al. 2009; Cotula 2011; Deininger et al. 2011). Mozambique has not been immune to this land rush which has led to the concession of 2.5 million hectares, or the equivalent of seven percent of Mozambique's arable land to foreign investors between 2004 and 2009 (Oakland 2011). Even when promoted by the investors and the government as

development projects that will bring infrastructure, investment, jobs and market access, these developments often have negative consequences for affected communities.

The government has made claims of abundant 'unused' land in Mozambique, an assertion which is overstated and gives the impression to investors that there is a little 'ownership' or claim to land (Oakland 2011). As Michael Taylor, the programme manager for Global Policy at the International Land Coalition emphasises, it is important to first realise that "[i]f land in Africa hasn't been planted, it's probably for a reason. Maybe it's used to graze livestock or deliberately left fallow to prevent nutrient depletion and erosion" (cited in Vidal 2010) but 'unused' land has a purpose and ownership, either formal or informal, meaning that any land transaction will have some form of conflict. Furthermore, large projects generally target the most productive land and soil with a reliable water supply to guarantee the highest return for the investors (Borras and Franco 2010; Borras, Fig and Suárez 2011; Shutter 2009). This land is usually occupied by local communities for that very reason, making relocation or compensation more difficult. Relocation with minimal or no community consultation, which is the largest source of irregularities in Mozambican land deals (German, Schoneveld and Mwangi 2011), is common practice and can lead to overlapping community claims and further land conflict (Nhantumbo and Salomão 2010; Spenceley and Schoon 2007). Large agricultural projects also have the potential to have broad regional environmental impacts such as water and soil depletion and degradation which affects surrounding and downriver communities (Jägerskog et al. 2012). When communities are not represented or unable to play an active role in determining the terms of land deals the potential for conflict increases and the negative consequences on the livelihoods of communities is compounded.

Several NGOs have established themselves to address these conflicts and community needs and as a result have become an integral aspect of Mozambican society. The literature on Mozambique has outlined two major responsibilities NGOs have taken on. Operationally, they serve as innovators, capacity builders, educators and service providers. As advocates, they serve in a monitoring and advisory capacity (Kanji, Braga and Mitullah 2002; Kim 2011). One operational responsibility lies in promoting public awareness and understanding of the 1997 land law. Ignorance of the law is one of the biggest obstacles to realising the law's full potential (Palmer, Fricska and Wehrmann 2009) and has led to a "profound lack of knowledge amongst ordinary Mozambicans about how to use their legal rights to land and natural resources, and how to access the formal legal and judicial system to defend these

rights when they are threatened" (Serra and Tanner 2008, 62). This opens the door for investors to take advantage of communities and smallholders. NGOs such as ORAM and UNAC have responded to this situation by becoming the primary source of legal information and point-of-call for assistance in land delimitation and demarcation (Kanji, Braga and Mitullah 2002). NGOs have also been partnering with the government on individual projects, for example enhancing the capacity of smallholders through disseminating information on efficient agricultural techniques and assistance in providing improved inputs (Chung 2012). Agricultural associations are also becoming more active in "improving farmer access to new and improved technology (inputs such as improved seed, fertilizer, animal traction, and management practices) and output markets" (Mather, Cunguara and Boughton 2008). While membership in associations is still low at roughly eight percent as of 2008, that number has been climbing over the past decade (Cunguara and Hanlon 2010).

Farmer and community associations are comprised and run by rural farmers generally with low levels of education. They have limited capacity to monitor the drafting of government policy and its implementation at the national level, to advocate for their inclusion in the process or network with other associations to create a united front (McKeon 2009). Domestic NGOs in Mozambique are much more capable of engaging the government and society at the national level and play an "important role in monitoring and exposing violations of the land law, particularly the usurpation of community land" (Kanji, Braga and Mitullah 2002, 15). NGOs are able to use informal contacts within the government to voice their concerns, propose government policy and ask for support or intervention in specific cases or projects (Reyes 2003). More publicly they can use the media to publicise and gain public support or cultivate public scrutiny in an effort to compel government action (Kanji, Braga and Mitullah 2002). In the aggregate, these activities carried out by associations, NGOs and other forms of associational life can be attributed to civil society in Mozambique.

2.4: Civil Society

Understanding how the term 'civil society' can be applied in Mozambique requires a basic understanding of the historic and theoretical discussion surrounding it. Modern concepts of civil society have their origin in the latter part of the 18th century with the rise of non-governmental spaces such as families, churches, schools and academic clubs which promoted religious tolerance and government's respect of the private sphere of the individual (Keane 2006, 4). This form of associational life outside of government and the ability for individuals to publicly advocate for their

wants and needs by networking was seen by Alexis de Tocqueville as an important aspect of developing a robust, representative democracy (de Tocqueville 2007). With the growth of capitalism and private property G.W.P. Hegel argued for the development of a public sphere that included economic, social and civic institutions yet was distinct from the state (Kumar 1993). The emergence of this new social sphere (Habermas 1991) that served primarily as an economic point of negotiation between private interests of the household and the larger interests of the state created the "possibility of preserving both individual freedom and the 'universality' of the state, instead of subordinating one to the other" (Wood 1990, 62). Karl Marx and Fredrich Engels both interpreted the economy to be an aspect of civil society and saw it as a space where the family or society could assert its dominance over the state, more succinctly, "the state — the political order — is the subordination, and civil society — the realm of economic relations — the decisive element" (Engels 2001, 76).

Antonio Gramsci had a markedly different understanding of civil society. Although Gramsci saw civil society as a distinct sphere, instead of a place of economic and civic negotiation, for him civil society exists both as a sphere in which government hegemony is exercised and as a place of conflict where the coercive nature of the state can be resisted and freedom protected. It "is the realm in which the existing social order is grounded; and it can also be the realm in which a new social order can be founded" (Cox 1999, 4). In Gramsci's understanding, the state is made up of political society and civil society, the former being what liberals would call the state or government, the sphere of hegemony, "coercion and domination" and the latter being the sphere of "consent and direction" (Kumar 1993, 382), where hegemony is exercised. For Gramsci the political society has hegemony over civil society and is dominant in informing social norms, relations, values and political practice, using coercion to manipulate civil society into becoming an extension of itself to complete the state. But civil society for Gramsci has a potential second purpose and can operate in a "counter-hegemonic" fashion and act as the "creative space, where subaltern groups, encouraged by intellectuals, can coalesce" (Katz 2006, 336) and form a counter movement to challenge the state and alter society. Civil Society is "both shaper and shaped, an agent of stabilisation and reproduction and a potential agent of transformation" (Cox 1999, 4). This idea of civil society's transformative nature based on social need as well as its ability to shape 'political society' is an important concept that this dissertation will continue to return back to.

Two themes or models of civil society have emerged in my reading of contemporary civil society loosely based on one of the two interpretations discussed above. The first has foundations in de Tocqueville, emphasising the importance of apolitical associational life in creating civic habits that promote democracy (Ahrne 1996; Howard 2002; Newton 2001; Putnam 1995). The second comes out of Gramsci's more confrontational understanding of civil society's political role as opposition to the 'state's' tyrannical predilections and works as a driver of political, economic and social change (Barber 2007; Berman 1997; Fukuyama 2001; 2002).

This distinction is clearly made by Foley and Edwards (1996) who attempt to create difference and position the two models as separate and incompatible, a view of civil society that this dissertation argues is false. They take issue with the idea that each school of thought emphasises certain roles of civil society (either promoting democracy through civic engagement or confronting tyrannical governments) based on situational and historical context and then that organisations are formed according to their distinct respective ideologies. Exasperated they complain how "[a]t times [civil society] seems to take on the property of a gas, expanding or contracting to fit the analytic sphere afforded it by each historical or sociopolitical setting" (1996, 4). Yet it is the assertion of this paper that civil society, as defined in the next paragraph, has the ability to meet the needs and transform according to unique social contexts which is precisely what empowers and defines the concept. When the context demands, civil society and individual actors within civil society are able to both promote democracy through apolitical civic engagement and challenge oppressive and coercive governments or elements of government.

While 'civil society' is a "notoriously slippery concept" (Riddell and Bebbigton 1995, 23), it is important for this dissertation to put forth a working definition of 'civil society' that is inclusive of the Mozambican context and accepted academically. This dissertation therefore relies on Keane's working definition which states that:

> "'civil society' refers (a) to the community of associations, initiatives, movements and networks in a social space related to, but distinguished from, government, business and the private sphere; (b) to a type of social action which takes place in the public sphere and is characterized by non-violence, discourse, self organisation, recognition of plurality and orientation towards general goals and civility; (c) a project with socially and geographically limited origins and

> universalistic claims which changes while it tends to expand, socially and geographically" (2006, vii).

The inclusion of political parties in civil society is contested by academics (Foley and Edwards 1996; Putnam 1995) as they often function as state actors as is the case in Mozambique. For that reason I exclude them from my definition of civil society. Likewise, the CIVICUS report on civil society in Mozambique excluded political parties from their research because of their "hegemonic political role in Mozambican society today" (Francisco et al 2007, xxiii).

3: Research Aim, Objective and Questions

3.1: Research Aim

Within resource rich nations with unrepresentative governments there tends to be a general alignment of government and investor interests versus those of community and civil society. While it is relatively easy to understand the motivations and actions of investors, communities and to a slightly lesser extent of governments, the role of civil society, particularly in the African context, is not well understood. Therefore this dissertation aims to contribute to the understanding of, how civil society is formed and delivers services in the face of social needs, government (in)action and economic pressures from investors.

3.2: Research Objective

Currently in Mozambique, and across Africa, land is coming under increasing pressure and conflict as national and international economic interests increasingly squeeze out rural communities in their rush to secure land in order to meet the growing global demand for agricultural products and natural resources and to profit from their steady increase in value. A number of organizations, including ORAM in Maputo, have formed in order to influence national and regional policies about land use and development and to assist local populations fend off external land claims and improve their capacity. I will discuss their work and individual cases that illustrate the issues at hand. In a broader context, my discussion of ORAM and land rights will serve as a case study to explore how conflicting interests between investors and government on one hand and NGOs and communities on the other hand are played against each other and resolved. Furthermore, I will investigate ORAM's role in Mozambican civil society and analyze the structure and character of civil society in Mozambique.

3.3: Research Questions

1) What is the current land rights legislation? What are the conflicts concerning land and land use in Mozambique? Who are the stakeholders? What are their interests?

2) What is the role of governments (regional and national) in land rights issues, and what is their relationship to stakeholders?

3) What is the impact NGOs have on land use and rights in both communities and on the national level? What are the successes and limitations?

4) How do these interactions help shape and define civil society in Mozambique?

4: Methodology

These questions were researched using three broad methods: semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and analysis of secondary data. The mixed method approach of triangulation was also used as "a vehicle for cross validation" (Jick 1979) of my data to strengthen the rigor, credibility and confidence of my findings. My research was focused entirely on qualitative data primarily because my topic revolved around interactions between entities within a state which could not easily be reduced to numbers (Bradley 1997) but also because limitations in resources during my research restricted my ability to gather quantitative data. Biases, both on the part of informants and researcher were accounted for in data analysis as well as issues of positionality. This chapter discusses these issues in more detail but begins by describing the research context.

4.1: Placement Context and Organisation Structure

My research was conducted while working at the head office of ORAM in Maputo. Its mission is to defend the rights and interests of farmers, to support community associations, and to ensure ownership and sustainable use of land and natural resources by rural communities. The role of the head office is to deal primarily with the organisation's national strategy, coordinate the efforts of delegation offices and perform lobby and advocacy at the national level. ORAM has six delegation offices that work throughout Mozambique on local project implementation as well as lobby and advocacy at the district and provincial level.

There is a high level of coordination between delegation offices and the central office. Delegations must operate within the national strategic framework, but each delegation seeks its own funding and works independently on projects. During my placement at ORAM I worked closely with the head of lobbying and advocacy, Adrivas, who also served as my gatekeeper and when necessary my translator. Through Adrivas I was introduced to Xiluva, the director of Women Gender and Development (*Mulher, Gênero e Desenvolvimento*—MuGeDe), an NGO focused on the development of rural women. In addition to my work with ORAM I also began to assist at MuGeDe and accompanied their staff on visits to communities and community meetings.

My research contacts radiated out from my relationship with ORAM which has a reputation both domestically and internationally for working on a high level with reputable organisations (Hanlon 2004; Oakland 2011; Taylor 2011). Therefore my research is grounded in an NGO-rich environment and reflects the views and activities of organisations that work at the top level of civil society within

Mozambique which informs my findings and understanding of land rights in Mozambique. It must be noted though that not all NGOs operate at this level, therefore my analysis reflects primarily the activities of the more influential and effective organisations in Mozambique.

4.2: Semi-Structured Interviews

My focus on the roles, responsibilities and interactions of NGOs made semi-structured interviews the most appropriate method to gather data. A majority of my interviews were with key informants from Mozambican NGOs, domestic and international funders and government officials (see Appendix A for a complete detailed list of key informants and ethical considerations). Due to limited access to rural communities, fewer interviews than anticipated were conducted with people in rural areas. The interviews conducted in communities were important as they informed my understanding of the issues concerning land at the local level, provided a personal, human-level insight that was lacking in the literature and gave voice to those being interviewed (Livingstone 2010). In the communities I conducted nine formal interviews with community leaders and members, all members of associations were accessed through association meetings. During one interview with a community leader, women kept joining until a small focus group was created consisting of a number of women from the association, my translator and representatives from ORAM's Zona Sul delegation. This proved to be a valuable source of information because it allowed me to see how individuals within associations interact with each other as well as with ORAM. Among other issues, community members were asked about their reliance on the land, relationships with NGOs and government and their personal capacitates to influence change in their own lives.

The thirteen key informants were a valuable source of information as they all were professionals or community leaders with extensive experience working in or with NGOs and government and were able to provide me with a nuanced understanding of issues. The interviews, which usually lasted an hour, consisted more of a two way discussion with ideas and concepts being brought into the discussion by both sides leading to a genuine sharing of knowledge versus question and answer sessions. This allowed new themes and concepts I had not thought of to emerge which helped shape the direction of subsequent research, a strategy endorsed by Sofaer (1999). While I rely on the expert testimony provided by the key informants throughout this dissertation, I recognize that this evidence is partial and that their responses are shaped by their professional and personal experiences (Marshall 1996). In presenting the data I have distinguished between assertions put forth by individuals and data that has

been corroborated by multiple sources. This is less of an issue when it comes to people discussing operational roles and internal structures of organisations they work with.

4.3: Participant Observations

My research was also informed by an element of participant observation. I lived with an educated middle-class Mozambican family that owned a four-hectare cashew farm. This host family provided me with knowledge and insights into Mozambican life and people, and gave me the opportunity to discuss cultural issues and gain clarification on local context (Herbert 2000; van Donge 2006). In addition, ORAM and MuGeDe both actively involved me in activities, such as internal meetings, an ORAM two-day conference on capacity building and strategies for improved project outcomes, government meetings, community visits, association meetings and project evaluations. This was particularly useful to my research as I was able to see how NGOs operate on a day to day basis and work within the broader Mozambican context which directly related to my dissertation topic. I also spent the first couple weeks improving my Portuguese to a level that allowed me to walk around community association meetings and have informal conversations. This helped me develop a deeper understanding of issues because the informal nature of these conversations encouraged people to talk more freely, a sentiment echoed by Patton (2002). Observations and conversations were documented in my research diary and included in my analysis. By treating all these situations as well as daily activities and conversations as potential information and systematically recording them in my research diary I was able to create a broad understanding of the cultural issues which helped shape my research (Lorenz and Kolb 2009).

4.4: Secondary Literature Analysis

While conducting research there were subtle shifts in my topic which required a secondary literature analysis while in the field that explored areas not thoroughly researched prior to leaving for placement. The secondary literature review helped me create new lines of questioning to follow up in my interviews. While at ORAM I gained access to reports that were not available outside of the organisation. I read and analysed annual reports from each delegation going back several years as well as ORAM's strategic framework which created an in-depth understanding of the organisation structure of ORAM as a whole and the particular roles and responsibilities each delegation independently pursue and the challenges they face in doing so.

4.5: Positionality

My positionality while conducting research was incredibly complex at times. Many of my interviews were set up using ORAM contacts and I was able to introduce myself as a student working with ORAM. During community meetings attended with MuGeDe I was introduced as a member of ORAM which presented me with the awkward task of representing an organisation that had a stake in the communities. Therefore my concern was how people would see me, how I would be seen as a representative of ORAM and how that might affect the reputation of ORAM (Binns 2006; Twyman et al 1999). When speaking to people after this introduction I would attempt to clarify my role as a student, but often times my presence as an obvious outsider prompted curiosity rather than contempt or concerns of power. By interacting in ways that demonstrated equality such as attempting to communicate through hand gestures or Portuguese, sitting on the floor, eating raw cassava that was constantly pushed into my hands, and all with an approachable smile and laugh, I found that I was able to use my obvious outsider status to more easily integrate (Mills 2001). When I returned to communities people instantly recognised me and often approached me which led to natural conversations based on mutual respect and partially stripped me of my 'outsider' status (Mohammad 2001).

4.6: Limitations of Data

One of the biggest limitations in gathering research was the language barrier. Very few people that I encountered spoke English and although Adrivas was often available to assist with translation, I felt, that particularly in communities, people responded better when I interviewed them in Portuguese. Using their language improved the rapport and addressed issues of power and positionality (Cupples and Kindon 2003; Temple 2002) but as my level of Portuguese is relatively low some of the nuances and detail of the conversations were lost. I conducted three key informant interviews in Portuguese one of which I recorded and was able to pick up on most of the detail after the fact, but during the interview I missed several opportunities for follow up questions and further exploration of points made.

The other major limitation of my data was with access to respondents. I initially intended to conduct more interviews in communities but without my organisation gaining access to communities was very difficult. As a result, all of the individuals in rural communities I spoke with were members of associations that either worked with ORAM or MuGeDe, and I believe my position within ORAM influenced their responses. Because I was aware of this while conducting research and during analysis

of the data I still consider the data as credible and thorough. Also, as I stated above, most of my research radiated out from ORAM, therefore my understanding of land rights was somewhat predicated on a specific viewpoint. I began to realise this during the research process and mitigated the harm to the reliability of my data by making contacts through previously established contacts, expanding my research network beyond the direct sphere of ORAM.

Given the length of research and topic I do not feel that these limitations are excessive and do not pose severe questions regarding the credibility or rigor of the data gathered and the subsequent analysis, presentation, and discussion within this dissertation.

4.7: Data Analysis

My primary research source is interviews with key informants and rural communities. All key informant interviews minus one were recorded using a Dictaphone with corresponding notes in my research diary and were transcribed as close to verbatim as possible, usually the same day and reviewed for accuracy to ensure rigor in my data (Poland 1995). Interviews in the communities were not recorded using a Dictaphone but I took detailed notes in my research diary. I also made detailed notes of relevant conversations I had during informal conversations in communities and during daily activities. Interview transcripts and notes from my research diary were analysed using the grounded theory method (Annells 1996; Kendall 1999). Concepts or categories were extracted from my research through coding which allowed *in-vivo* themes to develop naturally out of the research (Ryan and Bernard 2003; Strauss and Corbin 1990). This process of grounded theory method allowed my research to lead me to my conclusions which helped mitigate research bias (Corbin and Strauss 1990). As prescribed by Mauthner and Doucet, I was also reflexive in my analysis to minimise my "personal, interpersonal, institutional, pragmatic, emotional, theoretical, epistemological and ontological influences" (2003) on my analysis and conclusions. Colleagues within ORAM were also consulted as themes began to develop which helped me determine anomalies from themes that should be pursued further.

5: Analysis and Discussion of Data

My analysis and discussion is structured so that each section within this chapter corresponds to my research questions. The first two sections are primarily concerned with discussing empirical data on the relationship communities and investors have with the land as well as government, and the implications this has for development and poverty alleviation. The third section also relies on empirical data but discusses the role NGOs play in empowering, protecting and advocating for communities both on the provisional and national levels. The final section uses the analysis of research from the previous sections as well as empirical data to discuss the formation and structuring of civil society in response community need, government (in)action and external pressures.

5.1: Land Use in Mozambique

Land is at the centre of this dissertation. Understanding who the major stakeholders are and their relationship with the land based on empirical research gathered during my placement in Mozambique is a necessary foundation for reaching the stated objectives. Although government has a stake in land use, they are generally one step removed from direct production and do not work or interact directly with the land; instead they are concerned with larger land use strategies. Therefore this section focuses on communities, investors and their relationship with land and each other, while government is discussed in the following section.

5.1.1: Rural Communities and Land

Rural communities in Mozambique can vary drastically. 'Communities' in this dissertation refers to rural and peri-urban groups of people whose main form of livelihood is agriculture. In my research I visited a small community that consisted solely of a limited extended family far removed from any major road or village centre as well as a few communities that consisted of several thousand people and were just miles from the large urban core of Maputo. What linked them in terms of my research was their general reliance on land and agricultural production. The term *camponês*, (*camponeses* for plural) will be used to define people within communities directly working the land.

Every person I spoke with in communities constantly reiterated the cultural significance and nutritional importance of land for their survival. While the cultural and traditional values of the land were mentioned as secondary to the agricultural need, people were persistent in ensuring that I understood their emotional connection to the land. As noted by Vermeulen and Cotula "land in Africa, as

elsewhere, has important spiritual and social values, so that purely economic calculations are unlikely to capture local perceptions about proposed land deals" (2010). One elderly woman talked about how the community she lived in was named after her grandfather and was able to definitively trace back her family's presence on the same land for at least 120 years, thus demonstrating how connected to the land she felt. Scholars like Shackleton et al (2002) have observed such ties in other countries and even argued that the cultural value sometimes supersedes that of direct agricultural use. Yet due to the heavy dependence on land for subsistence in Mozambique my research would not be able to substantiate this claim of culture over use.

Many communities, even when they are located near major cities, have little access to markets, be it for labour, agricultural products or manufactured goods, meaning that there is minimal commercial activity in rural Mozambique. As a result, communities are forced to rely on local products cultivated from the ground or harvested from surrounding natural resources. Communities explained how the land is essential for food and shelter but also is the main source of their minimal cash income. This was true for communities such as Boene and Magude in Maputo province and for the women I bought my produce from in the streets and markets. The realty of this situation was revealed to me during several visits I made to these communities to attend farmers' and women's association meetings. The diet of people in rural communities during the rainy season is rather varied and includes maize, sweet potatoes and leafy vegetables. However, I visited during the dry season and saw how people relied nearly entirely on *mandioca* (cassava) and ate seeds provided by the government which were intended for planting, meaning poor nutrition is clearly an issue. A main concern for numerous women interviewed was finding food for their young children or grandchildren. This supports findings by the Oakland Institute (2011) who calculate rates of under five chronic malnutrition as high as 46.4 percent in 2008-2009. Sylvain[1], a member of ORAM's board of directors recounted how in his rural upbringing he "grew up knowing that land was the security for the life of a lot of people […] only the land was a way for [them] to get food, to get something to wear, not even shoes, when rain did not come there was lots of suffering." While he was referring to colonial times, similar sentiments were common among people living in rural areas now.

Methods of agricultural production have changed very little since colonial times as well. A farmer association leader talked extensively about how *camponeses* are unable to cultivate much land and

[1] All names have been kept confidential through the use of pseudonyms.

have low outputs due to a lack of improved technologies such as advanced seeds and animal traction or tractors. Hoes are the principal tool used by *camponeses* which makes cultivation a labour intensive process, as demonstrated to me by a group of women (see Appendix B), and the lack of advanced seeds limits the output potential. Even in Boene which is relatively close to larger markets, *camponeses* asserted that given the limited agricultural surplus they were able to produce and the lack of physical infrastructure, such as paved roads or busses, it was not profitable to try and sell their products. It is difficult for cash to find its way into communities when people struggle to make money off of their primary activities. This poses a large obstacle because without money communities are unable to integrate into the wider Mozambican society and struggle to develop from within. Valdik, the director of a network of civil society organisations explained how *camponeses* "cannot purchase advanced tools and inputs without an economy, they can do nothing to better their situation without making money, […] this also traps *camponeses* because they cannot talk to banks and reinvest in their farms" (Valdik). According to Reardon and Vosti (1995) the lack of a cash economy also limits communities' ability to access credit and purchase advanced seeds and inputs resulting in continued low outputs, yet both Valdik and Reardon and Vosti see community involvement with banks as a positive in principle. Bingen, Serrano and Howard (2003) point out that without practical management, organisational and fiscal education, access to credit can actually be a negative for rural farmers who can get stuck in a debt trap.

In rural Mozambique many communities or people within communities organise into associations to share information, pool resources, resolve conflicts and promote development from within the community. These associations are able to gain legal government recognition so they have a potential to impact the community. Some associations are formed with assistance from outside NGOs that have experience organising communities, while others grow organically out of need without external help, as a leader from the Boene farmer association claimed was the situation in Boene. According to him, the Boene farmer association formed in 1990 to create a unified voice to "ask the government for food and meals, seeds, other things to earn money for education of the children." Its organisational structure has evolved over time to meet the demands of the community as well as accommodate its growing membership which is currently roughly 1,050 members. They exist as a mutual support association to assist needy members during times of illness, crop failure or hunger and hold weekly meetings to address these issues and to assist with conflict resolution and discuss any other community concerns.

5.1.2: Investors and Land

Despite multiple attempts using a few different contacts I was unable to speak to any investors or representatives for my research, meaning that the data presented here relies entirely on information presented by others. It was clear to all people interviewed that the clear objective of investors is to make a profit. As mentioned previously there is a growing global demand for agricultural products as a result of growing demand for biofuels, market liberalisation, increase of global population and changing diets. All these factors result in higher prices and the potential for increased profit for agricultural producers (Cotula et al. 2009; Cotula 2011; Deininger et al. 2011).

Beginning in May of 2012, the Mozambican government with support from Brazil and Japan began to map and allocate land in the northern section of the country to make it available for Brazilian investors. The project, dubbed ProSavannah was one of the primary issues being discussed at ORAM during my research. According to a draft of a report that is due to be published by ORAM sometime in September 2012, between 5.5 and 6 million hectares across four provinces are going to be made available for investors. According to the report, the intention is to include *camponeses* in much of the development by either supplying them with inputs such as seeds, fertiliser and herbicide or access to credit. According to Hyacinta, the Mozambican director of the Agency for Cooperation and Research in Development (ACORD), a pan-African funding NGO, this presents potential problems because it can create "large amounts of debt for farmers. If they have to buy the seeds on credit and then there is no rain they still owe money." Furthermore, the transition from subsistence farming to commercial farming promotes monocropping which is risky because the failure of a single crop can lead to hunger and starvation (Altieri 2009). The draft also points out that due to the highest investor interest, much of the land being allocated has available water supplies and more productive soils.

5.1.3: Investor-Community Relations

Cases such as ProSavannah demonstrate the large quantity of land being afforded to international investors and the potential for conflict it creates. Although communities are protected by the law they are in a highly unfavourable position as they don't have the financial resources investors do, and they are often unaware of their rights as a result of low education levels in rural Mozambique. Although levels of rural childhood education have been steadily rising over the last 15 years (Mather, Cunguara and Boughton 2008), rural adult literacy still remains remarkably low (see Appendix C). This presents a number of issues from realisation of personal potential to an inability to understand and advocate for

individual and community legal protections. As a result of poor education individuals, particularly in communities near Maputo, expressed an inability to integrate into larger and particularly urban Mozambican society as they were unable to read where busses were going, write letters to their children's teachers or make basic mathematical calculations to plan a household budget. While these issues have real effects on the ability of individuals to reach their potential the impact of low levels of education are compounded when it threatens the livelihood of individuals or communities. Their livelihood is directly threatened when they are unable to read land contracts presented to them by investors or do not know the legal protections afforded to them by the 1997 land law. Although I began to reach this conclusion based on anecdotal evidence supplied by NGO workers, a visit to a community in Gaza province on my last day of research provided me with a clear example of how illiteracy and a lack of education has direct consequences.

This community was advised by a government official to sign away a substantial piece of productive land next to a river to a South African sugar company. During the interview I was presented with a stack of unorganised legal documents, all written entirely in English, that gave the company a 50-year lease on the land and complete freedom to indiscriminately use and pollute the soil and water supply, creating a regional impact on communities downriver as well (Jägerskog et al 2012). In addition the contract mandated that any subsequent legal arbitration would be handled in South African courts and that the community received only a small percentage of the profits. The community leader, an 82 year old woman, was illiterate, did not speak Portuguese (let alone English), was not given independent counsel and was genuinely surprised when I outlined some of the details of the contract to her. This community was not chosen for my research to emphasize the problem of manipulative investors. In fact it was my research that brought the issue to the attention of ORAM which highlights the magnitude of this problem in Mozambique.

While this community was relatively fortunate as only a section of their land was relinquished, other communities face relocation as tracts ranging from a few hectares to well over 100,000 hectares (Oakland 2011) are conceded by the government to investors without the legally required consultation process (Vermeulen and Cotula 2010). In the province of Tete, Sebastian, a Mozambican who heads the country office of Norwegian People's Aid (NPA) was directly involved with assisting a community that had been relocated from productive land with a water supply to accommodate a coal mine. In his words,

> "this process was done in a non-participant manner. The process of identifying the space, constructing the houses, there was no discussion to ask what the expectation of those that are moving place, but the investors with the government made this process and the result was inadequate housing and far inferior land."

This places stress on communities and threatens their livelihood and has the potential to provoke hunger and malnutrition. In other cases, according to Sebastian, communities have sold pieces of land for social services and infrastructure such as roads, hospitals, schools and ambulances and investors have not neglected to realise their end of the contract.

Although this pattern seems to be the norm currently with large projects being documented and often heavily criticised by researchers[2], in the opinion of Sylvain, Adrivas, Sebastian and many people throughout different communities there is a need for economic development in Mozambique based on large-scale agricultural developments. As Adrivas from ORAM explained:

> "All the country needs investors whether it comes from outside or inside, that is very necessary. Investment is an opportunity for Mozambique to develop things like nutritional self sufficiency, but we must be clear that it cannot create land conflicts. How investors behave towards communities determines a lot. Will the relations be contentious or will they be partners? The communities need partners; they want to partner with investors because it *can* create opportunities."

While discussing these potential opportunities with Hyacinta from ACORD and Xiluva from MuGeDe in subsequent interviews, they independently made it clear that these opportunities will not be realised without the active participation of communities, associations and most importantly local traditional leaders.

Traditional leaders play an important yet controversial role in community interaction with investors. They are in a position of power, and when they see issues they have the ability to reach out to government officials and defend rights of the community. However, "they feel they have more power because the people depend on them so they can manipulate the situation. They are therefore

[2] Examples include the 30,000 hectare Procana project in the Limpopo valley (Vermeulen and Cotula 2010); 5,000 hectare Sun Biofuels projest in Manica Province (Norfolk and Hanlon 2012); 172,000 hectares of projects by Green Resources across northern provinces (Sharife 2011); and 173,324 hectare Portucel project in Zambezia (Oakland 2011) among others.

susceptible to influence" (Sylvain) and corruption. Examples such as the 82 year old woman were commonly relayed to me during my research to exemplify how traditional leaders have been known to completely disregard the interest and needs of communities by signing away land either out of personal gain or as a result of low levels of education and lack of capacity to negotiate with investors. This is compounded by what Ingrid, the Mozambican, Angolan and Namibian country director of Bread for the World (*Brot für die Welt*—Brot), a European church-based international aid agency who has been working in Mozambique for 25 years, describes as the "traditional idea that peasants accept when there is a decision on the higher level and stop fighting for their rights, they think 'oh they have more power than us' and they stop fighting for their rights." This issue as well as other issues with traditional leaders such as the (under)representation of women and minority groups within a community are explored further by Logan (2009).

5.2: Government Interaction

It is impossible to discuss the Mozambican government as a unified entity with unified motivations and objectives.

Valdik's professional interactions with government has led him to assert that "sometimes you find a minister that is sensitive to social issues and other times not, some of them are well trained academically and know what they are doing and some don't. Some ministers don't understand they hold a position of decision for the people, they just decide what they feel like." He highlighted the Ministry of Agriculture as being more responsive but stopped short of naming individual ministries or officials as corrupt or unresponsive. Yet according to several sources that wished to remain completely anonymous on this subject, corruption is common in all ministries and levels of government. Frequent conversations with a member of ORAM's board (who was not formally interviewed) and works closely with the government in his non-ORAM professional capacity, described how there are differing views of development within government as well. He says that there are internal discussions within government concerning the best strategies of rural poverty alleviation and development with proponents of both bottom up community capacity building and top down large agricultural investments present. This was also reflected in my research which shows the government implementing projects and policies using both the bottom up and top down approach as well as in the literature on Mozambique (Oakland 2011). While the benefits of increasing the productivity of

smallholders are more gradual the effects of large-scale agricultural projects are more visible, widespread and immediate.

5.2.1: Bottom Up Community Centred Policies

According to Hanlon and Mosse (2010) there is a high level of social dependency on the government that can be traced back to the country's socialist history. Evidence from communities confirms this in regard to the Ministry of Agriculture, and Valdik acknowledges that the Ministry is reasonably responsive to the needs of communities. Communities assert that the Ministry of Agriculture is committed to helping them improve their living condition and increase outputs saying that the Ministry sends technicians into the communities to offer training, education and also provides inputs such as seed (which people eat during the dry season) and irrigation. Upon further questioning community members acknowledged that the government has yet to follow through on constructing irrigation infrastructure. The extent of this assistance seemed to be exaggerated by Mlcaela, a policy analyst in the Mozambican Ministry of Agriculture, who claimed that government provided all communities with abundant inputs and blanket services such as education, training, legal advice, conflict mediation and irrigation. While being very appreciative of the support received, a community leader expressed that he was "happy with the help, but the amount of seed provided by the government is not enough for all of us, and chemicals, well they must be going to other communities, but clearly they want to help reduce our suffering." According to the communities researched, the government stops short of providing education on their rights and legal protections accorded by the 1997 land law and has only recently even attempted to include them in generating rural policy.

Even though community leaders insisted that government has been attempting to include them in policy decisions, the details they could provide were rather opaque. Anisia, a representative from the Foundation for Community Development (*Fundação para o Desenvolvimento da Comunidade* – FDC) a major funding NGO in Mozambique, was able to provide clarity on the issue. She believed that the communities were referring to the District Consultative Councils, a government initiative aimed at community participation in government. These councils create the opportunity for communities to participate at the district level and create space for open discussions on important issues and thus promote more community involvement in monitoring government policies. "The whole exercise starts at the district level, there is a feeding up from the bottom but also vice versa information flow from the top down" (Anisia), thus opening up the vertical flow of information.

5.2.2: Top Down Investment Centred Approach

Within communities there are government programs and policies being implemented that promote capacity building and attempt to contribute to rural poverty alleviation, but these are undermined by the active promotion of large-scale land investments by elements within the government. Although the two policies are not necessarily contradictory, the prioritisation of investors over communities by powerful government interests puts them in direct conflict with one another.

Those within the government that promote large-scale land investments, either based on the belief it will bring development and poverty alleviation or based on personal stakes in large-scale investments, claim agricultural and resource extractive industries will bring development in the form of jobs, improved infrastructure, income diversification and economic benefits to local communities as well as the nation (Chilundo et al 2005). This viewpoint was promoted in an interview with Mlcaela who claimed that not only will the above benefits be realised but large agricultural projects will improve community access to markets, reduce the cost of processing cash crops for smallholders and improve access to improved seed, issues which she saw as obstacles faced by communities.

Contrary to this belief, individuals within ORAM such as Adrivas question the claims by government and industry of widespread benefits by claiming that they are overstated and that the negative consequences are ignored. Using cases his civil society network worked on, Valdik provided the examples of Procana and Areias de Chibuto as two companies that promised to provide infrastructure and jobs for local communities but have not done so. Instead of providing the promised infrastructure, Procana blocked the road to the river. Areias de Chibuto relocated people, giving them only minimal financial compensation, instead of providing them with the promised jobs. This pattern is consistent with community-investor relations researchers have documented across Mozambique (Fairbairn 2011; Hanlon 2004; Oakland 2011). Large-scale agriculture also has the potential to undercut local markets with its improved inputs and production methods making it even more difficult for smallholders to profit financially from their land. Sebastian with NPA explained how even the investors' promises of sustainable jobs to local communities are overstated. He argued that levels of rural education and literacy are so low that peasants are largely unemployable in any skilled capacity. While people might find work clearing the land or building infrastructure, these jobs offer only short-term employment. He continues by asserting that "there is no contribution to poverty reduction in this."

While one can debate the benefits of large investments, several sources who wish to remain anonymous told me that these conversations can be irrelevant within the government as personal interest and often corruption trump reasonable argumentation. Although it is difficult if not impossible to measure the impact corruption has on government decisions, it was mentioned or alluded to in nearly every key informant interview I conducted. Government tends to back large investors which magnifies the power of investors in relation to communities. According to Hyacinta this support does not always have to come through official channels: individuals in government positions sometimes write letters of endorsement which often is enough to coerce communities into making deals with investors. The 82 year old community leader I spoke with who signed away her community's land said she did so based on a government official telling her she should trust the investor and that it was a good deal for her and her community.

Government efforts at the community level are aimed at promoting the quality of life for *camponeses*, improving capacity and reducing poverty but are not extensive enough in their coverage or approach, leaving room for outside entities such as NGOs to work alongside to achieve common objectives. Yet government policy concerning large-scale projects requires opposition and challenge at a level beyond what communities have the capacity for, leaving a void in the social fabric that requires filling.

5.3: NGOs in Society

5.3.1: NGOs in the Community

When designing and implementing projects, both ORAM and MuGeDe tend to work directly with community associations because, according to Sousa, the director of ORAM's Nampula delegation in Northern Mozambique, it is easier to coordinate and work with an organised political structure. When partner communities are identified, either through the community contacting ORAM or ORAM identifying a need, one of the primary objectives is to explain the benefits of forming an association and then assisting with the documents to become legally recognised. The purpose of my first community visit with ORAM was to assist in the creation of an educational video highlighting the benefits of organising community-based associations. This video featured interviews with members from several associations and was disseminated to communities across Mozambique through each delegation. In addition to creating associations, ORAM prioritised educating communities on their rights to the land and protections as outlined by the 1997 land law and initiating the process of delimitation or demarcation if not already done (Sylvain, Adrivas and Sousa). According to Sylvain

and Sousa, who have worked with ORAM for 20 and 9 years respectively, as ORAM gained experience over the years, it has shifted its efforts from conflict resolution to preparing communities pre-emptively for conflict.

Both ORAM and MuGeDe believe that education, both in terms of literacy and specifically on land law, is a necessary condition for the promotion of community development from within. For that reason, once associations are created, they work directly with them to create general knowledge, develop skills and design empowerment programmes. These programmes such as sewing, reading and writing, maths, Portuguese language and cooking raise the capacity of individuals to generate income. As Xiluva, MuGeDe's director stated, "[people] cannot participate if they don't have income generation, at the end of the day they are not able to continue to advocate if they don't have bread at home, if their children don't have food to eat. It is for this reason we work on empowering people with projects of income generation." This idea of empowerment through income generation is integrated into how MuGeDe works with associations and communities to promote the welfare of women. When MuGeDe organises large meetings in the communities of its partner associations they purchase a cow and roughly a dozen chickens and pay community members to slaughter and prepare these animals and feed the entire association. According to Xiluva and the women I spoke to, for many in the association this is the only meat they get all month, and for the women who prepare the meal this is often the only income they receive all month.

As an NGO that focuses on land, land use, and land rights, each delegation within ORAM also works with communities to create projects that build agricultural capacity based on local needs. In 2011, the Sofala delegation assisted its community by providing nine water pumps for irrigation (Sofala 2011), Zona Sul created ten rainwater collection programs for irrigation in one community and supplied two traction animals for another in the same year (Zona Sul 2011) and in Niassa they held several agricultural training sessions (Niassa 2011). In addition each delegation attempts to provide inputs such as advanced seeds to different communities according to need. While these projects are implemented with support from ORAM, ORAM aims to ensure community ownership of the project, as Sousa from the Nampula delegation explained:

> "when a community comes to us with their concerns, what we say to them is we can help you but please know this is your project, you have to design it and when you have designed it we can try to get funds, but please know that this is your responsibility. […] This is the way it is,

> ORAM does not go and say you have this and that problem and you need to do this. In the beginning it was like that but now we have realised we cannot force any issue that they do not want. This must be the will of the community."

The emphasis on community-managed projects and on the independence of each delegation was described to me by several ORAM staff members as the strength of the organisation. "Each delegation knows what it must do independently, all the delegations work under one umbrella to reach the same goal, it is why we are able to make such change across the country" (Adrivas). This is possible because ORAM has delegations across the country that employ local people who understand local needs to work in the communities to build relationships. In fact, as Sylvain proudly claimed, during the most recent elections ORAM was contracted to conduct independent polling as they are nationally known for their political independence and for having reliable sources throughout rural Mozambique.

Many of the activities carried out on the ground by NGOs such as MuGeDe and ORAM are done with government support or partnership. Two of the community meetings I observed were also attended by provincial government officials and in one case by a national level government official. A district official in Magude explained how working with NGOs like MuGeDe and community associations enable her to understand the concerns of communities, what projects work well, and create and coordinate government initiates that benefitted rural communities. In my research many people maintained that some of the work being done by NGOs really is the responsibility of government but conceded that NGOs have to assume responsibility whenever government is not present. It is this space that NGOs are trying to provide services to communities that ought to be the responsibility of the government, as Anisia from FDC said:

> "[NGOs] are trying to complement what the government is doing or supposed to be doing even when they are not there, but we are not going to sit and wait for the government to do those things because there are people that are suffering, that don't have education, don't have water so if we can manage to mobilise resources and create programmes to minimise the suffering of those people, for us it is good enough, so I think that is what we are trying to do."

Unfortunately NGOs, even reasonably well funded national ones such as ORAM, are unable to meet the demand of rural communities across Mozambique. The issue of funding often limits their ability to meet the needs within individual communities. Xiluva, was faced with either terminating MuGeDe's

work in one community or scaling back projects in several communities as a result of insufficient funding. The lack of funds also limits the ability of NGOs to hire capable and educated people to carry out their activities, particularly at the national level.

> "When we go to the under-ministers and government staff they will not talk about the politics, they will bring lots of numbers and demonstrations and are very technical, they will use all mechanisms to make you forget about the issue. That is why ORAM needs to have resources, capacity and educated staff to challenge government. We also need smart people with high levels of capacity to raise the profile of ORAM and write grants etc., this is the big weakness we have" (Sylvain).

Ingrid from Brot saw the risk of organisations focusing too heavily on internal issues such as funding and capacity, and losing focus on the needs of communities they are responsible for representing as another possible challenge for NGOs at the community level.

5.3.2: NGOs at the National Level

NGOs like MuGeDe and ORAM also play crucial roles in a national context. They take on the responsibility of translating their in-depth knowledge of community issues to become the voice of communities. Two of the ORAM funders I spoke with acknowledged that one of the primary reasons they support ORAM is its role in the national political discourse. Sebastian at NPA stated that "we feel it is important to support ORAM central because they have such a strong linkage, they use evidence from the provincial and use it at the national level with their advocacy work."

ORAM's research into investments by foreign entities is generally orchestrated through the central office. Adrivas explained the process to me using their current investigation of ProSavannah as an example. Through an anonymous contact within the government, ORAM received a tip that a large land project was being discussed at the national level. It investigated the deal using contacts within the government to determine who the key players were and what areas were being discussed. ORAM then commissioned an independent contractor to conduct research on current land use and levels of community knowledge of their rights and of the impending land deal. This was the stage they were at during my placement, but with information from the report they planned to create a coalition of interested parties to put together an action plan, including community education, land demarcation and a unified lobbying plan at the national level. Sylvain explained how presenting the national

government with facts and detailed knowledge of the affected communities is the only way to be taken seriously. "If you are able to show that you have the information, that you have done the research, that you know how many people will be displaced, it becomes much more difficult for [government] to brush you away, this is the only way we can challenge the connections between government and investors."

Both ORAM and MuGeDe also actively promote the increased awareness of community needs on the national level. "This advocacy begins with educating district and provincial officials on the land issues communities face" Sousa with the Nampula delegation argued, saying that he does this by communicating the status of projects to officials and inviting them to see their progress. He said that he was very fortunate in his province because the government is responsive to his invitations and works with him and other organisations. Yet conversations he has had with his counterparts in other delegations led him to believe that his situation is unique. Having an impact on the national level is slightly more difficult because, according to Valdik, officials do not make time to hear just one organisation. That is why organisations join coalitions like Valdik's which is a network of 40 organisations that work independently in a variety of areas but all collaborate and work together on issues of food security to create a unified voice to lobby government. Valdik's network is seen as effective by ACORD who funds the organisation and by ORAM and MuGeDe who are both active members. According to Valdik, one of the principal strategies of his network is to organise summits and invite government officials to present their concerns. Ingrid from Brot believed this, along public discussions is the best way to lobby the government.

> "The best way is to make a discussion in a nice place here in Maputo and invite interested people and advertise it in the newspaper and then the journalist will talk about it, the article will talk about the event and the outcome of the event. In this way individuals are able to protect themselves and not become marginalised. To knock on doors of one minister does not make any sense."

Throughout my research there was an increasing interest in the idea of networks and their power to lobby effectively, Anisia from FDC even argued that networks are to NGOs as NGOs are to community associations.

5.4: Social Need and External Pressure, the Place of Civil Society

The discussion of civil society in this final section is based on research done on land issues in Mozambique within the context of the NGO-rich environment I was working in. Therefore my usage of the term 'civil society', as defined earlier, is contextualised within this environment. To analyse the character and structure of civil society in Mozambique I rely on findings presented earlier in this chapter as well as on empirical data on civil society ascertained from interviews with key informants active in civil society.

According to Sebastian at NPA, Mozambican society only began to become aware of the concept of civil society in the early "1990s when [Mozambicans] started to speak about democratisation which created space to have civil society." The end of socialist rule during this period led to a "rapid retreat of the state in the lives of ordinary Mozambicans […] and quickly cleared a space for the emergence of an "independent" civil society" (Pfeiffer 2004, 359). This period is characterised by the centralised government's loosening of its tight grip on society which opened up space for public conversations about social issues and governments role in addressing these issues. The absence of government control and support leaves "an enlarged political space within which associational life can occur. Under these conditions, groups within civil society enjoy greater opportunities to attract a following, develop a bureaucratic form, and formulate policy alternatives" (Bratton 1989, 412). Although it took a while for organisations to distance themselves from the political institution, this is precisely what happened in Mozambique in the 1990s. The government began to recognise community associations, and some of the stronger associations, such as the associational predecessor to ORAM, turned into formal NGOs with a stated mission and objectives (Sylvain).

There was a clear need for the creation of ORAM when land reforms were being passed as the livelihoods of rural communities were threatened and there was a lack of capacity on the part of individual *camponeses* or communities to advocate for their rights. Xiluva explained how as an advocate for women's rights she saw a demand for programs that promoted the welfare of women and as a result founded MuGeDe. With every organisation I spoke with, social need was the driving force behind their creation. While their activities constantly evolved to meet the specific needs of communities, the demand for community-based development continued as the foundation or primary need.

This focus on community-based development can be seen throughout the structure of each organisation I worked with. For example ORAM's global aim reads: "[s]trengthening the peasants to be key players in the movement capabilities of promoting rural community development strategies" (ORAM 2011), and FDC has a vission that sates:

> "We believe in Mozambican communities with participatory decision-making mechanisms and who have the ability to lead local development processes, promote dialogue and partnership among themselves and with the State, civil society and the private sector to achieve their development" (FDC 2012).

According to Bratton (1989) civil society's preoccupation with community-based development presents potential issues. He argues that too much dependence on bottom-up strategies could cause a decaying of civil society as communities attempt to manipulate the distribution of resources in their favour. This does present a real concern for Mozambican civil society; in one community where I conducted research there were four NGOs working, an anonymous source from one of them told me that the community had been attempting to create an atmosphere of competition between the organisations. While these issues were still being resolved, it presented an opportunity for a coalition to be built and cooperation to develop between two of the organisations. Azarya has a variant precaution concerning civil society. He is apprehensive of civil society's repressive potential stating "that influence and authority are not the exclusive domain of the state" (Azarya 1988, 5).

Both Bratton and Azarya's concerns about the credibility of civil society can be mitigated if proper checks and balances are built into civil society. Both ORAM and MuGeDe have institutionalised their beneficiaries into the structure of their organisation through processes such as association meetings. During meetings run by MuGeDe any member is allowed to voice their concerns (see Appendix D), and the annual meeting of the general council for ORAM creates a forum for community input. In addition to checks and balances, civil society also must be reflexive to ensure that they build in two way channels of communication and hear the needs of the entire community.

According to Anisia with FDC, the 2010 food riots in Maputo were an example of civil society's failure to do just that. For her, people being driven to the streets as a result of hunger indicated a lack of reflexivity on the part of civil society and a breakdown in communication.

> "When the protests happened civil society was not there, people were angry […] but here we are as civil society saying we are protecting the rights of disadvantaged people, they got to the point where they said we are not doing our jobs. So that is the challenge for us as civil society, learning how we can link up with these people, they are not organised and have no formal way of voicing their opinions" (Anisia).

What this shows is a growing level of self-awareness and an attempt by Mozambican civil society to be more reflexive and responsive to the needs of communities without allowing itself to be manipulated by communities or compromised by government. While civil society attempts to respond and accommodate the needs of communities, its relationship with government is much more complex and in a constant state of readjustment. In Mozambique government influences the shape of civil society both through its actions and inactions. Adrivas argued that when government puts forward a law or creates new strategies for issues like dealing with rural poverty, civil society has to be prepared to scrutinize the details and oppose oppressive measures and work towards creating more inclusive terms. When government does not provide a service such as agricultural education or disseminating information concerning the land law to rural communities leading to food and land insecurity, it is civil society that must fill the void (Hyacinta). It is this constant reaction to government that has partially defined civil society. Yet civil society is not a victim of government or helplessly stuck reacting to government whims. Instead it pushes back and influences government, it proactively creates change in government mentality, and it acts as a platform from which a more inclusive social order can be created and maintained (Cox 1999).

> "Civil society does not aim to criticise government in Mozambique, it tries to use legal tools to force the government into implementing the land law properly. People with political power and influence, they go take the land without following the law, civil society goes against them. When government wants to use their power and not follow the laws, and we call that abuse of power, well then it becomes a conflictual relationship between civil society and government" (Sebastian).

This highlights how civil society or actors within civil society have a mandate to represent the interest of their beneficiaries and to work with government to do so. Yet when government disregards or oppresses the rights of society, civil society must become confrontational. There was nearly a unanimous sentiment among my key informants on the importance of civil society to engage with

government on behalf of communities and to defend community rights as they do not have the capacity to defend themselves. This is echoed by Howard (2002) who feels that civil society is necessary as it has the means to gain the government's attention and thus to protect society from unjust laws. Yet some argue that this type of interaction with government by civil society legitimises their position in power.

Bratton, based on a narrow reading of Gramsci[3], argues that civil society legitimises government power by manufacturing political consent. "In this way, civil society serves the 'hegemonic" function of justifying state domination. For as long as civic actors grant consent, civil society exists in a complementary relationship to the state" (Bratton 1994, 9). In my opinion, this is both based on a faulty premise and an inaccurate assessment of civil society's relationship with government. In Mozambique civil society has to act in relation to government (in)action, when people are suffering or there is need for action. My research has shown that civil society acts where government does not. Civil society in Mozambique does not abandon their mission when they believe that government is exercising its power and control over communities or when they don't agree with the politics or the corruption of government. Neither are they manufacturing consent within society or sanctioning the domination of the state. Instead they work with elements within the government to reach solutions as long as feasible, as evidenced by interactions between ORAM or MuGeDe and government. If such cooperation is elusive, they challenge the elements that are not representing the interest of communities, as evidenced by ORAM confronting the government-investor relationship. No one interviewed outside of the government believed that there was a high level of good governance or denied the existence of corrupt elements within government that represent moneyed interest over those of society. Sylvain was not alone when he said that "we fight for the poor and good will and it does not matter what party is in power or how they behave. We create relationships with seats within government regardless of political party or outside 'deals', maybe if someone in government loses his way we say 'your stomach is too full, maybe you should give your place to someone else."

[3] Bratton in a different article (1989, 416-417) argues that "Gramsci described civil society as an array of educational, religious and associational institutions that guarantee the ideological ascendancy (hegemony) of a ruling class" and did not "conceive of civil society as a source of opposition to the state: it was either a step on the way to state formation or a handmaiden in the state's project of domination". This is only a half reading of Gramsci who also believed civil society can operate in opposition to political society and can "engage in a counter-hegemonic *war of position* to alter society" (Katz 2006, 336 emphasis in original).

Yet this interaction with government has risks for civil society as well. Government corruption has a corrosive effect and can spread into civil society. Corrupt government officials and "state elites seek to monopolize economic activity and prevent the formation of social constellations with an independent base" (Bratton 1989, 419). Particularly in a country as poor as Mozambique civil society is very susceptible to manipulation through personal financial gain. Once organisations within civil society gain a reputation for corruption the credibility of all other organisations is tarnished (Mittelman and Johnston 1999). Although Sylvain was concerned with making ORAM more financially independent from the whims of international donors he had serious concerns about civil society being funded by government as is the case in many European countries. His main worry was that funds would be allocated to sympathetic organisations and that would create government intrusion into the realm of civil society and weaken genuine civil society.

Both ORAM and MuGeDe are heavily reliant on international funders which is consistent with the broader trend of civil society funding in Mozambique according to Francisco et al (2007). Internationally there has been an increased emphasis by funders and governments to promote civil society, particularly in Africa, in an effort to advance the continent's democratisation (Hearn 2001; Manning and Malbrough 2012; Pfeiffer 2004). This was evident in my research as Brot, NPA and ACORD funded civil society for that reason. For example Sebastian as a representative of NPA has discretion on the specific organisations and projects within civil society he funds as long as they are focused on promoting democracy. In my discussion with Sebastian he expressed a desire to only fund and not influence Mozambican civil society, but by funding, and therefore reinforcing only certain aspects of civil society he is unwittingly influencing civil society. Jamal (2012) cautions that an over emphasis on democracy building could potentially promote a two tiered structure of civil society consisting of well funded and dominate organisations and underfunded community based organisations, yet further research would be required to determine if this is the case in Mozambique.

Civil society in Mozambique "take[s] on the property of a gas" (Foley and Edwards 1996, 4) reacting to historical context, social need, government (in)action and funding pressures. It works alongside government to promote social programs and representative democratic processes where appropriate but also works as a platform to challenge power and authority of unresponsive government structures and works to create a new social order. The relationships civil society engages in are in constant flux or, as

Bratton (1989) describes, in a constant state of ebb and flow, making it necessary for civil society to be flexible in its responsiveness.

6: Conclusion

My findings suggest that civil society in Mozambique cannot be understood with Western perceptions of the concept and does not fit squarely within the Gramscian nor de Tocquevillian understandings of civil society. Instead it has been born out of necessity and shaped by historical, cultural and social context, and through this evolutionary process it has taken on characteristics of both Gramscian and de Tocquevillian thought.

Land is essential for the survival of rural communities throughout Mozambique, yet they struggle to utilise land to its potential because of low quality inputs, inefficient agricultural technology and poor transportation infrastructure. In addition communities are often isolated from wider Mozambican society because of low levels of education, limited access to markets and the lack of cash economies. These issues impact people's ability to exist outside of daily subsistence and prohibit their inclusion in democratic processes that directly influence their lives. In response to issues such as these, civil society acts according to de Tocquevillian thought. It strengthens the capacity of individuals to live and think beyond daily survival which in turn creates space in daily activities to promote associational life, which is an important aspect of developing a robust, representative democracy (de Tocqueville 2007).

For Mozambican civil society capacity building revolves around education. Education allows people to develop independent political opinions and vote according to how responsive politicians are. It allows them to generate income and plan family budgets with the intention of moving beyond subsistence living. Education can promote self reliance on the part of *camponeses* and communities by teaching them how to improve their agricultural technology and diversify their economies. Educating communities on their rights to land and the benefits of creating associations allows them to advocate with a unified voice for their rights and improved government representation at the provincial and national level. These activities promoted by civil society give rural communities the power and capacity to become more engaged in determining their own development which ultimately strengthens democratic processes in a manner consistent with de Tocquevillian thought.

Organisations I worked with believed that building capacity on community level worked as a long term strategy for developing communities and protecting their rights to land, but they also understood they must work on a political level and challenge the institutional issues that threaten the rights of communities in the interim. Therefore my research led to the conclusion that civil society in

Mozambique works to constantly challenge the established governmental structure in Mozambique and acts as a counter-hegemonic force against unresponsive or even harmful government entities to establish or alter the social order (Cox 1994). When acting in this capacity, civil society adopts characteristics that fall within the Gramscian conception of civil society.

When civil society has the resources and the capacity to independently gather information on government indifference to, or even collusion with, investors concerning agricultural investments regardless of the effects investments have on communities, it is able to confront the government and demand more inclusive representation. This is precisely what ORAM has done concerning the ProSavannah project. Through networks and coalitions, ORAM and other interested parties aim to challenge the 'political society' and alter the way it interacts with investors, views development and responds to the needs of communities. Civil society in Mozambique operates in a "counter hegemonic" (Katz 2006) manner and works to create a new social order where the government is forced to acknowledge their role as representatives of people instead of personal or business interests. If successful this will shift the balance of power from moneyed interests to the larger societal interest of people across Mozambique, allowing the subaltern to speak.

Civil society is also able to promote this shift by working towards government transparency through tireless monitoring and evaluation of government practices and legislation. This direct political engagement with the 'political society' falls far outside of any de Tocquevillian account of civil society which is seen on the local and community level. Organisations I worked with effectively participated in activities that could be described as de Tocquevillian *and* Gramscian in nature which contradicts the assertion by Foley and Edwards (1996) that these two models are mutually exclusive concepts. In addition these organisations felt that civil society's responsive and transformative nature in response to social need and government (in)action is an asset that makes civil society a foundational part of Mozambican society.

This dissertation's focus on the importance and integral nature of civil society can easily be (mis)interpreted as a statement of the strength of civil society. We must keep in mind that "[t]he African state's resilience is remarkable, and its relative influence on society is still greater than that of any other organisation. The state continues to be the major instrument for solving social and economic problems, and its special claims for the monopoly of power set it apart from other organisations affecting social life" (Azarya 1988, 18). ORAM and MuGeDe can serve as an example of civil

society's ability to both work with and challenge this government influence on society. In addition they have a nuanced understanding of communities and the issues communities face, which informs their activities both on the local level and on the national level. This has implications for international NGOs and funders: by working with organisations such as ORAM and MuGeDe, they can help build the strength of Mozambican civil society to both address issues of unresponsive governance and simultaneously teach communities about their rights and how to become self-reliant.

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Appendices:

Appendix A – Key informant interview list and ethical considerations

What follows is a list of key informants. All respondents were explained the purpose of my research, were informed of the voluntary nature of their participation, consented to the use of a Dictaphone (unless otherwise stated) and gave informed consent based on the anonymity of their identities and in one case the identity of the respondent's organisation was asked to be kept confidential as well.

15 June 2012 – Adrivas, head of lobbying and advocacy at ORAM – an NGO that works with communities and government on issues of land, land use and land rights. Interviewed in English, recorded using Dictaphone and transcribed.

19 June 2012 – Boene farmer's association leader. Interviewed in Portuguese with the assistance of Adrivas serving as translator, I was asked not to use Dictaphone, conversation recorded in field journal.

20 June 2012 – Xiluva, Director of MuGeDe – an NGO that focuses on the development of women particularly in rural communities. Interviewed in English, recorded using Dictaphone and transcribed.

21 June 2012 – Anisia, Representative at FDC – a Mozambican NGO that strengthens the capacity of the community to combat poverty and promote social justice in Mozambique by funding NGOs to implement projects. Interviewed in English, recorded using Dictaphone and transcribed.

23 June 2012 – Ingrid, the Mozambican, Angolan and Namibian country director of *Brot für die Welt* – an NGO that represents the German Protestant Church in funding NGOs around the world. Interviewed in English, recorded using Dictaphone and transcribed.

03 July 2012 – Magude District Official. Interviewed in Portuguese, I was asked not to use Dictaphone, conversation recorded in field journal.

04 July 2012 – Sylvain, member or ORAM's board of directors. Interviewed in English, recorded using Dictaphone and transcribed.

05 July 2012 – Hyacinta, Mozambican country director for ACORD – a pan-African funding NGO that funds organisations that focus on women's rights and empowerment. Interviewed in English, recorded using Dictaphone and transcribed.

05 July 2012 – Sebastian, the director of the Mozambican office of NPA – an NGO that receives its funding from the Norwegian government and focuses primarily on land mine issues but also works to strengthen the promotion of governance through funding civil society. Interviewed in English, recorded using Dictaphone and transcribed.

05 July 2012 – Mlcaela, a policy analyst for the Ministry of Agriculture. Interviewed in English, recorded using Dictaphone and transcribed.

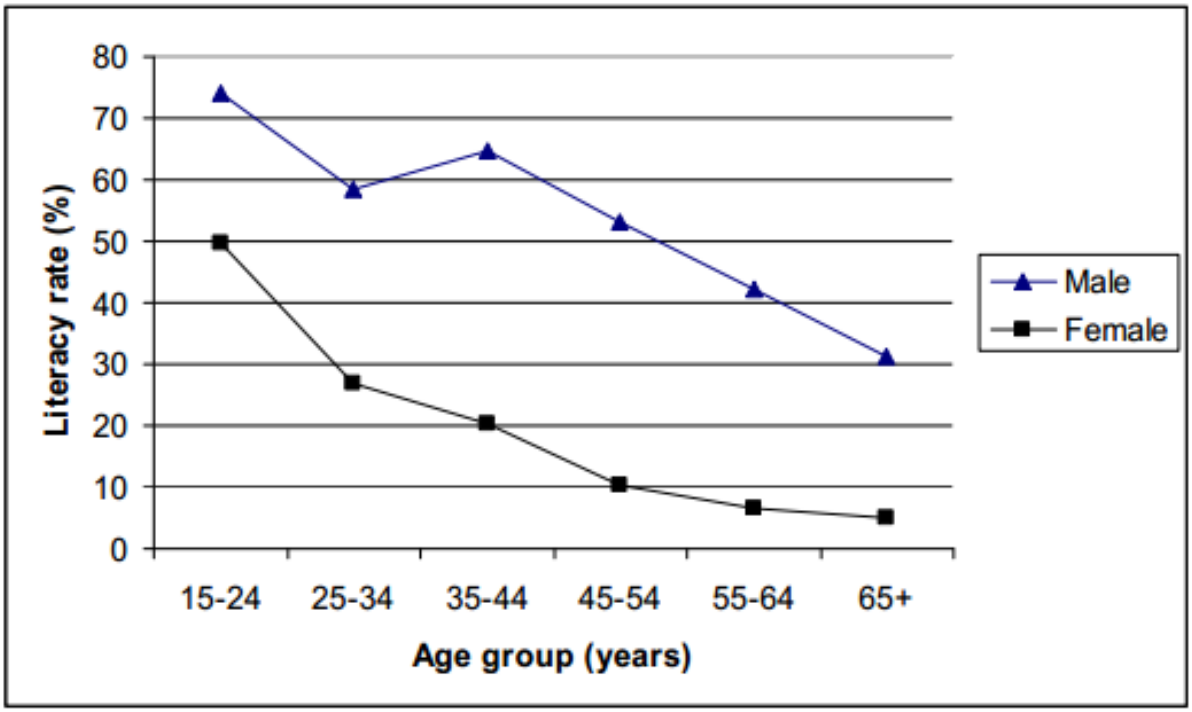
10 July 2012 – Valdik, director of a network of NGOs in Mozambique that focuses on issues of food security. Interviewed in Portuguese, recorded using a Dictaphone, translated into English and transcribed by researcher.

11 July 2012 – Sousa, director of ORAM's Nampula delegation. Interviewed in English, recorded using Dictaphone and transcribed.

18 July 2012 – Community leader in Gaza province. Interviewed in Shangaan with the assistance of Adrivas serving as translator, I was asked not to use a Dictaphone, conversation recorded in field journal.

Appendix B - Women demonstrating agricultural practices

Appendix C – Graph of adult literacy rates in Mozambique



Adult Literacy Rate by Age Group, Rural Mozambique 2005 (Mather, Cunguara and Boughton 2008)

Appendix D – Woman articulating concern over leadership during association meeting