Shallow roots of local development or branching out for new opportunities: how local communities in Mozambique may benefit from investments in land and forestry exploitation

Emelie Blomgren & Jessica Lindkvist

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Abstract

This study examines how local communities may benefit from investments in land as well as forestry exploitation in Mozambique. The topic connects to the posed research problem in which these types of investments could entail both negative and positive implications for local communities and could thus be seen as land grab or development opportunities. The effects of investments on local communities will be investigated through two mechanisms in the Mozambican law with potential to benefit communities; through giving back a part of the fee derived by the government from operators employed in forestry exploitation to local communities as well as the promises made by operators in forestry exploitation and investors in land as a result of community consultations.

The study is a result of a field study carried out in Mozambique mainly on a local level in the Mecubúri district, using a qualitative approach and material primarily consisting of interviews with governmental representatives, Non-state Organizations (NGOs), local community members affected by investments in land and forestry exploitation to answer the three posed research questions:

- What are the roles of the public sector, the private sector and the civil society in attempting to ensure that local communities benefit from investments?
- How can the part of the fee derived from forestry operators and the negotiated agreements on benefits for local communities during community consultations affect local communities and what are the implications of these effects?
- What existing structures and capacities in Mecubúri district can assist the local communities to benefit from investments?

An analytical framework, a modified version of Friedmann’s (dis)empowerment, is used to analyze the material in order to answer the research questions. Also, the structure-actor approach is applied in order to examine the proper conditions for local communities’ benefits. The thesis argues that there are visible benefits for local communities such as the construction of schools, health posts and water wells. Furthermore, different actors are facilitating these benefits while bureaucracy, rules and regulations constitute a disabling environment that could be seen as decreasing investments potential as development opportunities.

Key words: Mozambique, land investment, forestry exploitation, local communities, “the 20%”, community consultations, the (dis)empowerment model.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cabo</td>
<td>A traditional position which in the hierarchal- system is positioned under the chief of the village</td>
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<tr>
<td>CGRN</td>
<td>Comité de Gestão dos Recursos Naturais - Committee for Management of Natural Resources</td>
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<tr>
<td>Consultas nocturnas</td>
<td>‘Shady consultations’ (roughly translated)</td>
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<tr>
<td>DUAT</td>
<td>Direito de Uso e Aproveitamento de Terra – The Right and Enjoyment of Land</td>
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<td>DA</td>
<td>Directorate for Agriculture</td>
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<td>DDA</td>
<td>Direcções Distritais de Agricultura – District Agricultural Directorate</td>
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<tr>
<td>FAO</td>
<td>Food and Agriculture Organization (of the United Nations)</td>
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<td>FDI</td>
<td>Foreign Direct Investment</td>
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<td>FDD</td>
<td>Fundo Distrital Desenvolvimento – District Development Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
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<tr>
<td>IRAM</td>
<td>Institute for Research and Application of Methods Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>LGR</td>
<td>Lúrio Green Resources</td>
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<td>Localidade</td>
<td>Representative body at the local level</td>
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<td>LOLE</td>
<td>Lei dos Órgãos Locais do Estado – Law on Local Organs of State</td>
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<td>LSA</td>
<td>Life Supporting Activities</td>
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<tr>
<td>Machamba</td>
<td>The word for ‘field’ in the local language Macua</td>
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<td>Macua</td>
<td>One of the main local languages spoken in Mozambique</td>
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<td>Mt</td>
<td>New Mozambican Meticais (MZN)</td>
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<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organization</td>
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<td>NR</td>
<td>Natural Resources</td>
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<td>OPHAVELA</td>
<td>In Macua OPHAVELA = ’to look for’ or to ‘search for a solution’</td>
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<tr>
<td>ORAM</td>
<td>Rural Association for Mutual Support, Mozambique</td>
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<tr>
<td>Post Administrativo</td>
<td>Territorial and administrative center within a district</td>
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<tr>
<td>RCRN</td>
<td>Rede de Caixas Rurais Nampula (Nampula Province) – ‘Network Boxes Rural Nampula’</td>
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<tr>
<td>Régulo</td>
<td>A structures originating in the colonial system of administrative division</td>
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<tr>
<td>SANAM</td>
<td>Sociedade Algodoeira de Nampula – Nampula Cotton Company</td>
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<tr>
<td>SCIP</td>
<td>Strengthening Communities through Integrated Planning – SCIP is an organization composed of 5 different NGOs; World relief, PSI, CARE, CLUSA and Path finder international.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SDAE</td>
<td>Serviços Distritais de Actividades Económicas – District authorities for economic activities</td>
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<tr>
<td>SPFFB</td>
<td>Serviços Provinciais de Florestas e Fauna Bravia – Provincial department of forestry and wildlife</td>
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<tr>
<td>ToR</td>
<td>Terms of Reference</td>
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<tr>
<td>UCODIN</td>
<td>Coordination Unit for the Integrated Development of Nampula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Problem identification

“As a common means for the creation of wealth and social well-being, the use and benefit of the land is the right of all Mozambican people.” (LAW No. 19/97 of 1 October).

Large scale investments in land are increasing in the world today and the land acquisition which this results in may be seen both as an obstacle and an opportunity for development of local communities, as land is central to both identity and food security, and it is particularly important if the main activity is self-sustaining or small-scale farming. (Cotula et al. 2009:3-7) This can be illustrated through figures presented by the World Bank in 2009 when 45 million hectares of land was allocated to foreign investors, and 70% of these were located in African countries. (Theting & Brekke 2010:3).

Governmental authorities may easily note the macro benefits through these large scale investments and the possibilities which these may entail, such as Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth, increased capital flow and inducing social development in the rural sector (Theting & Brekke 2010:1), yet the quest for high quality soil can possibly lead to a displacement of the local communities. Furthermore, although laws are issued to guarantee the right of local communities and subsistence farmers, there may be discrepancies in the implementation and enforcement of these regulations which leave the communities vulnerable in relation to large scale investors. (Cotula et al. 2009:3-7).

Local communities may, like governments, anticipate great advantages from these large scale investments; however, simultaneously there is a fear as to what consequences these investments may bring, related to, for instance, the management of natural resources, access to land and its effect on current livelihood strategies. Therefore, questions related to land acquisition, land laws and development opportunities in relation to investments in land or forestry exploitation are highly relevant in a peace and development context. This is especially evident when looking closer at a country which is currently experiencing extensive land investments in its forestry industry, namely Mozambique.

Worldwide, there is currently a rising interest of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) within agriculture in developing countries. (Kaarhus et al. 2010:1) Mozambique is, according to the United Nations (UN), positioned among the 30 least developed countries in the world (UN-OHRLLS 2011), and it is an attractive site for large scale investments due to its current abundance in land and forest. Furthermore, the conditions for FDI in Mozambique are highly favorable with, for instance, a relatively low corporate tax, free import of equipment within the agricultural sector and the right to repatriate 100% of the profits. (Theting & Brekke 2010:7).

At the same time, the population of Mozambique remains poor, of which the majority is small scale or subsistence farmers and the agricultural sector employ circa 80% of the population. (Theting & Brekke 2010:6) Furthermore, the legal land reform in Mozambique has the possibility to improve the benefits for local communities. (USAID 2011:3) On the one hand investments may give rise to expectations such as job opportunities but it may also entail an increased insecurity and risk for the individual household economy. The potential lack of a trickle down from the investments for the rural poor, resulting in this insecurity, may also be due to the fact that it takes a substantial amount of time before changes become visible. Therefore, the question of whether these investments are exploitive land grabs or actual development opportunities remain.

In addition, the Mozambican land law enables the local communities to benefit through required local consultations. A similar reference is made in the forestry and wildlife law with requirements of community consultations. However, these community consultations also state that 20% of the fee paid
by forestry operators is to be allotted to the affected local communities. These two components are both written in Mozambican law, but “the 20%”\(^1\) mechanism is regarded as a stronger tool to ensure benefits, while the agreements, although considered binding, in practice can be viewed as a less rigid instrument.

Through this problem identification our research problem can be identified as the dilemma of how local communities are affected by investments in land and forestry—which in theory has the capacity to favor development, but in practice it may have negative implications such as, for e.g., reduced access to arable land for local communities.

1.2 Aim

The overarching aim of this study is to examine how local communities may benefit from large scale investments in Mozambique, besides the possibilities of employment and salaries. One of the main components of the study is to examine “the 20%” of the fee derived by the Mozambican government from the forestry operators\(^2\) which is to be given to the affected local communities. Another component is the results, in the form of a written agreement, of community consultations which is negotiated between private investors, including forestry operators and large scale investors, and affected communities. The study will be focused on the Nampula province in Mozambique and, especially on the Mecubúri district.

1.3 Previous research

The possible benefits and risks with land investments have been explored in previous research within the debate of investment as land grab or development opportunity. Researchers in the field often state that the benefits of investments for the host countries and the local communities are the creation of job opportunities and developing infrastructure (Cotula \textit{et al.} 2010). Furthermore, most researchers also agree that investments can entail both risks and opportunities for local communities in the form of opportunities for economic and social development. It can also result in reduced access, or loss, of land for the local communities and farmers in the area of the investment (Ibid:5, 6). This section of the introduction will provide a brief collocation of the contemporary scientific debate, highlighting some selected articles with relevance to the aim of the study.

In a study by Cotula \textit{et al.}, agricultural investments and land deals in Africa are investigated and it is argued that the key issues in attempting to maximize the benefits for local communities are: \textit{i)} to legally enforce the commitments to build infrastructure and create job opportunities, \textit{ii)} that collaborative business models, where the investor and local population are in a joint venture such as outgrowing or contract farming, could be one way to ensure benefits and \textit{iii)} that the lack of experience and guidance is one problem for the local government and investors as it disables them to act in a beneficial way for the local communities concerned (Ibid:72). This study is empirical and the results are kept on a rather general level, leaving out a more in-depth exploration of how local communities can benefit from land deals as well as what capacity these communities have.

In another qualitative case study, carried out in Tanzania and Mozambique, Theting and Brekke take a challenging position regarding the notion that land investments are contributing to social and economic development on a local level in the host countries. This study identifies some unsatisfactory circumstances; Theting and Brekke for instance point out that the creation of job opportunities often were not guaranteed, and that the employments – if materialized – were characterized by low wages at the same time as they did not create durably stability for the farmers. Therefore, the study recommends that the techniques for the investments are monitored, that community consultations are taken more seriously, and that training is provided for the farmers in the areas of the investment. Findings from

\(^1\) The 20% of the fee derived by the Mozambican government from the forestry operators will hereafter, merely, be referred to as “the 20%”\(^2\)

\(^2\) Ministério da Agricultura e do Diploma Ministerial n.º 93/2005.
this study also show that the financial compensation, promised by the investor, has not been paid to the local population. Moreover, the study shows few signs of knowledge spillover and learning potential in the projects examined (Theting & Brekke 2010). This critical report emphasizes the risks for local communities in areas of land investments while, however, leaving out the aspect of how the communities themselves can increase their capacity in order to make land investments more beneficial.

In addition to the two previously mentioned studies, also Kaarhus et al. deals with the impact of investments in developing countries in their Agro-investment in Africa – Impact on land and livelihoods in Mozambique and Tanzania (2010). The report looks into the dilemma of achieving economic growth while securing availability of food and livelihoods of the people. While doing this, the report also investigates the public-private partnership (PPP) idea as well as the relation between different actors. However, the study discusses these relations in a quite broad sense. Therefore the study brought forward in this paper adds to such a discussion as the focus is put on all actor-relations and particularly that of the local population. Through a greater focus on the local communities’ perception and capacity, the study of this paper adds a more specific analysis of how the communities take part in development efforts.

Yet another study which can be included as previous research is Chilundo's et al. Research Report 6 Land registration in Nampula and Zambezia provinces, Mozambique. It is especially interesting for the study of this paper as it includes the same province, Nampula, which is also the focus when investigating “the 20%”. One of the main focal points of Chilundo et al. is the land registration process and the governance of the registration process and how this is impacting on the rural society in Mozambique. The main conclusion is that there are shortcomings in the implementation but land registration is still viewed to be a positive initiative from the communities’ perspective. The authors moreover argue that the NGOs have a vital role as they facilitate the registration process and aid to protect the communities when investors state their interest in the area (Chilundo 2005:26, 27). The study presented in this paper, which recognise the registration process to be of vital importance, does however go beyond the process and look into the case-specific conditions of the rural communities to use the structures and processes at hand to actively influence their current situation. Therefore, the research presented in this paper complement the previous research conducted within this field.

Conclusively, Cotula et al. and Theting and Brekke respectively discuss the potential benefits and risks for local communities and host countries from investments in land. However, these and other studies fail to report on the deeper and broader effects of land investments on local communities. This is certainly an identified gap in previous research which this study attempts to fill in. Furthermore, much previous research in this field is rather a-theoretical. In other words, the theoretical starting points are not explicitly made visible. This in turn makes it difficult to relate the findings to a broader perspective. Thus, this study will use a theoretical framework to enforce the findings, and make these findings more applicable to other cases dealing with the same questions.

As the collocation of previous research has shown, there is a debate on the implications of investments in land and forestry exploitation and whether these could be viewed as land grabs or as development opportunities. Therefore, by looking into the mechanism created to facilitate local development in these investments, such as “the 20%” system and the promises made during community consultations, the aim of this study is relevant in relation to the ongoing scientific debate. The aim of the study would add to the discussion on how to raise efficiency in these structures, which are to facilitate the local communities as beneficiaries of large scale investments in land and forestry exploitation.
1.4 Research questions

The following research questions build on the identified research problem and the gap in previous research which, as stated, concerns the issue of how to increase the efficiency in structures working to ensure that local communities benefit from large scale investments. In the case of Mozambique, which is the research object for this study, it is thus important to answer the following three questions in order to fulfill the above mentioned aim and contribute to the discussion on land grab or development opportunity at large;

- What are the roles of the public sector, the private sector and the civil society in attempting to ensure that local communities benefit from investments?
- How can the part of the fee derived from forestry operators and the negotiated agreements on benefits for local communities during community consultations affect local communities and what are the implications of these effects?
- What existing structures and capacities in Mecubúri district can assist the local communities to benefit from investments?

1.5 Disposition

After the introduction chapter of this study, chapter 2 will provide an elaboration of the analytical framework used. Friedmann’s (dis)empowerment model is used as a basis but a modified community-oriented model has been created to best accommodate the study. Also, the analytical framework includes a discussion on the structures and actors and how this study will handle and look upon these concepts.

Chapter 3, states the methodology of the study, such as the use of a case study approach. Also, in order to acquire a holistic and deep understanding of the situation this study has a qualitative approach with semi-structured and open-ended interviews. The base of the material used for this study is of an empirical nature, collected during the field study in Mozambique. However, also written sources are used as a compliment to these. Chapter 3 will also include a discussion on reliability and validity in qualitative studies.

Chapter 4 contains the background section of the study where Mozambique’s relation to investments in land and forestry exploitation is accounted for. Also, the legal context of this study is elaborated here where for instance the legal framework around “the 20%” is included. The chapter is designed to provide the reader with the necessary background information to understand the findings presented in the next chapters.

Chapter 5-7 outlines the study’s findings. Chapter 5 focuses on the enabling environment of local communities to benefit from investments and it presents the environment provided by public sector, NGOs and the private sector. It discusses the different actors’ and structures’ influence or role in the process of transmitting the benefits of “the 20%” and conducting and fulfilling agreements in relation to community consultations. Chapter 6 focuses on the effects of the investments and mainly deals with how “the 20%” have been used (where the amounts are illustrated through a table), and what promises have been made during the community consultations. Specific examples of these are elaborated, as well as the inclusion of additional effects which investments may have on local communities. Chapter 7 presents the findings of already existing structures in the local communities in Mecubúri district. It includes forms of organizations with focuses on agricultural, youth, commercial production, credit, trade, social affairs and natural resource management, with the aim of elaborating already existing capacities.

Chapter 8 provides an analysis based on the findings presented in the preceding chapters. It is first presented through the analytical framework, which is also illustrated through a matrix, and then elaborated in a second section in order to be able to adequately answer the research questions. The research questions are restated and answered in the second section of the analysis.
Chapter 9 will outline a concluding discussion which draws upon the analysis and the answers presented to the research questions and bring the discussion to a more general level, where it ties back to the research problem and the reasoning around structures and actors. To conclude this paper, chapter 10 contains recommendations for further studies related to the subject of this study.
2. ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

The following sections are presenting the main theoretical tools used in order to understand the reality at hand for this study. The analytical framework used is mainly John Friedmann’s (dis)empowerment model which has been modified in order to best accommodate the focus of the study. The purpose of this operationalization of the framework is to better understand the reality for local communities rather than to understand the situation for the individual household economies. This framework as described and defined below will be used in order to answer the posed research questions. A second contribution to the analytical framework is the structure-actor approach. This approach adds to the understanding of what environment the concerned actors are operating in, and if the environment as such will be enabling or disabling.

2.1 John Friedmann’s (Dis)Empowerment Model

Through John Friedmann’s reasoning, regarding poverty, one must know what poverty is before alternative development strategies can be developed to combat poverty. Poverty cannot be defined by one single condition, but may constitute of several smaller or bigger influences. (Friedmann, 1992:55) Therefore, in order to evaluate development efforts, there must first be an understanding under which conditions poverty is created and why. One way of examining this is to use Friedmann’s (dis)empowerment model (figure 1.), a political basic-needs oriented approach where politics will address the needs raised by the population. Figure 1 shows the original version of Friedmann’s (dis)empowerment model. (Ibid:66)

Figure 1. John Friedmann's (Dis)Empowerment Model

In this study a modified version of the model originally created by Friedmann will be used;
Figure 2. The Community (Dis)Empowerment Model

The main focus of Friedmann’s model, which has been modified for the purpose of this study, implies that an increased access to the eight bases of social power will also increase, in this study, the local communities’ social power. Friedmann’s definition of social power is the power associated with civil society. The social power is within this (dis)empowerment model characterized by the eight bases illustrated in figure 1 (Friedmann, 1992:66-67), and modified in figure 2. These bases are resources which can be accessed by a collective actor, in this case the community, in order to increase its power. Social power is to be differentiated from state-, economic- and political power where the actors have direct influence over the law or financial resources. These three additional forms of power will not be addressed further. While the reference-name to the different bases have been modified in figure 2 to accommodate the study, much of Friedmann’s original explanations as to what these bases entails will remain. Below the bases of social power, in their modified form, will be elaborated;

1. **Physical space of local communities** represents the territorial base and physical space used by the household but, more importantly for this study, it stretches into the immediate neighborhood to include social interactions and Life Supporting Activities (LSA). To be a part of a supportive neighborhood, especially urban, is of high importance for households according to this model.

2. When the activities which are directly aimed towards sustenance are performed the household goes into what is referred to as **access to health care, water etc.** in figure 2. It describes the time available for the household economy to for instance commute, or to gain greater access to water, food, medical care or to perform necessary domestic chores. This is regarded as the second most important base of social power.

3. **Training and gained experiences** include both the level of education and the possession of specific skills of the members of a household. The training and gained experiences base may be comprised of
what the household currently holds but also what they may attain in the future. For poor households this base is given great importance as it can have a great influence on the long-term economic prospects for its members.

4. The previous base of social power is heavily dependent on the next base which involves the access to Improved agricultural techniques, as without relevant information the education level etc. may not be useful in terms of development. This base includes aspects, such as, improved methods for household production, improved sanitation and health care and job opportunities.

5. Access to land/water & tools/facilities are the instruments used by a household during production and it includes features such as physical health and strength, access to productive/arable land and water. However it may also include tools or facilities used in the informal household labor or domestic chores such as access to bicycles, sewing machines, a stove or latrines/toilet facilities.

6. The sixth base of social power is defined as RCRN (IRAM)³, savings groups, FDD (Fundo Distrital Desenvolvimento), “the 20%”, Social Responsibility which in short includes the net monetary income of households as well as informal, and formal, credit activities. For local communities in Mecubúri this can be illustrated through, for instance, savings groups, RCRN (IRAM) and the FDD and other informal credit systems.

7. The Committees, associations, councils base include both formal and informal social organizations which the household may belong to or participate in. Some examples of this could be credit associations, churches, peasant organization or other associations or forms of committees. These forms of social organization may enable mutual support, collective action and connect the household to the society outside the household-sphere.

8. Horizontal & vertical connections within organizations differ from social organizations as they are more related to the relationships created within organizations or through the vertical networks or horizontal networks among family and friends. Horizontal networks are viewed as especially important as they enable the households to have a greater room of maneuver. The vertical networks allow households to come in contact with other forms of power further up on the social hierarchy, but this relationship may lead to a dependence rather than independence for the lower levels in the hierarchy. (Friedmann, 1992:67-69)

The eight bases are interdependent simultaneously as they are independent from each other. The different bases may interact as one can be facilitated through another, yet they cannot be categorized into one dimension, such as household empowerment being achieved solely through monetary terms, and therefore they are to be considered as independent variables at the same time. (Ibid:69)

The eight modified bases of figure 2 will facilitate an answer to research question 2 and 3 as well as it can be used when looking at the possible benefits of “the 20%” of the fee to favor development in local communities as it can help to map the current conditions and possibilities and capacities for local communities and their households to act independently or collectively to increase empowerment. This model can also be used in the search of the most advantageous way of using “the 20%” to benefit the local communities and evaluate the existing capacities of local communities to maximize the possibilities given.

Furthermore, the enabling environment, indicated in figure 2, is also a part of the modification of the original model. In short, it constitutes the interaction between the public-, private- and civil society sector and their relation to one another in the processes relevant to the study. This concept will mainly be used in order to facilitate an analysis and answer to the first research question. The enabling environment is, as will be elaborated in the next section of the analytical framework chapter, seen as

³ RCRN – Rede de Caixas Rurais Nampula (Nampula Province); IRAM - Institute for Research and Application of Methods Development.
the abstract ‘space’ where structures and actors interplay. The actors, represented by public, private and civil society sector, as well as the underlying structures are included in this reasoning.

2.2 Structures and actors in this study

In addition to the Community (dis)empowerment model, the overarching approach in the actor-structure discussion is suitable to include in this study. The context called enabling environment according to figure 2, is seen as the room in which different parts of society (public sector, civil society and private sector) are acting in an enabling or disabling way affecting the outcome, i.e. the benefits for local communities viewed through the eight bases of social power. What is referred to in the enabling environment is, in short, the different actors and structures represented in public-, private- and civil society sector. Therefore, it is of value to account for how this interplay of actors and structures can be viewed and how the study is using this actor-structure approach. Firstly, an account for how structures and actors are dealt with in this study will be included. Structures are most commonly defined as a contextual pattern on a macro-level which is relatively stable over time (Rothstein 1988:33). Structures are not easy to define and they can either hinder or enable different types of actors’ behavior. Within structuralism, besides what is commonly included as societal structures (gender structure, political structure, and socio-economic structures) there are also institutions and organizations. Institutionalism is a theory formation which puts institutions, both formal and informal (neo institutionalism) including societal rules and norms as well as constitutions, laws and regulations, in the center of analysis and these are seen as constituting ‘the rules of the game’. (Wide 2006:17-40) There are also theoretical approaches on the concept of organizations and the separation between institutions and organizations plays an important role in these elaborations. The differentiation between different structures like institutions and organizations will not be discussed more in this study since the aim and research questions will not be aided through elaborating on how the different actors, institutions and structures separately influence the effects on local communities from investments. Furthermore, actors in this study are viewed as rational, individual and collective actors, acting in a way that maximizes the benefits. Essentially, what the structure-actor approach entails for this study is a discussion on the amount of ‘freedom’ that actors have in their action. From this debate regarding structures and actors, the analysis will enable different aspects and highlight different problems related to the focus of this study.

This approach entails that structures are seen as the underlying context indirectly influencing the effects on local communities as it influence the actions of actors. The actors are thus influenced by structures, and have a more direct impact on the outcome, constituting the enabling environment of either hindering or enabling benefits for local communities. Actors in this study are primarily collective actors including NGOs, local community organizations, private investment companies and state organs but it is also individual actors as we also will refer to individual private investors, traditional local leaders, or individual government officials. Moreover, it is not always possible to separate actors from different forms of structures. It is for example too constricted to consider the actions of a governmental official as the result of an actor without taking into consideration that this official is representing a specific state organization such as the Directorate for agriculture (DA) which in turn is operating within the larger state structure and so on.

The study acknowledges different theory formations regarding the general actor-structure approach which is broken down into institutions or organizations. The concept of structures will be handled in a simplified manner where structures are considered as an underlying context influencing actors’ behavior. Within this definition, this study includes structures as consisting of institutions and organizations. Structures, in this wider sense, would for this study include the land law, forestry and wildlife law and the political institution referred to as bureaucracy. More specifically, for these concepts to be more useful in understanding the influences of institutions on the effects from investments on local communities, the definition will be narrowed down. It is thus, the part of the mentioned laws specifically concerning the community consultations and the transmission of “the
20%” that are seen as contributing to the influencing context, referred to as the enabling environment in connection to the community (dis)empowerment model, figure 2.

2.3 Using the analytical framework

The modified model, with local communities in the center showing the enabling environment and the eight bases of social power is directly connected to the preceding discussion on the interplay between structures and actors. As stated, this latest discussion fits into the part of the model called enabling environment. Thus, the introduction of this new framework of the structure-actor approach is motivated. However, the proper focus of the study also entails that the structure-actor approach is complimentary to the modified model in the way that the research questions and the aim will be answered through the model while the study also acknowledges the existing structures and actors in interplay. This approach will therefore use the results and analysis presented in a way that corresponds to the modified model and set the empirical findings in this first analytical framework which is very case-specific. Furthermore, in the concluding discussion, the discussion on the structure-actor approach will attempt to lift the empirical findings to a more general level.
3. METHODOLOGY

The following chapter will explain the methodology used during the field study which was carried out during the course of five weeks in Mozambique, between the 3rd of April and the 3rd of May 2011. Interviews were, during this time span, conducted in the capital Maputo, Nampula City, and primarily in Mecubúri district in Nampula province. The field study was dually organized by the master program in Peace and Development Work at Linnaeus University in Växjö, Sweden and UCODIN4 in Nampula, Mozambique. The study was conducted by a group of seven students from the master program in Peace and Development Work with the assistance of two tutors, which constitute the research-team. Gunilla Åkesson was the tutor accompanying the students from the University in Sweden and the second tutor was the Mozambique stationed Nelia Vera Taimo.

3.1 Research method

Due to the stated research problem, the aim of the study, as well as the analytical framework chosen, a qualitative approach is most suited in order to facilitate a holistic and deep understanding of the issues at hand. Through this, an inductive approach is also being applied to the study since it will go from concrete empirical details to more abstract reasoning based, mainly, on the perspectives and perceived roles and realities of the subjects of the empirical analysis. The purpose of the research is then to obtain descriptions of the subjects’ ‘lived world’ and enable interpretations made of the described situation. (Mikkelsen 2005:169,174) The main focus will be placed on the perspectives and perceived roles and realities in the local communities.

This is also in line with the claim that the study is to be of an interpretative nature, since this would imply that the dominant perspective portrayed in the study will be that of the study subjects’ rather than the researchers’. Also, the results in an interpretative study are typically presented through narratives and interpretations (Mikkelsen 2005:125-126), which is in line with a qualitative research. Further, this study could be viewed as a case study with descriptive and interpretative qualities, which also includes some explanatory elements. The case study is examining how, and through what processes, local communities benefit from investments in land and forestry in Mecubúri district, and what could possibly influence this process to be improved.

3.2 Research design

The research design, meaning what will be studied, is of great importance when doing a scientific study (Esaiasson et al. 2004:95), and the choice of research design for this field research was facilitated through Terms of Reference (ToR) (see appendix 1) elaborated between the students participating in the study, the tutor at Linnaeus University - Gunilla Åkesson, and the initial contact person at UCODIN in Nampula – Felicidade Auxílio Muiocha. During the initial planning-stage of the field study some preconditions were established, such as a fixed time-frame, the research objects and some key contact persons were determined. The field study will result in an examination-paper to conclude the master program for Peace and Development Work at Linnaeus University, Sweden.

3.3 Material

The interviews conducted during the field study constitute the empirical base of the study and are the primary sources for the findings. Interviews were made with members from local communities affected by investments in land and forestry exploitation, representatives from Lúrio Green resources-a company with an ongoing investment in the area, NGO representatives and representatives from different levels in the governmental structure; central, provincial, district, sub district (posto administrativo) and local (localidad ) primarily with the aim of understanding the process and procedures surrounding “the 20%” and community consultations as well as the general experiences in Mecubúri district regarding investments. Interviews were also carried out with many different societal

4 UCODIN - Coordination Unit for the Integrated Development of Nampula.
organizations in order to investigate the existing capacities and way of organizing in the district of Mecubúri. For a complete list of the interviews carried out, divided by the place and which sphere the interviewee was engaged in see list of reference.

In addition, the study contain reviews of several written sources such as various strategic planning reports from the government of Mozambique, case studies on the land issue, legal documents concerning the land law and the law of forestry and wildlife in Mozambique, articles, statistics and working papers from both government officials and different Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) active in Nampula province. These are to compliment the primary data in the task of understanding and answering the posed research questions. As the interviews are stated to be the empirical base, no references will be made to the interview material unless it is of specific importance. Other sources which are added to explain or strengthen information will be referenced to throughout the text. The reason for this approach is to allow the possibility of interviewees to remain anonymous. As the interviews were carried out in small communities, with different actors within these communities, as well as state employed individuals it was important to ensure anonymity to encourage the interviewees to speak freely.

3.3.1 The interviews

The interviews conducted were of a qualitative and semi-structured nature, meaning that questions were asked according to flexible interview-guides containing some predetermined topics or questions. (Mikkelsen 2005:169) This guide was not fixed and the questions were open-ended which created room for detailed answers and allowed follow-up questions. Also, this way of structuring the interviews also enabled the interviewees to talk about what they perceived as important. According to Patton, as described in Mikkelsen (2005) this type of interview, where certain topics are specified in advance while the exact wording of questions are formed during the actual interview would classify it as an ‘interview guide approach’ when speaking of interview instrumentation. This classification corresponds to the fact that interviews were conversational and situational. (Ibid:171) Furthermore, during the course of the interviews, triangulation, which means to look at something from a different point of view, was also used in order to validate information where different sources provided their perception of the same topic or problematic. (Ibid:96)

The vast majority of the interviews were conducted in Portuguese, the official language in Mozambique. As none of the authors knew Portuguese a translator was needed to translate the interviews into English. Furthermore, while conducting interviews in the local communities in Mecubúri district several interviewees spoke Macua (one of the main local languages spoken in Mozambique), which required an additional translator to translate from Macua to Portuguese. On a few occasions, interviews could be conducted in English and thus required no translations. For a full interview list see list of reference.

The method which was used to process the information acquired during the interviews was to take notes by hand. As no dictaphone was used, the transcribing which was conducted after the interviews was made from notes taken into typed written copies. Due to the fact that there were almost 60 interviews in total, in which at least half the team of students participated in each interview, the work of transcribing was divided among the students of the research-team.

3.3.2 The sampling method

While on-site, the primary method used for sampling interviews was through the snowball-technique which, in short, means to allow, or ask, multiple individuals interviewed to indicate others which might be of interests to arrange an interview with. This technique can enable an access to networks which would have been hard to reach independently from previous interviewees. (Aspers 2007:91-92) Although there is a risk with the snowball-technique to limit the research to certain networks, the interviews made in this study include many different groups on different levels in society. In this particular study, key individuals or interviewees arranged interviews on the request of the research-
team according to a basic stakeholder analysis where individuals or specific actors had been identified as important for the study prior to the execution of the study in Mozambique. However, during the course of the field study additional actors were identified as important to the study and were thus added to the stakeholder analysis list and contacted through other means than the snowball-technique.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviews by location</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maputo</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nampula City</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Mecubúri district</em>;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mecubúri center (+ forestry reserve of Mecubúri)</td>
<td>16 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namina</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Momane</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tukole</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>57</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.4 Methodological difficulties and critique

During the course of this field study several difficulties or potential shortcomings can be identified. One of these is the recognition that when conducting interviews which require translations between up to three different languages there is a risk that information will be lost in the translation. Although, the translations were attempted to include as detailed descriptions as possible, the nuances of the languages might have disappeared and there can be a perception of a hindrance in acquiring high reliability in the material.

One perceived hinder concerning the processing of the material collected from interviews is the solution used, in the striving for time efficiency, to divide the task to transcribe the notes taken during interviews. This method can be critically questioned since the students all had their individual way of taking notes. Furthermore, since there were no recordings of the interviews, it was not possible to double check the information from the interviews in case there was lack of coherence in the notes. On the positive side, since there was at least three students, taking notes simultaneously there were possibilities to verify the information in retrospect when needed.

#### 3.4.1 Reliability and Validity

When doing research the concepts of reliability and validity often emerge as central to the strength of the study’s results. According to Mikkelsen, reliability is the consistency or the dependability of data and judgments and a high reliability has been obtained when repeated observations, while using the same instruments under identical conditions, produce results that are similar. Validity on the other hand is defined as to what extent the data collection strategies and instruments measure what they intend to measure. (Mikkelsen 2005:348-349)

The above reasoning is more readily applicable to a quantitative study as it requires a more systematic data collection according to fixed questions or statistics. However, as this study is of a qualitative nature which aims at attaining information about the perception of the individuals interviewed these conventional definitions of reliability and validity cannot be applied in the same manner as in quantitative studies. The information attained through the qualitative study will enable a deeper analysis of the implications of the posed research questions which demands a greater emphasis on the interpretation and analysis of the variety of material collected. Also, if necessary, triangulation, and some cross-checking with published material, can be used to strengthen the statements and information received from the interviews which remain as the focus of the study.
Furthermore, the ‘interviewer effect’ can influence the information collected as individuals respond differently depending on their perception of the interviewer. Factors which might influence this perception are social class, age, sex or ethnic origin and this might limit the information or honesty in the interviewee’s replies to questions. (Mikkelsen 2005:177) Therefore, also the preconceptions, knowledge, role or attitudes of the interviewers should be taken into consideration, as these factors always can be criticized and improved. In relation to this, it should be mentioned that since there were seven students with different areas of focus present when conducting the interviews, the interests in what to gain out of the interviews also differed. This may, at some instances, have led to an unnatural flow in the questions asked which could have influenced the interviewees’ perceptions of those conducting the interview and thus might also have restricting their answers.
4. BACKGROUND

The following chapter will present a background to the study at hand and provide information deemed to be essential to understand the context of the study. However, it should be noted that when there are no references made to a concrete source or no references made to particular laws, the information has been derived from the interview material from representatives from authorities on different levels of the Mozambican society and these sources will therefore not be explicitly noted in the text with reference to the explanation given in 3.3.

4.1 Investments in land and forestry exploitation

A first important remark is the need for a clear separation between investments in land and forestry exploitation because these two concepts tend to be joined into the wider phrasing of investments. When discussing investments in land, the land law identifies three ways in which land can be acquired; this is what is referred to as a DUAT - Direito de Uso e Aproveitamento de Terra or The Right and Enjoyment of Land. The only type of DUAT that foreign companies, organizations or persons can get is acquired by authorization of an application. One requirement important to highlight for this study is that communities must be consulted before any DUAT application is approved. When a DUAT application is approved, a provisional authorisation is issued valid for two years for foreigners and five years for nationals.(GTZ et al. 2007:11, 13). Furthermore, there are practical differentiations between large-, medium- and small scale investments in land and the scope of forestry exploitation. One large scale investor in this study is the private Norwegian-owned company Lúrio Green Resources (LGR) which was granted 126 000 hectares in several DUATs by the Mozambican government in 2010. The project is to plant eucalyptus for industrial purposes in the Nampula province including Mecubúri-, Ribaue- and Nampula district. The company LGR have, according to official data published online, a project budget of 2.2 billion USD of which 30 million USD are set for social activities which LGR have promised to use for the construction of schools, health posts and other infrastructure. (Forest industries 2010) These promises are separated from the community consultations and that linkage to social responsibility should rather be seen as part of the company’s own business strategy which is not regulated in the Mozambican law.

To put this investment in a context, it is important to highlight that there are other investments in land and forestry exploitation in Mozambique at the moment. Another large scale investment is currently undertaken which is an even bigger eucalyptus plantation of 173.000 hectares in Ile- and Namarroi district in the central part of the country. (Forest Industries 2010)

When discussing investments in the forestry sector we are referring to exploitation of forestry resources which can be carried out according to the two regimes: simple licences and forestry concession contracts as identified in the Forestry and Wildlife law. These forestry exploitation operators can be regarded as small- and medium-scale. A simple licence is limited to national operators and local communities for commercial, fuel production and industrial purposes. The area for simple licences is limited to 500 cubic metres and there is a time limit of one year, but the licence can be renewed. The forestry concession on the other hand has a time limit of maximum 50 years but can be renewed for periods of 50 years. Forestry concession is further defined in the Forestry and Wildlife law as a:

…delimited area in the public domain awarded to a particular operator under a concession contract for the purpose of forest exploitation in order to supply industry, with a previously approved management plan. (Article 1)

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5 Land law, Article 25.
6 Forestry and Wildlife Law, Article 1, paragraph 1.
7 Forestry and Wildlife Regulations, Article 16.
The forestry concessions are not limited to nationals but can include foreign individuals or corporations as well as local communities. The allocation of an area for forestry concession requires a so called hearing or renegotiation of the local community through the local state administration organs.  

Due to a central decision, the simple licences are in the process of being phased out and concessions are instead being promoted more strongly. According to one interviewee at the District Authority for Economic Activities (SDAE), the concessions create more jobs, estimated to about 300-400 workers while simple licence holders create about 40-50 jobs. These numbers are as mentioned only an estimate and presented to give an idea on the difference between the two forestry exploitation regimes. Another difference between the two regimes is that the law does not demand simple licence holders to replant but the SDAE in Mecubúri want to introduce replanting as an obligation.

4.2 The concept of local communities

Local communities are the entity at the center for this study and it is therefore crucial to present a generic definition of this concept. There are several ways of defining a local community and there have been attempts in clarifying this concept in the Mozambican context. The most difficult aspect is the definition in practice since many factors contribute to defining the physical borders of a local community as for example different traditions and cultures. As this study is investigating how local communities can be affected by investments in land, we have a point of departure in the existing laws and regulations ruling these issues. It is therefore valuable to look into the definition of a local community according to the land law, as

…a grouping of families and individuals, living in a territorial area that is at the level of a locality or smaller, which seeks to safeguard their common interests through the protection of areas for habitation or agriculture, whether cultivated or lying fallow, forests, places of cultural importance, pastures, water sources and areas for expansion. (The Land law, Article 1)

4.3 Community consultations

Community consultations are closely linked to the rather loose concept of social responsibility which is implicitly referred to in the Mozambican context in different laws, regulations, decrees etc. Community consultations are also called local consultations, linked to social responsibility or responsibility in a broader sense. Community consultations, as the consultations with the affected local communities will be referred to, is legalized and is an obligation of the investor according to Mozambican law. This aspect of the social responsibility is aimed at protecting the rights of the local communities which is one part of the fundamental deliberations in the overarching objective of the land law: to ensure access and security of land tenure not only for Mozambican peasants but also for national and foreign investors. (Land law) As stated earlier, the community consultations are not only mentioned in the land law as a requirement for national and foreign investors but also in the forestry and wildlife law as a requirement for concessionaires and simple licence holders to engage in forestry exploitation.

The community consultations are, in both the land law and forestry and wildlife law, primarily made to investigate if the land applied for is occupied or not. The community consultations are aimed at reducing the future risks of conflicts and provide an opportunity for local communities to negotiate on benefits from the investment. The legal framework for recognising and acquiring rights to rural land in Mozambique (2007) exemplifies the possibilities to guarantee job opportunities or building social infrastructure such as schools or wells. The document further states that the agreements or promises made during community consultations are considered binding. (GTZ et al.:28-29)

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8 Forestry and Wildlife Law, Article 17.
4.4 “The 20%”

In an effort to ensure that local communities would get something back from investments made in their area, the legal instrument commonly referred to as “the 20%” was installed in 1999, in the Forestry and Wildlife law. Regulations to the Forestry and Wildlife law ensures that 20% of any fee levied for forestry and wildlife exploitation is meant to benefit local communities in the area where resources have been extracted. Even though the regulations asserted that this fee should go to the benefits of local communities there were no mechanism on how this should be done until 2005 with a Ministerial Diploma (93/2005 of the 4th of May). The Diploma was a joint work between the Ministers of Agriculture and Rural Development, Planning and Finance and Tourism. In this legal document the mechanisms to channelling and using “the 20%” of the fee was defined.

The legal framework requires that in order to receive “the 20%” of the fee, the local community must be represented by a management committee with at least 10 members; both male and female. The committee must be registered at the administration on the district and post administrative level stating each member’s name, age as well as the type and number of the identification document. It is the entity responsible for licensing operators that also have the role to transfer “the 20%” to the benefitting local communities. This entity is the Provincial authority for Forestry and Wildlife (SPFFB). The SPFFB moreover need to ensure that a bank account is opened with a specific reference to the benefitting local communities. The money which corresponds to 20% of the fee should be paid to the benefitting community every three months. The signature of at least three members is required to move money from the bank account. The committee is further obliged to present the activities of the committee to the local community on a yearly basis.

4.5 Mecubúri district

At the moment there is only one concessionaire in Mecubúri according to the District Authorities for Economic Activities (SDAE) but there have been around eight to ten operators active in the district 2008-2010. SDAE have decided to only have one concessionaire for now but during an interview one representative claimed that two operators are in the process of getting a concession in forestry in Mecubúri. The authority further has eight requests for simple licences when we met with the authority in April 2011 but no forestry exploitation is taking place working with a simple licence for the time being. The numbers of operators clearly affect the possibilities for local communities to benefit from the fee that is derived by the government from forestry exploitation activities.

The District of Mecubúri where the field work primarily was carried out consists of four territorial and administrative centres called Post Administrativos and these are in turn divided in 12 Localidades (PEDD 2011). The state structure in the District of Mecubúri is furthermore divided into two substructures which are the Administration, including the Cabinet and the Secretariat, and the District government which is divided into five offices, of some which we met during the field study. The population within this area was estimated in 2007 to be a little over 180 000 inhabitants (Governo do distrito de Mecubúri 2010).

The use of land in Mecubúri is discussed with the point of departure that almost the entire population in the district are engaged in agricultural activities for subsistence farming. The main crops cultivated for food production in Mecubúri district are cassava (152 750), maize (29 538), beans (6335), peanuts (6003), sorghum (4760) where the parentheses illustrate the amount produced in tons. The main cash crops produced are cashew (310 346), cotton (10 400), and sesame (2275). (Governo do distrito de Mecubúri 2010)

9 Forestry and Wildlife law, Article 102.
10 Forestry and Wildlife law, Article 2, paragraph 2.
11 Forestry and Wildlife law, Article 4, paragraph 1.
12 Forestry and Wildlife law, Article 4, paragraph 2.
13 Forestry and Wildlife law, Article 6, paragraphs 1-3.
5. ENABLING ENVIRONMENT

This section will discuss the enabling environment which is constituted by the state organs that assist the technical process of transferring “the 20%” to benefitting local communities, NGOs that support the local communities and the private sector that enables the process. The enabling environment is as seen in the analytical framework, setting the conditions for local communities to benefit from “the 20%” and the agreements resulting from community consultations. However, the environment can also be regarded as ‘disabling’ if the proper conditions to facilitate local communities’ benefits from investments do not exist.

5.1 Public sector

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Ministerial Diploma from 2005 regulates the process of channelizing the money to the benefitting local communities. In addition to what is stated in that diploma, there are other steps in the procedures connected to the state organ structure, which in its turn is connected to the decentralization law- Lei dos Órgãos Locais do Estado (LOLE)\textsuperscript{14}. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Provincial Department of Forestry and Wildlife (SPFFB) are according to the law responsible for transferring the money to the local communities. The other state organs, at the provincial and district level, that are involved in the process are the Financial Department, the Directorate for Agriculture (DA) and the District Authority for Economic Activities (SDAE).

SPFFB has the responsibility to transmit the money to benefitting local communities, according to the law as the licence issuer for forestry exploitation. The role of the SPFFB in the process of transmitting “the 20%” starts with the calculation the amount of the fee that the operator should pay based on a list of criteria with for example type of tree that was cut down and the quantity. When the total amount is calculated, 15% is firstly taken away from the total amount of the fee. These 15% are destined to reforestation which includes hiring workers and to buying seedlings. Statistics from SPFFB show that it is actually so that “the 20%” is not really 20% of the total amount of the fee. “The 20%” are calculated after the 15% are subtracted from the amount which leaves the money going back to the community being less than 20% of the total fee derived from forestry operators. After the 15% of the fee destined to reforesting and “the 20%” going to local communities is calculated, the rest of the fee goes to the state budget.

SPFFB then compile a list of the amount of “the 20%” together with an annex showing how much the benefitting local community receive and why, and send it to the District Authorities for Economic Activities (SDAE), in the area where the benefitting local community is located. The list is then sent from the SDAE to the community leaders in the benefitting community. One interviewee explained that the list should be sent to all levels so that the information on the amount of “the 20%” and the annex are spread to all involved parties. The next step in the process is transmitting the cheque. This part of the process appears quite unclear but it seems as if the community, i.e. the representatives from the management committee, first collect the cheque from the District Administration in Mecubúri which should be transmitted from the DA to the SDAE. According to the law, the cheque should not be kept more than 24 hours at the SDAE. After receiving the cheque from the SDAE in Mecubúri, the representatives of the management committee must go to Nampula City in order to cash in the cheque to a bank account. The money is furthermore transmitted through the Financial Department on provincial level. Moreover, SPFFB’s role in the process does not end with sending the list over to the SDAE but continues in support of the creation of management committees as accounted for below.

5.1.1 Creation of the management committees

The need for a committee to manage “the 20%” of the fee is stated in the Forestry and Wildlife law. There are various ways, which we have met in the field study, to create the committee that will manage “the 20%” but the requirements, as stated in the law, are the same. The study can also

\textsuperscript{14} LOLE translates into “Law on Local Organs of State”.

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conclude that there is not always a committee where the money has been paid to the benefitting local communities. But when there is an existing committee, it could have been created on the initiative of the local communities with support from SPFFB or NGOs that provide the format for how the committee should be organised. It could also be that there is already a committee, sometimes called Committee for Management of Natural Resources (CGRN)\(^{15}\) with a broader purpose to protect the natural resources in the area, which includes managing “the 20%”. Some of these committees were created before the law on “the 20%” and following ministerial diploma came. Furthermore, the committees are created on various levels, from community-, localidad- and district level. The requirements of the committee’s organisations pertains that three members; the president, secretary and treasurer of the committee are the signatories when opening a bank account. To open a bank account, identification documents are needed. One interviewee claimed that opening a bank account, which requires many documents, is a problem for all provinces when the part of the fee should be paid to a community.

There seems to be some room of manoeuvre for state organs on the provincial level to find solutions to the perceived hindrances in the process of transmitting the money derived from forestry operators to local communities, although the requirements in the law cannot be disregarded. In the Nampula province for example the management committees are not registered as association as there is no need for the formal legal procedure to be done, according to a representative from SPFFB. The legalization of the committees is done when the format for the committee is signed and either the post administrativo or localidad level recognizes the format. One requirement is that the committee needs to be registered with the District Administration (GTZ \textit{et al.} 2007:53) and the formal procedure involves getting a stamp from the administration. The SPFFB have made an agreement with the bank Procredito in Nampula that allows the committees to open a bank account without paying the opening fee. This can thus be regarded as strategies from the provincial level to facilitate the process of transmitting “the 20%”. Another strategy made by SPFFB is a decision taken on the provincial level that the money derived for the fee is paid to the benefitting local communities once year, instead of four times a year as stated in the Forestry and Wildlife law. However, for rural communities, going to the district authority or Nampula is a trip that costs money since they very seldom have their own transports and therefore need to organise transport, usually through a local minibus which cost is estimated to 75Mt.

5.1.2 Concluding public sector

The main role of the public sector is to provide the technical assistance that enables the transmission of “the 20%”. As explained above, this process starts with SPFFB calculating the amount of money to be given to the local communities, through the Financial Department and the SDAE until the money is received by the benefitting local community. There is a geographical distance between the state organs involved in the transmission process as the state organs involved in the process are on provincial-, district-, sub-district- and local level. This can be viewed as balancing efficiency on the one hand and transparency and decentralisation on the other. It could be claimed that the process can be summarized as focusing more on transparency than efficiency. The particular implications that this distance have will be elaborated upon later in the study. It can however, be noted as a hinder and therefore a factor linked more to the concept of a disabling environment rather than enabling environment. Furthermore, the study has observed that there are different organisations and structures of the management committees. This could imply that it might be more difficult to monitor and follow up how the committees are working as the committees are created on different levels. The role of the public sector can then, in summary, be viewed as facilitating the benefits for local communities while some aspects of that role is, at the same time, contradictory to that same purpose. What could be done differently and the implications of this will be discussed in the coming analytical chapter of this study.

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\(^{15}\) CGRN = Comité de Gestão dos Recursos Naturais.
5.2 NGOs support to local communities

Different NGOs are also contributing to the enabling environment in relation to the process of transmitting “the 20%” although it is the public sector that has the most prominent role in facilitating the transmission. Moreover, the NGOs have a central role in supporting local communities in community consultations. Interviewees in the communities affected by investments have called these consultations a second possibility, in addition to “the 20%”, for local communities to benefit from investors. Even though representatives from the district government are present during community consultation, the public sectors’ support in connection to the consultations does not appear as strong as the NGOs and that is why the role of NGOs is highlighted in this regard. Thus, the NGOs are working to enable local communities’ benefits in two aspects important for this study: the transmission of “the 20%” and the support during community consultations. These two aspects will be elaborated upon jointly as it is more important to clarify the role of the NGOs than separating the two channels to benefit local communities.

5.2.1 Supporting the transmission of “the 20%”

The NGOs identified as working to support local communities’ benefits from investments in land and forestry exploitation are Olipa, ORAM and Forum Terra. In terms of support in the transmission of “the 20%” these NGOs are working to spread information about the law which regulates local communities’ right to the money. The NGOs also give information and practical assistance in how to create management committees needed to receive “the 20%” as well as help to opening bank accounts. There is a division of the responsibility of the creation and support of and to the CGRNs between NGOs and SPFFB. Forum Terra is responsible for seven districts, ORAM for six and one representative from SPFFB is responsible for four districts. NGOs are also following-up and monitoring the created CGRNs.

5.2.2. Protecting the land rights of local communities

Some of the NGOs active in Mecubúri district have the overarching aim to support local communities in protecting the right to land. A part of this task entails supporting delimitations of land. One NGO representative expressed a concern that many local communities are not delimited and this is important since local communities, when delimited are perceived as stronger in community consultations and can decide if they want an investment, like that of LGR, in their area or not. When asked to elaborate upon the reasons why many communities in Mecubúri are not delimited yet, one interviewee answered that there was a lack of information and that even though NGOs are working to sensibilize the communities in these questions, it is not enough and it is a lengthy process. Another reason expressed was a lack of technicians from the cadastral services that could help in the work of sensibilizing and promoting communities to delimit their land.

Representatives from Olipa in Mecubúri said that the strongest reason for their presence in Namina is due to the big forestry investment of Lúrio Green Resources (LGR). The aim of Olipa’s work in Namina is to secure local communities’ right to land and for this purpose, Olipa is working with delimitation arguing that with delimited land the community can enter into negotiations with investors in a better way. The need for delimitating communities in the area of the big investment of

16 Olipa - Organization for sustainable development.
17 ORAM - Rural Association for Mutual Support, Mozambique.
18 Forum Terra- Working with natural resources, land and forestry resources, and the environment in general.
19 SPFFB are responsible for the districts; Namapa, Monsgiuial, Mogovals and Ribaué.
20 Delimitation and demarcation are two different processes. The former is when borders of the land are identified and mapped. This is then established in a certificate. The latter, demarcation, is a technical process in which land is measured with GPS and the borders are marked out. The Demarcation is performed only by the cadastral authorities.
LGR is stressed since the project is still considered new and the company has not yet received the permanent DUAT. One NGO representative claimed that when the company has the permanent DUAT, which can be given to a foreign investor after two years, the local communities do not have the possibility to reclaim the land given to the company.

Another task in connection to protecting local communities’ right to land is the work done by NGOs in conflict resolution. Conflicts over land between investor and local communities and/or members of local communities are important for this study to highlight, but it should be noted that conflicts over land also occurs between local communities as well as within local communities.

5.2.3 Strengthening local communities in community consultations

One cornerstone when examining the environment in relation to the possible effects on local communities is the community consultations. In previous research this is an aspect referred to as flawed and there are examples from Mozambique where these consultations are not carried out in a way that lets the communities’ voices be heard and their opinions expressed. One NGO representative in Namina talked about the existence of ‘consultas nocturnas’ which would translate into ‘shady consultations’. These consultations, which are said to have taken place in other districts than Mecubúri, were acknowledge to have been poorly executed, meaning that they did not take into consideration the local communities, had few participants, and farmers who’s fields were in the proposed area for the investment were not present etc. These conditions raise a fear that conflicts may arise in the future as the interests and opinions of the communities and people affected by the investments were not raised. ORAM is working with assisting local communities in community consultations to ensure that the process is done according to the law. Furthermore, the NGOs have a monitoring role and they will report and raise questions to the affected authorities if a community consultation is carried out in a bad manner, or simply not in accordance to the existing laws and regulations.

5.2.4 Concluding NGOs support

The NGOs are seemingly playing an important role in enabling local communities as beneficiaries from “the 20%” and from the agreements resulting out of the community consultations. The most important efforts made by NGOs to highlight are the creation and assistance of the management committees, the transmission of the law and information concerning the processes of both “the 20%” and how community consultations are carried out.

5.3 Private sector

The following section will briefly discuss the role of the private sector as the enabler of the benefits to the local communities through the payment of fees and promises made to local communities in consultations.

The private sector have a more concrete role in the process as the operators pay the fee which partly is given to local communities which makes them a part of the enabling environment. However, it should be remembered that the public sector provide the legislation and regulations around the process which constitute this enabling environment to begin with. Foremost, it is the state structure and NGOs that are supporting or hindering the benefits coming from the private sector to the local communities. The relation between private sector and community as well as the public sectors and the civil societies’ role is apparent as constituting the enabling environment in the Community (dis)empowerment model but these relations can also be linked to the structure-actor approach.
6. EFFECTS OF INVESTMENT ON LOCAL COMMUNITIES IN MECUBÚRI

Through the interview material and the regulations in the forestry- and land laws, it is clear that local communities have two possibilities to benefit from investments in their communities; “the 20%”, and the agreements which are a result of community consultations. This section will establish that these two components can, and have effects on local communities in Mecubúri.

6.1 The use of “the 20%”

Regarding “the 20%”, it is important to examine how this money has been used and for what in order to answer the second research question at hand for this study regarding how local communities are affected by investments in land in Mecubúri. As the aim clarifies, one focus in this study is the part of the fee derived from forestry operators, referred to as “the 20%”. Connected to the analytical framework, the effects of “the 20%” will be investigated in terms of how the eight bases of social power are influenced by the money received from part of the fee. Thus, it is primarily what the money has been used for that is focused on, but other important aspects to consider in order to understand the possibilities for benefits for local communities are the amount of the fee and how the money have been managed. This last aspect will be investigated in relation to the main findings of how the public sector and NGOs constitute an enabling or disabling environment.

It is possible to identify some trends in the usage of “the 20%” and one aspect often mentioned in connection to this is that it coincides with the governments’ responsibilities. In many cases, “the 20%” is used to build or improve social infrastructure such as schools, health units and water wells. Some examples of what the money has been used for are to buy logs in order to build a health unit or to invest in tin plates to put on the school roofs. The identified need by communities has been that tin roofs are a more sustainable solution compared to the traditional way of making roofs from collected grass and sticks which needs to be replaced yearly. There are different opinions on what the money should and should not be used for. Some interviewees argued for stronger regulations in the law and the Ministerial diploma so that the efforts do not coincide with what the government should do. Others brought up the possibility to provide the committees with expert help within different fields, such as business, agriculture or trade in order to diversify the use of “the 20%”. At the same time, many interviewees acknowledge that the local communities identify building a school or equipping the school with tin roofs as a good way to use the money and as something that in the end benefit these communities. While using the money on social infrastructure is positive and may enable the state to further invest in these initiatives there is nothing which guarantees that the government can assist with teachers or allocate resources or that there is a political will to do so. The most common opinion seems to be that it is problematic that the money is used by the local communities for things that essentially are the responsibility for the state organs. One representative from SDAE concluded that it is not easy to know what the money has been used for and there is a need of more clear guidelines on how to use “the 20%”. The need for more stringent guidelines is often expressed in cases when the local leader, the régulo\(^1\), is the beneficiary and he/she for example requests a motorbike. This request may be viewed as benefitting one individual but as this individual is required to perform functions on the behalf of the community there might be a collective interest in this arrangement. Linked to these expressed needs of clearer rules, there is a perceived need, to better monitor and follow-up were the money is going. Another important question to answer in order to facilitate the aim of understanding how local communities can benefit from the fee is to account for the amount of “the 20%”. In table 2 below, the amount received from operators between the years 2008 – 2010 in Mecubúri district will be presented.

\(^1\) The régulos is structures originating in the colonial system of administrative division.
Table 2. The amount of “the 20%” in Mecubúri between 2008-2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Benefitting community</th>
<th>The total amount of the fee (Mt)</th>
<th>Amount of 20% (Mt)</th>
<th>Benefitting community</th>
<th>The total amount of the fee (Mt)</th>
<th>Amount of 20% (Mt)</th>
<th>Benefiting community</th>
<th>The total amount of the fee (Mt)</th>
<th>Amount of 20% (Mt)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Momane</td>
<td>89.700</td>
<td>15.249</td>
<td>Namilala</td>
<td>234.750</td>
<td>39.907</td>
<td>Malite</td>
<td>276.000</td>
<td>46.920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namilala</td>
<td>62.500</td>
<td>10.625</td>
<td>Mecúbri-Sede</td>
<td>152.375</td>
<td>25.904</td>
<td>Cotocola</td>
<td>184.000</td>
<td>31.280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inticuane</td>
<td>57.500</td>
<td>9.775</td>
<td>Napai</td>
<td>104.500</td>
<td>17.765</td>
<td>Rainha Muira</td>
<td>175.950</td>
<td>29.911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Momane</td>
<td>51.750</td>
<td>8.798</td>
<td>Momane</td>
<td>104.075</td>
<td>17.693</td>
<td>Marinjane</td>
<td>172.500</td>
<td>29.235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mataca-Sohúca</td>
<td>35.250</td>
<td>5.992</td>
<td>Muitê-Sede</td>
<td>82.225</td>
<td>13.978</td>
<td>Nametil</td>
<td>126.500</td>
<td>21.505</td>
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<tr>
<td>Momane</td>
<td>26.000</td>
<td>4.420</td>
<td>Namilala</td>
<td>57.500</td>
<td>9.775</td>
<td>Napaua</td>
<td>126.500</td>
<td>21.505</td>
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<tr>
<td>Momane</td>
<td>48.875</td>
<td>8.309</td>
<td>Nampua</td>
<td>115.000</td>
<td>19.550</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mataca-Sohúca</td>
<td>48.875</td>
<td>8.309</td>
<td>Muitê-Sede</td>
<td>112.125</td>
<td>19.061</td>
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<tr>
<td>Malite</td>
<td>40.250</td>
<td>6.842</td>
<td>Nahipa</td>
<td>112.125</td>
<td>19.061</td>
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<tr>
<td>Popúe</td>
<td>23.000</td>
<td>3.910</td>
<td>Issipe</td>
<td>79.600</td>
<td>13.352</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Ratane</td>
<td>73.600</td>
<td>12.512</td>
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<tr>
<td>In total</td>
<td>417.575</td>
<td>92.145</td>
<td>979.800</td>
<td>166.566</td>
<td>1.740.775</td>
<td>295.932</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: SPFFB 2008a, SPFFB 2009a, SPFFB 2010a [1.000Mt= 33,8409 USD].

The numbers presented in table 2 can be compared to an example of another district in Nampula province, where one community named Moma received 500.000Mt. As the amount can vary a great deal between communities it indicates that there are very different possibilities to use “the 20%” significantly between different communities.

Table 2 shows that the amount of “the 20%” varies greatly, from about 4000Mt to 50.000Mt. The statistics also shows that there are cases when the amount of “the 20%” received by one community corresponds exactly to the amount of another community. This observation indicates that forestry resource exploitation is sometimes done in an area which stretches over more than one community. According to the law\footnote{Diploma Ministerial nr 93/2005, article 5.}, the amount will then be split evenly between the affected communities. There is no system for monitoring how much of the forestry resources are exploited in each community in order to calculate how much each community are entitled to receive. This can be seen in table 2 which shows that in 2010, the two communities Nametil and Napaua received the same amount.

There are also cases where the money has not yet been paid to the benefitting local communities. The Director of SDAE explained that there were currently four local communities in the District of Mecubúri that were waiting for their 20%, and the reason given as to why they are still waiting is that they do not have a bank account yet. One example of how the communities are trying to get access to the money when there is some hindrance in the process is that the chief of the village and the chief of the locality in Momane had requested the money by writing to the district administrator and the SDAE. However, this is not how the process is supposed to be done. This particular event happened in 2010 and the community is still waiting for the money. Besides the problematic of opening a bank account, it may also be difficult for the representatives of the management committee to travel to Nampula City which may also delay the payments of “the 20%”. Furthermore, there are some concerns that the process is too slow and the money ‘get stuck’ at the Financial Department, indicating that there is a favouring of the transparency-aspect of the process, compared to the efficiency-aspect where money could potentially be paid through alternative channels.

To exemplify how “the 20%” have been used and managed, three cases will be highlighted in the following box (Box 1.). These examples illustrates how the management and process differ, but it will...
also show some common characteristics and potential problems and implications which will be discussed later on.

Box 1. Three examples of the management and use of the “the 20%” in Mecubúri

Popué – Natala

In the case of Popué and Natala a committee was created in 1997-1998 by the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) before the law on “the 20%” was established and therefore had a different purpose initially than managing “the 20%”. The FAO-created committee was initiated in one of the communities with the intention for it to train a committee in the other community. However, by the time an operator came to the area there was still no committee in that particular community. Accordingly, there was no committee in the area affected by the exploitation. According to the SPFFB the fault for this lies on the district level as they claim that FAO should have established committees in both communities in relation to their projects. Due to these circumstances the community received the money directly without it going through the committee-system. Therefore, it can be claimed that there was a lack of transparency in the process, yet the money did go to the affected community without any greater difficulties, despite them not having a committee or a bank account.

Napaua

Napaua is another example where the money was not allocated to the community through the intended channels. The weakness was said to be with the Directorate for Agriculture (DA) as the director of the DA gave “the 20%” directly to the régulo although there was a management committee created. The régulo, in this case, called for the committee and said that it was their task to manage the money. The director for the DA did not act according to the law, but in the end, the money was managed by the committee. However, this example shows how efficiency was favoured over the transparency of using the intended structures.

Namititi

The community had an operator in 2009 and they received “the 20%” which the community used to buy chairs and desks to the school and a well. They got 6.000 Mt in total. It was the committee for natural resource management that received the money in cash. The committee for natural resource management, the population and the consultative council jointly discussed what the money should be used for. They did not have any further discussions since it was already established that there was a common desire to construct a well due to lack of water in the area and a need for chairs and desks in the school. The final decision was made by the president of the committee. The reason why the consultative council was invited was due the rule that the consultative council always should be present at meetings important for the community. The money was put to good use according to the community’s wishes, yet the money did not follow the intended channels as it was given in cash rather than through the cheque-system including the establishment of a bank account etc. Once more it can thus be claimed that efficiency was favored over the transparency which the proper channels entail.

As the examples in box 1 indicate, the money is not always following the legal procedure even though it reaches the community. There are several examples where “the 20%” of the fee was given to communities, in one way or another, which is outside the legal channels provided. Also, sometimes there was a committee and at other times there was no committee created. As mentioned earlier, it is difficult to answer why the legal procedure is not always followed. It is especially difficult to answer in which step of the process there is a deviance from the requirements in the process. The study can only conclude that the reasons why the money is given directly to a community varies from that there is no existing committee in the area of the forestry exploitation, to problems of registering the committees, getting a bank account etc. Clearly there needs to be more investigations done within this area. However, as pointed out in the examples there are clear discrepancies in the relation between transparency and efficiency in the process which will be elaborated on later in this study.
6.1.1 Problems and implications with the use and management of “the 20%”

There are various hindrances connected to the process of “the 20%” as we have seen during the field study in Mecubúri. One of the main findings is that the legal process may be difficult to comply with and that the legal framework is not always followed.

In practice, the representatives need to go to the district once and to Nampula twice (once to register bank account and a second time to actually get the money from the account). The cost for the trip or trips could be out of proportion in relation to the amount of the money received.23 When concessionaires are operating in multiple communities, which means that the money will be split evenly by the number of affected communities, it is unclear in the findings if each community needs to, in practice, have one committee and one bank account or if each individual community set up their own structures. According to the law, all benefitting communities shall have a management committee.

“The 20%” should be disbursed every three months to the community according to the law but it is not. In Nampula province there has been a decision taken that the money should be paid yearly, in the end of the agricultural campaign. The Financial department is delaying the payments, to one year after the operator has exploited. One example is that the Financial department now (2011) pay for “the 20%” from 2009, which should have been paid in December 2009. The reason behind the system in Nampula regarding this is that “the 20%” often constitute a very low amount of money and therefore it is, in a sense, more cost-effective to accumulate the payments into one bigger pot for the communities. However, a prerequisite for the payment is for the committees to already have established their bank accounts, if this is not done the payments will be delayed due to this reason instead.

6.2 Benefits as results of community consultations

The agreements reached between communities and operators, during the community consultations, are one part of the possibilities for local communities to benefit from investments. There are however many indications of a slow process from that the promises are made to that, the promises – in the best case scenario are attended to by investors and operators. There was one government official that in 2010 recognized the need to register and map the promises made by operators and the need to follow-up if these promises were kept. This identified need, resulted in a list which states the promises made by operators to local communities and which have been kept. In table 3 below, an extraction from that list shows the promises made by operators to local communities in Mecubúri district between 2009 and 2010. It must be stressed that neither of these promises made by operators, showed in table 3 have been fulfilled according to this list.

23 The local transport = chapas, a trip between Mecubúri center and Nampula City ≈ 75Mt.
Table 3: Promises made by forestry operators in Mecubúri 2009 and 2010 and the stated beneficiary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stated beneficiary</th>
<th>Promises made by the operator</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td>Buying zinc plates and cement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Buying zinc plates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Buying zinc plates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Buying zinc plates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Help to buy zinc plates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Buying zinc plates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Buying zinc plates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Members in the local community</td>
<td>Buying 60 zinc plates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[No specific stated beneficiary]</td>
<td>Creating micro-business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Open three bore holes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community</td>
<td>Buying a motorcycle and zinc plates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Partly contribute to 60 zinc plates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Buying 50 zinc plates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Régulo</td>
<td>Buying a motorbike</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zinc plates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Buying zinc plates and a motorbike</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: SPFFB 2009(b), SPFFB 2010 (b).

It is through the information derived from the list clear that schools are the most common stated beneficiary in the promises made by operators. It can further be read that tin plates are a common promise to make.

6.2.1 Job opportunities

The recruitment of workers for the plantation is done with the help from the régulos, which are a form of traditional chiefs. The company presents its needs to the régulo and he or she then suggests workers to the company. The company is aware that in many cases it is the régulo’s friends and family that are employed through this system and, according to local information, some régulos also ask for money from people that want to be employed. The recruitment process is simple; the régulo calls for a meeting with the population and those interested sign up on a list. This process is supervised by a technician from LGR and there are criteria such as the workers cannot be too old or too young. The selection is made according to the list and when they need additional worker, the régulo can facilitate this.

On the topic of recruitment, the gender perspective is highly important to consider. LGR claims that they try to consider a gender balance in recruiting workers but that this depends on the task. It appears as if women are more represented in the nursery of the plantations while other tasks such as working in the plantation-field are carried out mainly by men. There are women working in the plantation but there are no available numbers provided about this.

6.2.2 Providing agricultural support

Within the work of LGR there is a component called ‘the social component’ which is separated from the agreement resulting from community consultation and should be seen as part of the company’s policy. As representatives from LGR explained in an interview, this component includes an area of 37,000 hectares where the company have agricultural activities such as soya plantations, and in the future there will be maize and bean plantations. The soya plantation project started in 2010 and it has about 350 families involved in the production and the aim is to get 2000 families in the production. There is a pilot project where 22 hectares is used to produce soya seeds. There are ten permanent
workers on the soya plantation for domestic consumption and 30 seasonal workers. The production of soya beans is mainly to make cooking oil but also to sell as export. The company representative also referred to the construction of health clinics and schools as examples of what can be included in the social responsibility in the future. As the project is still new, there has not been any social infrastructure built yet.

LGR have introduced so called focal points to organise the soya production activities so that the company is more present in the communities and that the company and communities build up a confidence for each other. This expressed need for confidence building is important in order for the project to be successful. The communities must be guaranteed that the company will keep their promise and buy the products. This need for increased confidence can be traced to bad experiences in the past where companies, especially in the cotton industry, had promised to buy the produce but ended up not buying it.

6.3 The local communities’ expectations and fears

A governmental representative at post administrative level in Namina where LGR are planting eucalyptus said that the presence of LGR was already visible in that there was a reduction of unemployment due to the job opportunities created in the plantation. There were 20 permanent workers and 60 seasonal workers at the plantation in Namina. The same governmental representative said that he thought the company would have a greater impact in terms of bringing job opportunities, reducing absolute poverty and have a positive effect on the local economy.

Other expectations mentioned are that the planned saw mill and paper production in Namina would in the future benefit the schools as the company could support the school by supplying paper. This anticipation was also shared with an interviewee at a school in Namina. He also saw possibilities that the school would be able to purchase books and notebooks at a lower price. However, it should be noted that these expectations are from the perspectives of locals who may not necessarily have the full perspective of the time-span for such a project to have effects in the local communities. From a more environmentally informed source, one technician from Forum Terra expressed some concern with the eucalyptus plantation in Namina as eucalyptus is consuming a lot of water. The technician also questioned if the farmers would be able to cultivate in the area where they are now, as eucalyptus also is draining the soil of nutrients.

There were also uncertainties whether or not LGR would keep the promises it made during the community consultations about supporting health and education. Furthermore, the government in Namina had difficulties of getting in contact with LGR. The government representatives in Namina said that they had tried to invite LGR to meetings to discuss these concerns but no company representatives participated. There have also been conflicts between farmers and the company as LGR have got the right to land where farmers were cultivating. The farmers were promised that they could harvest before LGR would start planting on these fields. However, the plantations were executed before the farmers had harvested their fields and the crops were destroyed. There were two cases in Namina where two farmers’ crop were destroyed and they calculated how much money they had lost by not being able to harvest and sell their cassava. The estimated amount was 1,000Mt and 3,000Mt respectively which the two farmers demanded from LGR. However, LGR did not accept this calculation and took the conflict to the local court where the attorney defended the farmers’ right and they were given the money which they claimed they were entitled to. In relation to the investments made by LGR, 1.000-3.000Mt is not much and since they were willing to go to court their reasons for not accepting the calculations must have been based on strong principles from the company’s side.
7. EXISTING STRUCTURES

During the interviews conducted in Mecubúri district there was a visibility of the importance of organization in the local communities and the study came in contact with numerous associations, councils, committees, and other forms of organization. These forms of organizations will be discussed in order to later be able to evaluate the present capacity in the local communities and how this could possibly be linked to the management of “the 20%”. The structures which are made an account for in this section can all be viewed as ‘mechanisms’ outside the public sector (with the exception of the school council). Due to the extensive number of forms of organization in the district, this section will categorize the structures into sub-categories related to agriculture, trade, credits, social affairs and natural resource management.

7.1 Agriculture

One form of organization in the local communities of Mecubúri is the creation of farmers’ associations. Associations of this kind are often created on the initiative of an NGO, as is the case for the association in Mutapa–Namina in Mecubúri district, which is our example. This particular association has got a member base of 32 farmers, with an equal gender ratio, where there is one president, one secretary and one treasurer. They work collectively to produce and sell the products within agriculture, horticulture and animal breeding. The association has a storage unit where they can keep the produced maize until it can be sold for prices favorable to them.

Besides the fact that the members have their own fields for their main agricultural production, the association has a joint field where each farmer is responsible for a small plot and the revenues from these activities are collectively saved. It is either used for communal purposes, where the sum does not need to be reimbursed, such as funerals, or it is used for individual needs through a credit system. Expressed benefits, by the members, of being in an association are that it is easier to carry through ideas and to solve social issues and problems. They also see the association as a greater channel in case they would like to forward problems to higher authorities.

Anyone who is willing to abide to the associations’ rules such as what to produce, when and how the revenues are to be used, are welcome to join and there is no fee. The member base stretches from 19-45 years of age but the majority is between 30 and 40 years old. The members of the association have participated in training related to nutrition, animal vaccination, how to sow and the breeding of goats.

In short, there is here an indication that farmers’ associations can be used as an instrument for local communities when they for instance want to communicate both horizontally within the community, but also vertically as they see the association as a channel to communicate with higher authorities. Through the association there is also a strengthening of the know-how of new or improved farming techniques due to the training received.

7.2 Youth associations

Another form of agricultural organization is that of youth clubs, or associations, created in Mecubúri on the initiative of SCIP. In these associations the youth learn new or improved techniques in agriculture and how to grow beans, peanuts, sesame or horticulture. The selection of what to grow depends on the nutrition needed for good health. One youth association, created in 2010, in addition also learn how to cultivate piri piri (peppers) and how to use chemical products as pesticides. For this they first receive two days of training and later on a regular training from a technician from SCIP.

Each club received a demonstration field, allocated to the club by the community leaders, which is set up for educational purposes only. The youth is taught all steps from preparing the soil, to watering

24 Strengthening Communities through Integrated Planning – SCIP is an organization composed of five different NGOs; World relief, PSI, CARE, CLUSA and Path finder international.
correctly, to harvest and they will then according to their own capacity apply this to their own fields. According to the youth, some of this information is given in school but SCIP teach them how to perform it in practice and it has enabled them to get better yields. They believe the community in general is benefiting through this SCIP-initiative.

For the district there is one extension-assistant that provides support to the youth associations, and each association have two monitors, one girl and one boy. They are supposed to act for the assistant while he is not present. These are given extra education and training as a strategy by SCIP to ensure that there is capacity for someone to take over and train more people within agriculture once SCIP will leave the area.

The members of the youth association interviewed gave examples of how they transmit information to their parents regarding how to sow in rows, to avoid using fire in production and how to best prepare the soil. Furthermore, the youths transmit information to the communities about HIV/AIDS and the use of contraceptives. Community meetings with this purpose was arranged by SCIP via the Cabos and then practically transmitted by the youths.

In sum, this form of youth organization can have certain potentials for local communities as there is a capacity building in the younger population which is aimed at having spill-over effects in the rest of the community. The knowledge invested in the youth includes not only agricultural practices but also knowledge and understanding of societal issues such as the use of contraceptives which can have a positive implication in the life of the community as a whole.

7.3 Commercial/cash crop production

Within agricultural structures there is one more actor of importance to the communities of Mecubúri: Sociedade Algodoeira de Nampula (SANAM), a private company. It is involved in cotton cultivation and provides farmers with seeds and teaches them cultivation techniques such as how to sow cotton in rows. During the spraying and weeding, SANAM has got technicians who do follow-ups and check that the right techniques are applied and motivate the farmers to continue.

Additionally, SANAM technicians teach farmers when to harvest and how to store cotton and how to build storages. They also help the farmers to organize themselves in regards to prices but they also work with issues such as if there are bad roads hindering the cotton collection. They will then cooperate with the communities to rehabilitate the roads or if there is a need for a bridge they will jointly ensure that it is constructed.

In sum, through the work and presence of SANAM, there is an increased knowledge in the communities of the practices and benefits which agricultural commercialization may provide. They receive practical training in how to create appropriate conditions for this type of activity – an incentive which may prove to be valuable for the communities in case they would like to expand the commercialization within other areas of agriculture.

7.4 Trade

In Mecubúri district there are several associations regarding trade with the aim of increasing the capacity of small scale businesses and farmers. One of the common ways for associations, with trade in focus, to expand themselves is to apply for credit through what is officially known as the District Development Fund (FDD). In Natuco village there is one association which collects and sells precious stones. It was originally the activity of a few individuals but in order to make it more profitable they decided to start an association

\[25\] Cabo = a traditional position which in the hierarchical system is positioned under the chief of the village.

\[26\] Fundo Distrital Desenvolvimento.
and work collectively. The association does not have access to a specific market, but traders come to Natuco village to purchase the stones, whose price is set through negotiations. The association applied for a loan through the FDD and received 75 000Mt for which it bought new tools, necessary for collecting stones, and it also invested in a mill. The reason for using a part of the loan to invest in a mill was in order to have an extra income generating activity which would enable the members to pay back their debt faster.

During the field study there were additional associations with trade or small scale business as their focus which were interviewed, one informal trade association in Momane and one association of traders in Mecubúri center. Both of these applied for money through the FDD and one of their main activities used to be commercialization of surplus which they bought from local farmers. The association in the center of Mecubúri started its activities within commercialization but due to the large amount of surplus and a low demand in Nampula diminished its focus within this field. The association in Momane did commercialization of surplus in a smaller scale and now focuses on being resellers of products from Nampula, which is also one activity of the association of traders in Mecubúri center.

In the association in Mecubúri center 15% of the profits are saved to be used as a credit system and to repay the FDD loan. These 15% are described as one of the main advantages of being in the association as it allows the members to invest in their businesses, provided that that can pay back their individual loan before the campaign of buying up surplus commences. They wish to expand their business to be able to buy more surplus and eventually have their own means of transport. The association in Momane provided information about additional advantages of being in an association. It maintained that through their participation they had been able to make social improvements in their lives such as being able to buy new kitchenware or school uniforms for their children. Also, although they did not receive any particular capacity training in how to start an enterprise, they managed to create the conditions necessary to form a functioning association.

In sum, these structures indicate that there is a growing potential in the management of commercialization of surplus and the recognition that perhaps there needs to be investments such as in the means of transport in order to make it more sustainable. Through these structures, communities may also view the investment in a mill as an incentive, which can provide an income generating activity simultaneously as it provides a useful service for the community. This is certainly perceived as a win-win situation. Features such as the 15% credit-pot, may also spur ideas or enable the realization of ideas on how to make businesses grow, thus making the perception of credit systems more beneficial to the communities.

7.5 Credit

Additional structures found in Mecubúri district of importance to the local communities are the credit systems which exist through civil society based credit organizations or through local savings groups. One example found in Mecubúri center was Wiwanama, a female savings and credit group which was one out of the seven similar groups found in the district. It was created after the provincial NGO OPHAVELA had informed the communities about the possibilities of creating a savings group. The women saw clear benefits of working collectively to save money as this is hard to do individually and it has enabled them to purchase items which are relatively expensive, such as mattresses.

Wiwanama keep the money in a box, held by the president and the keys to the box are kept with two of the associations’ members. Before the responsibility to keep the box is decided upon, the president and her husband must undergo an evaluation to, for instance, determine whether the husband is trustworthy. The evaluation of the woman, and especially her husband and their relationship, seemed to be an important criterion in the allocation of this task. The women agreed that they trusted each

27 Mt (MZN)= Meticas, 1USD= 29,4500 Meticas.
28 In the local language Macua OPHAVELA means ‘to look for’ or to ‘search for a solution’.
other but not each other’s men. It appears as if the savings group used this system to combat the perceived problem that men are not trustworthy. The system of the group means that each year they start with 0Mt and if any of the members fail to pay back their loan on the set date they will pay a fine of 50Mt independently of how much they have borrowed. Furthermore, they have to present a yearly report to OPHAVELA where they present the current status of the association, and OPHAVELA may also come and do follow-ups and sit-in on meetings of the association.

Another establishment of credit systems found in Mecubúri district is that of RCRN (IRAM). It is a provincial NGO initiative to give small loans or credit to members within its association, both groups and individuals. RCRN was established in Nampula in 2005 and in Namina, where one of the interviews took place, it was started in April 2006. RCRN receives funding from foreign governments as well as from a Swiss NGO called Helvetas. The system of the organization is designed so either individuals or groups of 4-6 members can apply for loans. However in order to be a member of RCRN, and thus be eligible to get loans, they have to pay a member-fee of 50Mt.

If a group applies for a loan, one of the members of the group will act as a supervisor, responsible for collecting the money before it is to be handed back to the provider. Loans are given to three types of activities with three different target groups. One is solidarity loans provided to small traders, another is agricultural loans provided to farmers and lastly, agricultural trading loans provided to agricultural commodity traders. (Vletter 2006:37) The RCRN determines who will get access to credit depending on an evaluation of the applicants’ behaviour and attitude, which can be hard to estimate.

Furthermore, in order for individuals to attain a loan they must provide a ‘credit guarantee’ which ensures that they will have the ability to repay their loan. The credit guarantee is also what influences the amount of credit which the applicants can get a loan for. The organization has the authority to confiscate belongings in case a debt is not reimbursed in time and it has authorization from the Bank of Mozambique to do so. Another notable feature of RCRN is that it will not provide credit to those who have already benefitted from the FDD.

In sum, the credit structures in Mecubúri district indicates that there is an increased capacity, or at least a potential capacity, to handle money or credits as they will have to provide credit guarantees and undergo certain evaluations to determine if they are eligible for loans. Furthermore, the communities acquire booking experiences through the creation of reports of their financial activities – skills which are essential when attempting to reach transparency in activities related to financial activities or activities engaged in money management.

7.6 Social Affairs

In Mecubúri there are a number of different forms of organizations dealing with social or communal issues such as health, sanitation, water and education. One example is the Committee for Water and Sanitation Environment in Namina. It was created in 2007, as a pilot program, with the support from CARE international, and its members were selected depending on their individual behaviour and knowledge about the issues. The members also received training by CARE, which was held at the school during the course of 3 days where the main priority was the construction and maintenance of a well. The task of the committee was also to build latrines and to spread information about latrines and hygiene and make house-visits in the community to reduce the number of unhygienic practises. The committee provided a report to the CARE technicians where it made an account for their activities.

Through another SCIP initiative there are also health-committees set up in all of the health centres which include traditional leaders, such as Cabos. The objective is to generate a greater participation in health issues and to have the ability to mobilize the community through the community leaders to ease the situation in case of, for instance, a diarrhoea epidemic. This system is favourable since it may be unreasonable to assume that nurses and health staff can spread information to an entire community effectively. The health committee also have the task of auditing the health staff to ensure that there is no corruption or theft.
Furthermore, one form of organization present in Mecubúri, which is a national incentive by the government, is the establishment of school councils. One of the functions of the school council is to mobilize students to attend secondary school. The council also contacts the families of students whom appear to have social problems. Also, in case the school is in need of financial support the council may reach out to the families of the school’s students and asks for them to help with funding. However, the main function is to supervise the school system, including teachers, and ensure that it is functioning well. The council is comprised of teachers, parents and students.

From the District Director of Education’s point of view, the school council is an instrument to reach parents and it can act as an intermediate between the school and the parents. Through this structure, he believes, that the community is empowered when it comes to questions regarding education. The students have, in his opinion, a big role in the council but the actual number of students in the council depends on the number of students attending the school. The minimum student-representation is two students, regardless of the size of the school. If problems arise within the council, its members can be substituted with individuals regarded to be more suitable representatives.

The school council has elections annually in March at the school level. The classes elect parents to post within different fields of responsibilities such as environment, construction or agriculture. They are provided with manuals which, in detail, describe how these elections etcetera are to be conducted.

In the school council of Namina, established in 2003, they discuss issues such as mobilizing girls to go to school, or for students to use the latrines. Meetings are held twice a year unless there are specific issues which needs to be addressed, such as if there needs to be a construction of classrooms, houses for teachers or in cases of perceived premature pregnancies. Students may have separate meetings before the council meeting in case this is deemed as necessary.

The procedure followed by the council entails that there is an initial meeting where a strategy is decided for, for instance, latrines, where a committee could come to teach the students the proper usage. If there are structural reasons as to why the students are not using the latrines then these will be addressed. However, as the council is a part of the school’s budget they try to use local material, and labor may be done by older students in order to minimize or avoid costs when for e.g. building new latrines.

In sum, through the account of the wide range of social affairs-related structures, there is an indication that the communities are improving their skills and knowledge related to construction, maintenance and use of latrines and wells. Also, communities can also be seen as being empowered through their participation in education related matters but also through their auditing of the health centers. This increased know-how and empowerment may have positive implications and potential benefits for the communities as a whole when undertaking new projects or activities.

7.7 Natural Resource Management

In Mecubúri district there are already structures in place which deals with the environment and the Natural Resources (NR) and its preservation. One example of this is the community inspectors for the forestry reserve who began their training in 2008 with the help of FAO and now works as volunteers. One of their main activities is to be in the reserve, 1 week per group, to ensure that there are no illegal hunters. However, they do not possess any guns etc. and must therefore contact the police in case they have identified an illegal hunter. They also mobilize the population in questions regarding bushfires. Initially the local communities were against them since they put restrictions on their behavior such as to not use fire, but after joint meetings, assisted by the NGO Forum Terra, with the community leaders and the population these issues could be resolved.

Besides the CGRN committees which have as a current task to handle “the 20%”, there are other committees for natural resource management, created prior to regulations around “the 20%”, which at
the moment have other tasks to perform. An example of this was a committee for natural resource management which was created the day prior to the interview. The initiative for the creation of the committee came from a technician at Olipa. The objective of the committee is to take care and control land, trees, rivers and animals and it also discuss delimitations. Their first job is to sensibilize the population in these issues.

In sum, these forms of organization dealing with natural resource management show that there are commitments to environmental sustainability within the communities and that there were committees similar to CGRN prior to the regulations around “the 20%”. Even though one of the interviewed committees was recently created other have been established for years and have thus a built-in capacity to respond to issues regarding the environment.
8. ANALYSIS

8.1 Findings linked to the analytical framework

This section will insert the findings into the analytical framework and elaborate on what, in short, can be indicated through this to facilitate the first step in reaching the answers to the posed research questions. However, in order to be able to adequately answer the posed research questions a deeper elaboration of the findings will be provided in section 8.2. The structure of this section is according to the order of the presented findings.

In order to clearly indicate the connection to the analytical framework of the community (dis)empowerment model a matrix has been created where the findings are plotted in a summarized version to give an over-all picture of the connection to the framework prior to the textual analysis of the findings. Matrix 1, which is to follow on the next page is divided according to the posed research questions, and categorized thereafter.

Matrix 1: Findings connected to The Community (Dis)Empowerment Model

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Matrix 1</th>
<th>Enabling environment</th>
<th>Effects &amp; implications on local communities</th>
<th>Local structures and their capacity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NGOs</td>
<td>Public sector</td>
<td>“the 20%”</td>
<td>Community consultations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Private sector</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 1. Physical space of local communities | - Protecting community land rights.  
- Delimitation  
- Solve conflicts in land issues. | - Reduced access to land. | - Great amount of structures engaging in LSA & social interactions.  
- Opportunities present to expand LSA in trade & farming.  
- Sustainability aspect of LSA through preservation of NR and wildlife. |
| 2. Access to water, health care etc. | Not responding to existing needs on terms of social infrastructure. | - Social infrastructure, increasing the access to water, health and education. | - Rehabilitation of roads & bridges.  
- Committee for Water and Sanitation Environment.  
- Merge of traditional and modern structures in the Health Committee. |
| 3. Training and gained experiences | Training, local communities in the 20% process and community consultation. | Give technical assistance in transmitting “the 20%”. | - Initial training/information by NGOs.  
- Construction & maintenance of wells & latrines.  
- Collective management of financial resources & booking.  
- Youth association monitors. |
4. Improved agricultural techniques

- Training in how to tractors etc.
- Improved agricultural techniques in the soya fields.
- Increasing productivity of cassava.
- Practical skills training as operators are providing work for local populations.
- Improved sanitation practices.
- New/improved agricultural techniques (adults/youths).
- Simultaneously conduct wage-paying work.
- Enhanced communication channels between local communities and public services.

5. Access to land, water, tools, facilities

- Not providing social infrastructure.
- Accesses to fertile at some places reduced (Tukole).
- Social infrastructure which increase access to water, health, education.
- Social infrastrucure which increase access to water, health, education.
- Increased knowledge about nutrition.
- Added facilities; latrines, storage unit, mill.
- Tools for collecting precious stones.
- Potential increase in access to markets/transport.
- No immediate lack of access to land.

6. RCRN FDD, Saving groups, "the 20%"

- Enabling through operators in forestry pay the fee.
- Informal credit arrangements.
- Salaries.
- FDD.
- RCRN (associations/groups/individuals).
- Savings’ Groups/associations - informal credit systems for members.

7. Committees, associations, councils

- Create management committees.
- Support institutional development.
- LGR committee aiming to making local communities benefit from soya production.
- Numerous forms of social organization which connect the individual household to the community sphere where collective action and mutual help can be attained (associations, committee, savings’ groups).

8. Vertical and horizontal relations within organization

- Horizontal networks within the local community exists in community consultations.
- Vertical networks are apparent in the investor/local community relationship.
- Clear horizontal networks between farmers/traders within the communities.
- Vertical networks through e.g. traditional structures/communities communication with structures higher on the hierarchy scale.

8.1.1 Enabling environment
The enabling environment is presented and explained in the community (dis)empowerment model in chapter 2, as contributing to the conditions that enable local communities to benefit from “the 20%” and from community consultations. It is through these two mechanisms that local communities directly or indirectly have the possibility to influence the bases of social power. The first and second research questions are therefore highly interlinked. This section will bring forward the main findings of how the enabling environment, connected to our aim and the first research question is linked to possible influences on the bases for social power.

What is important to highlight in regards to the Physical space of local communities is the role that NGOs play within the concept of the enabling environment. The role of NGOs to protect community land rights, through supporting local communities in delimitating land and solving land disputes between investors and communities can be argued to increase the physical space of local communities and consequently setting the enabling conditions for local communities’ benefits. Through this, the NGOs are increasing the possible benefits for local communities in community consultations as they strengthen the position of local communities in relation to the investor.

What should be highlighted in regards to the Access to health care, water etc. as argued based on the findings of the field study is that; the government is not able to sufficiently ensure access to social infrastructure, which can restrict local communities’ access to this base. This is partly why, as chapter 6 shows, there is a need for local communities to use “the 20%” and ask investors during community consultations to build health posts and other small-scale investments in infrastructure. The government’s limited ability to provide the social infrastructure, perceived as needed by the local communities, constitutes a disabling environment which does not set the ultimate conditions for local communities’ benefits. If the government had satisfied these needs, the effects and benefits, from the use of “the 20%” and the promises made by investors, would arguably be different. An important remark in this context is therefore that the communities’ and interviewees’ perceived needs are coinciding with what should be the governments’ responsibility.

Training and gained experiences are possible to examine as the public sector and particularly the NGOs are transmitting parts of the land law and the wildlife and forestry law to local communities. This transmission is crucial as this increases local communities’ awareness which arguably is a prerequisite for local communities to benefit from community consultations and “the 20%”. The practical support from both the SPFFB and NGOs in the process of transmitting “the 20%” including help to open bank accounts, creating committees and the technical assistance from the state organs are contributing to an enabling environment in this context. As stated in the analytical chapter this base is closely linked to improved agricultural techniques, which has a broader meaning than the explicit phrasing of this base and includes relevant information and education.

Concerning the base labeled as; RCRN, savings groups, FDD, “the 20%”, Social responsibility, the private sector are viewed as the enabler for benefits of “the 20%” and the agreements made in community consultations. Thus, with a special reference to the forestry operators that are paying the fee, the technical enablement of the benefits to local communities are made by the private sector. The operators are accordingly seen as part of the enabling environment although having a more direct link to the local communities. It could also be claimed that the government is creating preconditions for this process through the legislation.

As stated, NGOs and the SPFFB are both working to create management committees as well as monitoring and following up of the work and organization of the committees. This connects to Committees, associations, councils and the creation of management committees. The support to these is further enabling the local communities to benefit from “the 20%” of the fee derived by the government for forestry exploitation. To the enabling environment connected to this base of social power, the committee created by LGR also fits as the committee has as the explicit aim to benefit the communities. It is therefore in place to argue that this committee created on a private sector initiative assists local communities to benefit from the agreements made in community consultation.
To conclude this section of the analysis, it has been stressed that the private sector contributes significantly in practical terms to the possibilities for local communities to benefit from investments. What is more, the NGOs have an important role in assisting local communities by delimiting land, help in solving land conflicts while the public sector is providing the needed technical assistance and legislation to enable the transmission of the money derived from forestry operators. Therefore, these three main summaries of the findings constitute the enabling environment for local communities’ to benefit from investments in land and forestry. There are furthermore indications that the process of transmitting “the 20%” at times do not correspond to the lawful procedure and that the efficiency aspect is emphasized rather than the transparency in the process. This is seen through the examples where the money has been given by a representative from the government structure. Adding to the negative aspects of the environment, which is referred to as the disenabling environment, the private sector’s role is not only as the enabler but is also hindering the beneficiary possibilities for local communities as the investors projects’ directly and indirectly affects the physical space of the communities to take one example.

8.1.2 The effect of investments on local communities

The investments currently taking place in Mecubúri district have both positive and negative implications to the eight bases for social power in the modified model. This section discusses how the empirical findings in chapter 6 can be viewed in relation to the analytical framework presented in chapter 2.

It can be argued that the Physical space of local communities is reduced in some communities where LGR and forestry operators are active. This conclusion is drawn from findings that farmers living in the area of the eucalyptus plantation in Namina have in some cases given up their fields which means that access to arable land is reduced. There are also signs that access to resources in the forest, such as firewood, is affected by the presence of forestry operators. A positive impact for this base of social power could be that since there are possibilities for “the 20%” to be used for income generating activities, this could lead to expansion of agricultural activities, which in practice could bring about bigger fields with higher productivity as more agricultural surplus would be needed to be produced. One positive influence of the process around “the 20%” is that there are CGRN committees created. As one example from Natuco shows, the main purpose of the committee is, besides managing “the 20%”, to protect and manage natural resources in the area of the community. As a result, the instrument of “the 20%” could be seen to promote the creation of committees that can increase the defensible life space.

One main finding in this study is related to social infrastructure. This includes building water wells (bore holes), health posts, and schools, features which positively affects Access to health care, water etc. Providing social infrastructure has been the most frequent promise to the local communities by investors, both large scale and forestry operators. Also, the local communities themselves have decided to use “the 20%” for these purposes as well. These trends can be seen as LGR claim to build water wells (bore holes) and possibly health posts or help building schools in the future, features which would improve the social infrastructure in the areas affected. Furthermore, operators in forestry have promised, during community consultations, to provide assistance in building social infrastructure, as can be read through Figure 2.

Connecting to Training and gained experiences, one of the expectations expressed during the field study was that investors should contribute to increase production in the agricultural sector. In this aspect, LGR have the ambition to train farmers in making cassava production more effective, as it is one of the most important crops in the district, as well as other types of training in the agricultural sector. Furthermore, the soya production is one activity that could provide more knowledge and increase farming skills. Also the planned yellow maize, as this is regarded as more nutritious, and bean production could increase knowledge about farming these crops and improve agricultural techniques. In a more indirect manner, investors like LGR and operators in forestry can be argued to increase productivity in agricultural sector through giving training in how to use machines like tractors etc.
Also operators in forestry are giving some type of practical skills training as they are providing work for local populations.

There are tendencies of reduced accesses to fertile and arable land in some communities affected by the LGR forestry project which connect to Access to land, water, tools, facilities. However, it is difficult to estimate how the investment of LGR is effecting or will affect local communities in the future, as it is still a relatively new project. As stated earlier in this chapter it could also be that the local communities could get bigger fields as a result of expanded agricultural activities. Thus, the study can only reason on the possible effects on local communities but it cannot be concluded what the future outcome of the project will be.

The essential findings to be drawn from the base consisting of RCRN (IRAM), FDD, Saving groups, “the 20%”, Social responsibility, in relation to the second research question is that “the 20%” and the salaries provided by job opportunities are seen as benefits from community consultations. “The 20%” can be used for income generating activities which would then benefit the local community as a whole with more formal credit arrangements. Another affect from investments are the jobs created locally and, for financial resources the salaries from working for LGR and also for forestry operators are highlighted in this section.

Vertical and horizontal relationships within organization are visible in the process of transmitting “the 20%” as the local communities’ channel consists of state organs, which are counted to the enabling environment in the role of providing technical assistance in the process. Furthermore, there are tendencies of horizontal networks apparent in the way that local communities organize themselves in community consultations. The consultations are as previously mentioned, a mechanism to make possible benefits for local communities from investors. Prior to the consultations and/or during the community consultation the local community discusses and agree on the demands or wishes which they present to the investor.

The effects on local communities from “the 20%” and from community consultations, based on the elaborations above, can be summarized as being strongly focused on building and/or improving social infrastructure. These are most commonly used for schools but in some cases, the use of “the 20%” as well as promises made by operators and investors are directed towards benefitting the traditional local leaders called régulos. It can be criticized that individuals sometimes are the beneficiaries for the means that are aimed at benefitting local communities. However, in some cases it appears as if the traditional leaders have legitimacy from the community and these benefits could then be seen in a wider context in which the régulo is representing the community. It could further be argued that he or she needs a motorbike to sustain networks and relations that is needed in order to carry out the role and task that the régulo has. There are also attempts by operators and investors to benefit communities, or rather the community members, by guarantees of job opportunities or even promises to create micro-businesses. There are different ways that local communities choose how they want to benefit from the two existing channels, and there are, in connection to the different usages, uncertainties and disputes regarding what the investor should promise the local communities and how the local communities should or should not use “the 20% ”.

8.1.3 Capacity within existing structures

Through the findings presented in chapter 7 and through its connection to the analytical framework some analysis can be made in order to evaluate the capacity of the already existing structures in Mecuburi district and how these could possibly affect the ability to benefit from investments made in land and forestry.

When looking at the Physical space of local communities it is evident that there are structures within the local communities that engage in social interactions and life supporting activities, such as the farmers’ associations, as they conduct collective work on joint fields in the community. Also, through the credit systems community members are able to expand their life supporting activities within for
instance farming or trade and thus expanding their defensible life space. Furthermore, the sustainability of these life supporting activities are of importance to the local communities, and it is enabled through the work of community fiscals who dedicate a great deal of time for the protection and preservation of natural resources and wildlife.

Also the Access to health care, water etc. can be evaluated when looking at the local structures in Mecubúri district. As it includes activities such as commutation, the joint efforts by SANAM and the communities to rehabilitate roads and bridges might give indirect, positive, effects on the private and semi-communal transportation of the communities affected. The surplus time also deals with the time related to acquiring access to for instance water and health care, both of which examples can be found in Mecubúri district. The Committee for Water and Sanitation Environment enables a greater access to water through the construction of wells and their maintenance. Also, through the transmission of information about hygienic practices the demand for health care might be reduced in regards to conditions due to sanitation-issues. In addition to this, the cooperation between the health sector and the traditional leaders increase the accessibility to health care institutions and services. At the same time new channels for communication have been established which might reduce the time allocated for these activities in the local communities.

Training and gained experiences, which aims at enhancing the household’s, and in this case also the local communities’, ‘human resources’, can be found in Mecubúri district. There is a quite extensive initial training by NGOs in the local communities as regards for instance nutrition, animal vaccination, sowing, goat breeding, and pesticide usage. Also SANAM provide training in pesticide spraying and weeding. Other gained experiences in the local communities are the construction and maintenance of wells and latrines which may be highly beneficial for the communities also in the future. Furthermore, through trade-, credit- and savings groups present there are increased skills in the collective management of financial resources as well financial booking. When looking towards the future, and thus also looking at the youth, there has been an increased knowledge and skills within this group as well. The youth have gained experience through agricultural associations, but the monitors within these associations have also been trained to educate others later on in the same issues. Furthermore, the youth have also gained knowledge of the value and use of local material through the construction of latrines at the school.

Although, as pointed out earlier, knowledge and skills are of little use if there is no access to Improved agricultural techniques. There is an influx of this ‘appropriate information’ into the communities through for instance the work of NGOs in the area which have provided information in improved sanitation practices through the Committee of Water and Sanitation Environment. There has also been an input of new and improved agricultural techniques, for both adults and youths, such as avoiding using fire in cultivation or better methods in sowing – measures which ultimately may increase the production. Also, through the training provided by NGOs, local communities have been able to branch out, via trade and credit organization to simultaneously conduct wage-paying work within small scale business. Furthermore, as mentioned in the ‘surplus time section’, there are also positive implications to the cooperation between traditional leaders and the health sector. Regarding appropriate information this entails increased communication and enhanced communication channels between the communities and the public sector.

Access to land/water & tools/facilities, which also includes physical health, can also be evaluated through the existing structures in Mecubúri district. For instance, through the increased knowledge about nutrition it can be claimed that there is capacity to increase the physical health of the population. Also, through the construction of latrines, wells and the farmers’ association’s storage unit there is a distinct possibility to increase the access to facilities in local communities. Through SANAM’s cooperation there might also be an increased access to roads and bridges and this might also facilitate access to markets for those trade associations which aims at buying their own means of transport at some point in the future. In relation to business, through the credit systems there are groups in the local communities which have gained access to better tools or facilities, illustrated through the mill ownership and the tools purchased for collecting precious stones. In terms of access to land there
appears to be no lack as farmers’ associations can have both individual and joint machambas\textsuperscript{29} and the youth association are allocated demonstration plots by the community leader.

When looking at the RCRN (IRAM), savings groups, FDD, “the 20%”, Social Responsibility- base, the local communities have access to different alternatives, although the options are relatively limited. Small scale businesses or traders can gain financial resources through the FDD, but traders’ associations, groups, and individuals may also get credit through RCRN. Furthermore, there may be informal credit systems through for instance savings groups or the 15% of the profit allocated by one association into a collective pot from which credits could be given. This indicates that despite the majority of the population of the local communities being farmers there are possibilities to gain financial resources within the community, which might enhance their situation and future prospects.

Through the accounts of the six bases above it is evident that there is a good foundation for the seventh base of Committees, associations, councils which constitute present social organization in Mecubúri district. It entails different forms of organizations such as farmers’ associations, youth associations, trade associations, credit associations, informal savings’ groups, school councils, health committees and committees related to water and sanitation – all of which connect the individual household to the community sphere where collective action or mutual help can be attained. This base will not be developed much further as these different forms of organizations are described in the findings and indirectly explained in relation to the other bases.

Finally, it can be claimed that there are both Horizontal & vertical networks clearly present in Mecubúri district. The horizontal networks can be seen between the farmers or traders within the community where there is a codependence and sometimes cooperation between the groups. This is the case when traders buy the surplus of farmers to commercialize it. There is also evidence of vertical networks in the communities, which can be illustrated through the example where traditional structures/local communities, can communicate with structures higher on the hierarchy scale.

\textbf{8.2 Evaluation and answers to the research questions}

In order to be able to adequately answer the posed research questions, the insertion of the findings into the analytical framework is not sufficient, although it is one step in the process. Therefore, this section of the analysis will build upon section 8.1, but elaborate the reasoning around the findings. Also this section will present the analysis according to the order used to present the findings. To clarify the focus of the analysis the research questions are restated below;

\begin{itemize}
  \item What are the roles of the public sector, the private sector and the civil society in attempting to ensure that local communities benefit from investments?
  \item How can the part of the fee derived from forestry operators and the negotiated agreements on benefits for local communities during community consultations affect local communities and what are the implications of these effects?
  \item What existing structures and capacities in Mecubúri district can assist the local communities to benefit from investments?
\end{itemize}

\textbf{8.2.1 The facilitation of the enabling environment}

The enabling environment is, in this study, constituted by the public-, private- and civil society sectors which all play a role in attempting to ensure that the local communities can benefit from investments made in land and forestry, as elaborated in chapter 5. As concluded in section 8.1.1 the private sector can be seen as the enabler since it contributes in practical terms through the operators who are obliged to pay the fee. This role as the enabler needs to be viewed in relation to the already existing laws and regulations. Furthermore, NGOs have a role of assisting the local communities in, for instance, delimitations, creation of committees and practical arrangements in relation to that. The public sector\textsuperscript{29} Machamba= field in the local language Macua.
is providing the needed technical assistance which enables the actual transmission of the money from the operators to the local communities.

However, building upon the presented analysis of the enabling environment in relation to the analytical framework, this section will extend the analysis to how the facilitation by the identified actors can be evaluated. This is important because the environment created can both aid and hamper the communities in their attempt to best utilize the opportunities provided by the regulation around investments. This evaluation is necessary in order to adequately answer the first research question. The primary focus will lay on the public sector and the civil society as these are the ones who play more active roles in the enabling environment throughout the process.

In regards to the public sector, two key factors have been identified in the preceding chapters which influence the enabling environment; transparency and efficiency. Due to the extensive number of state organs which are indispensable in the process\textsuperscript{30}, it can be claimed that there is an increased transparency as the correct execution of the process is not depending on one single actor, but is rather a joint responsibility between several organs. However, the implications of this effort lay in the geographical distance between the organs. This hampers the efficiency as the bureaucratic process is divided between organs present in different areas of the province. The organs as such cannot be moved but perhaps the process could be focused more within a selection of these organs.

Additional claims can be made that the process, and thus the enabling environment, is too bureaucratic as it demands a great amount of paper work for the committees to receive “the 20%”. These findings lead into the discussion of efficiency and transparency in which the proper process can be viewed as a hinder related to the legislation and regulations that sets the conditions for the actions of the state representatives and other actors’ behavior in this regard. The legislations, as noted previously, is setting an environment focusing on transparency while actors are going against this structure and take decisions, which makes the transmission of “the 20%” more efficient.

However, another aspect that needs to be highlighted in this discussion is that some requirements, such as the possession of identity papers are processes which, despite being viewed as inconvenient, will give more benefits to the community, as especially to the affected individuals, than it will hamper the efficiency-process as such. It will also add a familiarization of the legal procedures in acquiring identity papers which can be transmitted to the rest of the community.

Furthermore, in relation to the bank accounts, it is evident that Nampula province has found a solution to the problems of opening a bank account without any money through their special cooperation with Procredito. However, in a national perspective perhaps these tailored solutions are not always present and therefore there is room for improvements when it comes to ensuring that these committees are treated according to special regulations in all banks so that there is a coherent system for this process.

Referring back to the discussion regarding the transparency; Since there is a geographical distance between the different organs which are to take part in the transmission of “the 20%” it can be claimed that some effort is put in the transparency of the process, which is extremely important for a state to be able to ensure in a regulation such as “the 20%”. However, since there is such an extensive number of state organs and actors involved there appears to be a confusion at the local level of how these organs are connected and in which order. This could then indicate that the transparency which the system in theory aims at, might in practice not translate as clearly at the local level.

It is in relation to this that the NGOs, representing the civil society, play a vital role. Through the transmission of information and assistance throughout the process of acquiring “the 20%”, and when conducting community consultations, they are present with the aim of empowering the local communities with knowledge of how the law has stated how the processes should be conducted. They are thus facilitating an understanding of the vertical communication within these processes.

\textsuperscript{30} Such as the SPFFB, the Financial Department, the Directorate for Agriculture and SDAE.
Furthermore, when evaluating the facilitation of the NGOs in attempting to ensure that local communities benefit from investments, it is evident that there is a great deal of dependency on the civil society in order for the current environment to adequately serve its purpose. For instance, the SPFFB received one representative who is responsible to create and support CGRN committees in four districts, while the NGOs Forum Terra and ORAM have in total 13 districts divided among themselves to aid and support. The NGOs also seem to emphasize the importance of conducting follow-ups and monitor the work of the CGRNs more compared to the capacity shown by the public sector in this regard. Thus, there is an uneven responsibility in the facilitation, which may also be inconvenient in the future, as NGOs may not always be present or able to fulfill the responsibility bestowed upon them by the government.

In general, when looking at the process that aims at ensuring the local communities benefits from investments, the NGOs are especially standing out. NGOs are taking a great responsibility in ensuring that the law is followed and that the local communities have a strong base to stand on during community consultations, through for e.g. delimitations. Also, since the interview material indicates that there is still not enough sensibilization regarding these issues, there is a definite room for improvement within this area, and it is not necessarily the NGOs responsibility to address it.

Therefore, when answering research question 1: What are the roles of the public sector, the private sector and the civil society in attempting to ensure that local communities benefit from investments? besides the established roles of the different actors involved in the process, there is through this facilitation an uneven responsibility in ensuring that procedures are followed according to the law and much of the sensitization and follow-up are done by NGOs rather than the public sector. Furthermore, there are limitations to the process due to bureaucratic measures which hamper the efficiency but some of the requirements necessary to conduct have, in a long term perspective, beneficial qualities for the involved communities, such as acquiring identification papers.

8.2.2 Evaluation of the implications and effects of investments on local communities

As the previous sections have established, regarding the effects on local communities from investments, the most common effects from both “the 20%” and the agreements made during community consultations are building and improving social infrastructure, schools in specific. This has been discussed as coinciding with the governments’ responsibility. But what the implications are for the benefits for local communities will be discussed more in detail in this part of the analysis.

Even though there are disputing opinions on whether or not the benefits should include building social infrastructure – there are obvious benefits for the local communities in this regard. As this study further has indicated, the government does not provide wells, health centers, and schools in such a way that the communities’ perceived needs are satisfied. Therefore, using the money received from “the 20%” and asking operators to contribute to the building of a school is a choice made by the community argued to be uncontroversial and something that most community members agree is for the most part of the community’s benefit. However, it should be noted that even though the community may through these means add social infrastructure themselves, it is still the state’s responsibility to ensure that for instance a school has got teachers. If this is not possible to provide perhaps the money is better invested elsewhere.

Another implication of the effects from investments is the questionable sustainability in the strategies for using the two channels of possible benefits. This can be discussed in relation to the question if communities should be able to use “the 20%” for building social infrastructure. It could be argued that it is a task that the government must provide leaving local communities in a position where they are more or less forced to find other possible benefits from the money. As one of the cases in chapter 6 shows, when “the 20%” was used to build a health unit twice, as the first building was destroyed in strong winds, the need to have a long-term perspective for the use of the money is made visible. There are other factors contributing to this perceived need such as the sustainability of the bank accounts.
used to transfer the money to the local communities. If no new money is put into the bank account, then it will most likely be closed. Even though Nampula province has possibly found a solution to the obstacles that bank accounts constitute in the transmission process of “the 20%” with the agreement with the bank Procredito. However, this is most likely an exception rather than the general practice. Therefore, it could be perceived as a need to use “the 20%” for income generating activities in order to sustain the bank account for future transmissions of the money from the fee. The income generating activities could include small-scale businesses within agriculture or as one community mentioned, the money could be used to find buyers so that the farmers could sell their surplus production. This way, the community representatives argued, they could build their own school. Furthermore, that the agreements made in community consultations are seldom followed and that promises made are not kept implies that there is a lack of capacity somewhere in the process. Even with the creation of a document, listing the promises made by operators and which of the promises that are kept, this initiative cannot be regarded as sufficient to ensure that the promises are kept and that the communities will benefit. There are arguably hindrances in the following up and monitoring of what promises that have been made and which of these have been fulfilled. One perceived hindrance to ensure the benefits for local communities in this regard is for example that there are few people on the governmental level that are working with this specific document. Another hindrance could be connected to the fact that investors are making a lot of promises in the first steps of the projects when the community consultations take place. However, there are reasons to believe that the first priority of investors are not to fulfill the promises made to local communities because the project need time to get started etc. This could imply that promises are made in an initial stage of the process but the results and the effects of these promises made might take a long time to see. As one interviewee put it, the relationship between the investor and the local community is like a marriage in which many promises are made in the beginning but then they are forgotten.

This leads up to the answering of research question 2: How can the part of the fee derived from forestry operators and the negotiated agreements on benefits for local communities during community consultations affect local communities and what are the implications of these effects? The benefits of the two channels are clear but the sustainability and long-term perspective can be questioned. In summary, the effects on communities are most noticeably the improved social infrastructure.

8.2.3 Capacity in relation to benefits from investments in land and forestry

Through the findings presented, as well as the categorization through the analytical framework, it is clear that the local communities do participate in a great deal of collective organization. However, it appears as if the vast majority of the different forms of organizations were created on the initiative of external actors such as NGOs. This finding was especially evident in relation to farmers’ associations, credit systems and committees. Although the initiative may not have been the local communities in the majority of the cases, the initiatives by the NGOs may have enabled a fostering of capacity within the local communities. This might empower them to, without greater assistance, form functioning associations and committees in the future for purposes identified as vital within the community itself. This could be strengthened by the fact that not only adults take part in this collective organization. Also youths are being introduced into this form of collective action and they learn which benefits this might bring. Through an inclusion of several generations in this form of capacity training there is a possibility for a greater participation within the local communities in the future. There are already successful attempts from these groups to transmit new/improved techniques to the rest of the community.

Furthermore, it is also evident that there is recognition of the importance or advantage of collective organization to attain changes. Through collective measures the communities are more likely to be successful in their attempts to improve or affect their own situation. This development within the communities could be said to possibly inspire a capacity to use proactive or problem-solving skills/measures by the community members in order to reach change. Through participation in
association- or committee work they are also more likely to be familiar with other structures in their society which may be useful for them to be more aware about.

Another form of capacity is that of being able to handle money within organizations. The communities have some knowledge of this through, for instance, the trade associations. Through loans from the FDD they learn how to handle and reason around larger amounts of money and the members see clear benefits in working collectively when conducting businesses. There is also within these associations a growing capacity to think about money in a sustainable way through for instance the 15% credit system present in one association. This system enables them to both pay back the loan and make additional small investments in the meantime. Furthermore, this initiative and the creation of the association in Momane were done without NGO assistance. This indicates that also without NGO guidance the communities have some knowledge in the practicalities and advantages of organizing themselves collectively also in business.

The savings groups also saw advantages of organizing themselves collectively in regards to money-management. The women’s savings group was obliged to present a yearly report of their economic activities which can be seen as an attempt to incorporate skills in organized booking. This adds an element of the financial management which also shows the responsibility and consequences of attaining money, and does not only focus on the abilities/possibilities which come with it. One feature which is true for all credit/saving systems groups interviewed in Mecubúri, as well as for structures within social issues, is the weigh put on the personal qualities of its members, such as behavior, character and trustworthiness. This often forms the basis of whether someone is eligible for a loan. This informal way of reasoning may be viewed as an incentive or as a form of capacity building in the communities to promote or influence the community to act in a similar, preferred, way. It shows that a certain behavior will give greater inclusion in structures.

Furthermore, it should be noted that there are merges between traditional and modern structures. One example is the health committee, which enable utilization and recognition of traditional structures at the same time as it increase the participation in the modern structures. This is also enhanced through the auditing function where the local communities can be more engaged and demand more transparency and inclusion in governmental structures. In relation to social affairs, the school council adds to the local capacities as they for instance use local materials and help from the youths when constructing for e.g. latrines. This will not only show the importance and use of local materials but the youths participating will receive some practical knowledge and skills which may benefit them in the future.

Lastly, the existing structures also provide an environmental awareness and knowledge about the implications about wrong practices and illegal activities in forestry and wildlife management. Through this empowerment the communities will get a sense of ownership in relation to the wellbeing of their environment and it adds a sustainability aspect to the management of resources.

To conclude, one can first establish that there is a great deal of capacity in Mecubúri district and there has been capacity-investments and an insertion of know-how into the local communities in a wide range of areas, not least in relation to the management of financial resources and the potential to collectively use it in a sustainable manner. Furthermore, much weight is placed on transparency and trustworthiness of selected members, which is vital for the management of “the 20%”. The previous structures may also have increased the awareness and proactive measures in communities, especially considering illegal operators because communities now are more aware of potential environmental damages and their right to attain 20% of the operators’ fee, as discussed in the previous section. The above mentioned existing capacities are features which can be used within local communities in case they would start a committee to manage “the 20%”. But they could also be used by the community to influence the management committees already established to improve the sustainability or management of the funds. However, as there is already a great investment made in the local communities it does raise the question if already existing structures were used to a satisfactory degree when formulating the creation of the committees to manage “the 20%”. Other forms of organization
have managed to utilize already existing structures and merge these with modern structures to build upon already created knowledge and forms of organization.

Therefore, when answering research question 3: **What existing structures and capacities in Mecubúri district can assist the local communities to benefit from investments?** it can be concluded that there are a great deal of capacities which have the potential to aid or assist local communities to benefit from investments in terms of managing “the 20%”. However, as for the creation of the actual committees more use could probably have been made out of the existing and already formed social organization in the local communities of Mozambique.
9. CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

This final part of the thesis will, figuratively speaking, take one step out from the analytical discussion and recapitulate the findings, relating them with previous research and incorporate the actor-structure approach. Thus, with the background of what has already been said and elaborated upon, the findings of this study will be put in a wider context.

Firstly, the findings will be connected to the research problem at hand, i.e. if investments in land and forestry exploitation are development opportunities for communities in less developed countries, or if it is regarded more as an exploitive land grab. When connecting the findings to this debate it can be concluded that there are tendencies of what the debate refers to as a development opportunity, but the cases examined in the district of Mecubúri can also be related to the concept of land grab. Some reflections can primarily be made in regards to the call for making better use of existing social organisations which can be argued to increase the potential for investments in land and forestry exploitation to be viewed as development opportunities rather than land grabs. A utilization of already existing local structures can also enable a better use of capacity and know-how which has already been invested in the communities. These findings can be connected to an essential issue in development research which stresses the importance of development efforts being locally owned and ensuring a participatory approach where local needs and views are taken into consideration.

Also linked to the research problem, the study indicates that local communities are visibly benefitting from investments made, such as building social infrastructure as well as other benefits, e.g. capacity building in money management or organization skills in management committees and so forth. However, as the study has also highlighted, examples of hindrances of making the investments into development opportunities lies in the existing laws, regulations and the political institutions, referred to as bureaucracy. As this study shows, these hindrances are to some extent overcome since collective actors such as NGOs and the SPFFB as well as individuals, attempt to make the process more efficient through giving “the 20%” directly to communities or facilitating the transmission in alternative ways. Other findings of this strive for efficiency is found in the decisions made by Nampula province to pay the money yearly instead of quarterly as promoted by the law. These measures of rationalizing the process is linked to the transmission of “the 20%” but the study has also found that there are aspirations for efficiency in the process of ensuring communities’ benefits from agreements in community consultations. This last conclusion is drawn from the creation of the list (showed in Table 3, chapter 6), which registers the promises made by operators to local communities as well as which promises that are fulfilled and which are not. Thus, the list can therefore be regarded a useful tool to make the process of benefitting local communities more efficient. A clarification of what the quest for efficiency and transparency entails in this context is now in order. Firstly, efficiency is connected to maximising the benefits for local communities through facilitation of the process of transmitting “the 20%”, aiming at making local communities’ needs attended to in the agreements resulting from community consultation, and also to strengthen the mechanisms that ensure that the promises made are fulfilled. Secondly, the concept of transparency is more related to the perceived structural constraints embodied in the legislation and bureaucratic state structure.

Conclusively, there are problems of low efficiency in the process of ensuring benefits to local communities which can be explained through the efficiency/transparency dilemma. The results can, in this reasoning, be connected to the discussion of actors and structures in relation to the dilemma of efficiency and transparency. The existing capacities can be viewed through the actor-structure approach, in which the identified existing societal organisations are not being used to its fullest possible capacity in the transmission of “the 20%”. Through this reasoning, it is important to remember that, for instance, NGOs and especially the SPFFB can also be regarded as structures. The SPFFB can in this sense be connected to the overarching state structure (see appendix 3), but the representatives from this state organ are viewed as acting in the role of actors.

The findings of this study, as can be read above, are largely coherent with the previous research on the topic. The overarching findings in previous research conclude that land investments can be seen as
both development opportunities and possible land grabs. The main benefit, as also shown in this study, is the building of social infrastructure. In line with previous research such as Cotula et al. and Theting and Brekke, the main risks and dangers with investments in land is reduced access to land for the local population as well as the insufficient security in the longer run that the new job opportunities give for the farmers. Additionally, this study also acknowledges that making better use of existing social organization, knowledge and skills can lead to development opportunities. This study’s focus on societies’ existing capacity and how it can be used in order to better benefit societies from large scale investments in land and forestry exploitation is an important contribution to the state of the art.

As this last chapter identifies, there is a space in the on-going debate on development opportunity or land grab to view the possibilities for communities’ development in terms of the existing structures and actors present in the society and what can be seen as hindering or enabling the development opportunity of investments in land and forestry exploitation.
10. RECOMMENDATIONS

In relation to the analysis in chapter 8 and the elaborations on the dilemma between efficiency and transparency and actors and structures in chapter 9, some possible recommendations can be discussed on how to address the problems identified.

The first area where there is room for improvements, according to this study, is related to how the enabling environment for local communities’ benefits from investments in land and forestry exploitation can be improved. One of the main re-occurring issues is that the law is now always followed – which suggests that there might be a need for a more extensive transmission of the law to all of the affected parties. Also, the analysis indicates that NGOs are given a great deal of responsibility in the process, even though they have no obligation to fulfill these practices according to the law. Therefore, this dependency could be looked into in order to ensure that the system constructed will be sustainable also in the absence of NGOs.

Furthermore, in the attempt to improve the enabling environment, there might be a need to consider how to be able to strengthen the community consultation in order to ensure that promises made by operators and investors are also fulfilled. The list created by SPFFB, which is mapping the agreements made during the community consultations and how many of these have been fulfilled, may lay as a basis for further improvements within this area.

Also, through the analysis and conclusions that “the 20%” are used for purposes which are to be performed by the government, a question arises of whether there should be regulations on the use of “the 20%”. If so, there is a need for the establishment of a monitoring system which perhaps could be constituted by already existing structures and state structures as a joint venture. However, it should be noted that through regulations on “the 20%” the ‘freedom’ of the community to use it for what it need the most and consider as local development will be partly constricted. In order to guide the use of “the 20%” more towards income generating activities it could be beneficial to facilitate access to ‘experts’ within different areas. Experts in and representatives of business, agriculture and trade are probably the most important actors in this study in order to create a wider base of options for the communities to consider when discussing the use of the money.

However, it should also be highlighted that Nampula province has got some positive solutions to some of the problems identified in the study, such as that of efficiency when it comes to transports. Rather than having quarterly payments of “the 20%” the province provide the communities with the total amount collected in the end of the year. This has got a positive impact on the efficiency in relation to the transports necessary for the CGRNs to insert money on the account. As it is unclear in this study whether this system has been applied elsewhere, one possible recommendation would be to consider this also in other provinces experiencing problems with low amounts of money being paid quarterly.

Furthermore, while conducting the field study in Mozambique some observations were made which could lead to some possible recommendations on how to aid the debate about how to make “the 20%”-process more efficient. There was a national meeting regarding the experiences from this particular process which might, if not already present, also be a good initiative for the provincial level as it would enable more ‘local’ solutions to the ‘local’ problems identified within the province. However, after attending seminars, it might be worth considering conducting work-shop trainings prior to such seminars in order to avoid just discussing the problems and to rather facilitate brainstorming on possible solutions to identified problems.
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<td>Consultative council</td>
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<td>School council</td>
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<td>24.</td>
<td>NGOs and Lúrio Green Resources</td>
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<td>25.</td>
<td>Religious Leaders</td>
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<td>26.</td>
<td>Lúrio Green Resources workers</td>
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<td>27.</td>
<td>Forum Terra</td>
<td>18/4</td>
<td>Mecubúri</td>
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<td>28.</td>
<td>Forestry and statistics</td>
<td>18/4</td>
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<td>29.</td>
<td>Traders association</td>
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<td>Mecubúri</td>
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<td>Traditional doctors</td>
<td>18/4</td>
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<td>31.</td>
<td>SANAM</td>
<td>19/4</td>
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<td>32.</td>
<td>Fiscas</td>
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<td>RCRN</td>
<td>19/4</td>
<td>Mecubúri</td>
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<td>34.</td>
<td>SCIP</td>
<td>19/4</td>
<td>Mecubúri</td>
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<td>Ophavela (Female save/lending group)</td>
<td>19/4</td>
<td>Mecubúri</td>
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<td>36.</td>
<td>Community leaders</td>
<td>20/4</td>
<td>Momane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>20% management committee</td>
<td>20/4</td>
<td>Momane</td>
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<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>Small scale/informal trade association</td>
<td>20/4</td>
<td>Momane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39.</td>
<td>Group of male farmers</td>
<td>21/4</td>
<td>Momane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.</td>
<td>Group of female farmers</td>
<td>21/4</td>
<td>Momane</td>
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<td>41.</td>
<td>SCIP youth group</td>
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<td>Momane</td>
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<tr>
<td>42.</td>
<td>20% management committee</td>
<td>21/4</td>
<td>Momane</td>
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43. Farmer couple 23/4 Tukole
44. Three female famers 23/4 Tukole
45. Consultative council 25/4 Mecubúri
46. UCODIN 27/4 Nampula
47. ORAM (General) 27/4 Nampula
48. ORAM (20%) 27/4 Nampula
49. Vincente Paulo (Lúrio Green Resources) 27/4 Nampula
50. Lúrio Green Resources 28/4 Nampula
51. Industrial and Ec. Activities and business 29/4 Nampula
52. Forestry Department (Forestry issues) 29/4 Nampula
53. Forestry Department (20%) 29/4 Nampula
54. Concessionaire 29/4 Nampula
55. Olipa 29/4 Nampula
56. Sergio Balerio (Centre for Legal and Judicial Training) 3/5 Maputo
57. Ministry of Agriculture (specialist on land law) 3/5 Maputo

11.2 Law texts


Land law, LAW No. 19/97 of 1 October. Translated from Portuguese by Club of Mozambique, Lda (2009).

11.3 Internet sources


11.4 Printed sources


SPFFB (2008a) Identification of the benefitting local communities from the 20% of the fee from forestry resources according to the Ministerial diploma 93/05 year 2008. Dirrecao Provincial de Agricultura, Servicos provinciais de florestas e fauna bravia (SPFFB) 2009. Identificacao das comunidades beneficiarias dos 20% das taxas de exporacao dos Recursos Florestais no ambito do Diploma 93/05- Ano 2008.
SPFFB (2009a) Identification of the benefitting local communities from the 20% of the fee from forestry resources according to the Ministerial diploma 93/05 year 2009. Direccao Provincial de Agricultura, Servicos provinciais de florestas e fauna bravia (SPFFB) 2009. Identificacao das comunidades beneficiarias dos 20% das taxas de exporacao dos Recursos Florestais no ambito do Diploma 93/05- Ano 2009.


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11.5 Literature


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nº</th>
<th>Título</th>
<th>Autor(es)</th>
<th>Data</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Porque é que a produção alimentar não é prioritária?</td>
<td>João Mosca</td>
<td>Setembro de 2012</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Preços e mercados de produtos agrícolas alimentares.</td>
<td>João Mosca e Mâriam Abbas</td>
<td>Janeiro de 2013</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Algumas dinâmicas estruturais do sector agrário.</td>
<td>João Mosca, Vitor Matavel e Yasser Arafat Dada</td>
<td>Março de 2013</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Contributo para o estudo dos determinantes da produção agrícola</td>
<td>João Mosca e Yasser Arafat Dada</td>
<td>Abril de 2013</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Estrangeirização da terra, agronegócio e campesinato no Brasil e em Moçambique</td>
<td>Elizabeth Alice Clements e Bernardo Mançano Fernandes</td>
<td>Maio de 2013</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Agro-Negócio em Nampula: casos e expectativas do ProSAVANA</td>
<td>Dipac Jaiantilal</td>
<td>Junho de 2013</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>Agricultural Intensification in Mozambique</td>
<td>Peter E. Coughlin, Nícia Givá</td>
<td>Julho de 2013</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Orçamento do estado para a agricultura</td>
<td>Américo Izaltino Casamo, João Mosca e Yasser Arafat</td>
<td>Setembro de 2013</td>
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</table>
Como publicar

- Os autores deverão endereçar as propostas de textos para publicação em formato digital para o e-mail do OMR (office@omrmz.org) que responderá com um e-mail de aviso de recepção da proposta.
- Não existe por parte do Observatório do Meio Rural qualquer responsabilidade em publicar os trabalhos recebidos.
- Após o envio, os autores proponentes receberão informação por e-mail, num prazo de 90 dias, sobre a aceitação do trabalho para publicação.
- O autor tem o direito a 10 exemplares do número do **OBSERVADOR RURAL** que contiver o artigo por ele escrito.

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- Aprovação pelo Conselho Técnico.
- Submissão a uma revisão redactorial num prazo de sessenta dias, a partir da entrega da proposta de artigo pelo autor.
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- Um segundo parecer negativo tem caráter definitivo.
- O proponente do texto para publicação não tem acesso aos nomes dos revisores e estes receberão os textos para revisão sem indicação dos nomes dos autores.
- A responsabilidade de publicação é da Direcção do Observatório do Meio Rural sob proposta do Conselho Técnico, independentemente dos pareceres dos revisores.
- O texto não pode ter até 40 páginas em letra 11, espaço simples entre linhas, e margens 3 cm e toda a página (cima, baixo lado e esquerdo e direito).
- A formatação do texto para publicação é da responsabilidade do OMR.
O OMR é uma Associação da sociedade civil que tem por objectivo geral contribuir para o desenvolvimento agrário e rural numa perspectiva integrada e interdisciplinar, através de investigação, estudos e debates acerca das políticas e outras temáticas agrárias e de desenvolvimento rural.

O OMR centra as suas acções na prossecução dos seguintes objectivos específicos:

- Promover e realizar estudos e pesquisas sobre políticas e outras temáticas relativas ao desenvolvimento rural;
- Divulgar resultados de pesquisas e reflexões;
- Dar a conhecer à sociedade os resultados dos debates, seja através de comunicados de imprensa como pela publicação de textos;
- Constituir uma base de dados bibliográfica actualizada, em forma digitalizada;
- Estabelecer relações com instituições nacionais e internacionais de pesquisa para intercâmbio de informação e parcerias em trabalhos específicos de investigação sobre temáticas agrárias e de desenvolvimento rural em Moçambique;
- Desenvolver parcerias com instituições de ensino superior para envolvimento de estudantes em pesquisas de acordo com os temas de análise e discussão agendados;
- Criar condições para a edição dos textos apresentados para análise e debate do OMR.

Patrocinadores:

Av. Paulo Samuel Kankhomba, nº 1011. Maputo – Moçambique