

**ALLEVIATING POVERTY THROUGH LOCAL RESOURCES AND LOCAL
INITIATIVES: A CASE STUDY OF GORONGOSA COMMUNITIES IN
MOZAMBIQUE**

BY

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Abstract

Despite positive economic growth averaging 8.5% per year since 1992, there have been insignificant inroads realized in the fight against poverty in Mozambique. By 2005 about 50% of the population, mainly the 80% of rural based smallholder farmers that live below the absolute poverty line in Mozambique was considered poor according to the World Bank definition. Although richly endowed with natural resources Sofala, Tete and Inhambane rank amongst the poorest provinces. In addition to the effects of the protracted civil conflict of 1975 - 1992, extreme weather conditions, high illiteracy and birth rates, gender imbalances, are some of the causes of poverty in Mozambique. The objective of this study is to explore the use of local resources and local initiatives in fighting poverty in the rural communities of Mozambique. The study adopted a case study approach and made an in-depth analysis of the phenomenon of poverty in the district of Gorongosa, which lies in the Sofala province. Gorongosa was chosen ahead of other districts given the fact that it is endowed with natural resources and it used to be the bread basket of the province of Sofala in times gone by. The abundance of resources and the existence of poverty in the rural area forms an interesting paradox which was the basis of the study. Various strategies have been used by both government and non-governmental organizations in their bid to alleviate or eradicate poverty with little or no success at all. This has been attributed mainly to the approach that has been used, as it lacks ownership at community level and does not empower the rural people to sustainably utilize resources.. There is a tendency to over-generalize. Solutions that work in one place don't necessarily work in another. The study also found out that the people have created a culture of poverty that they pass on to the future generations, as they unnecessarily look for outward solutions, even in cases where they could provide a solution to some of their problems themselves. This lack of self-esteem is also partly attributed to various factors, chief among them, the prolonged war and the environment. Data was generated through observations; questionnaires targeting individual households and focus groups of different gender groups.

The study recommends a paradigm shift towards community development that encourages locals to have a hand on how to use local resources and initiatives to influence better livelihood outcomes for the current and future generations which they can own at local level. It was evident from the study's findings that most of the programmes implemented before were not very successful because during the planning stage, care was not taken to take into account the

local ethnographic aspects of where the project was being implemented and the study recommends a complete change in this approach by involving fully the locals and taking into account all ethnographic aspects that can help achieve the set goals..

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Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my late father Mr. Estevao Sabonete Manjoro and my late mother Mrs Magret Chitepo who instilled in me the spirit of perseverance and endurance from my childhood. They taught me that it is not a sin to be born poor, but it was a sin to die poor as the destiny of each one of us lies squarely in one's hands. This, coupled with a strong sense of discipline, were indispensable ingredients that were vital in the accomplishment of this project. I also dedicate this thesis to my wife Lucy Deborrah Mapimbiro and my two children, Kelvin and Shamiso.

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CHAPTER 1: Introduction

This first chapter offers a brief background of the poverty paradox in Mozambique in a bid to give the reader comprehensive knowledge which is essential in understanding fully the poverty in Mozambique by making use of relevant statistics from various studies carried out in poverty reduction prior to this study.

1.1 Background to the study

According to an article published on www.webcrawler.com in August 2010, the Mozambican economy has developed gradually since the end of the Mozambican Civil War which was waged from 1977 to 1992 and surprisingly the country is still rated as the world's poorest. The Government started in the year 1987 on a number of macroeconomic reforms which were intended to stabilize the fragile economy. These measures combined with the assistance from the donor communities and coupled with the political stability upon the signing of the Mozambican Peace Accord in Rome between Frelimo and Renamo have helped the country to make great strides in the economy as evidenced by the inflation which was managed to a single digit. It is important to note that this temporary reprieve ended as the country recorded double digits in the period 2000 to 2002. Fiscal reforms coupled with value added taxes saw Government revenue improving. Despite all these strides the Country is heavily dependent on the Donor Community with about forty percent of its budget coming from the donor community. The majority of the population are said to be living below the poverty datum line. The majority of the country population is employed in the subsistence agriculture sector. The country has a substantial trade imbalance despite improved revenue emanating from MOZAL

The eradication of poverty continues to be a political and economic issue that is considered to be one of the pillars of national and social development. The United Nations has placed poverty reduction as one of its top priorities as reflected in the Millennium Development Goals which set the fifty percent reduction of poverty by 2015.

The 2005 World Bank Report revealed that the African Continent, despite being endowed with abundant natural and human resources, suffers from widespread and persistent poverty.

A lot of money has been used in the fight to alleviate poverty but the results are mixed. One of the studies carried out in 2005 by the Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) on the impact of untied aid found out that since the year 2000, twenty two rich countries of the world have committed more than three hundred billion American dollars of their Gross National Product (GNP) in the form of untied aid to developing countries but apparently no meaningful results have been achieved on the ground in the recipient countries.

According to the UN's 2010 Human Development Report, life expectancy in developing countries has increased from 59 years in 1970 to 70 years in 2010; school enrolment rose from 55% to 70% of all primary and secondary school going age children and per capita GDP doubled to more than ten thousand U.S. dollars. But despite all this developing countries are still wallowing in poverty.

According to the World Bank Report for 2005, the number of people living on less than \$1.25 a day in developing countries declined from 1.9 billion to 1.4 billion between 1981 and 2005 at the 2005 purchasing power parity. However, the proportion of people living in extreme poverty dropped from 52.0 to 25.7 per cent during this period.

The study by the UN's Human Development Report (2010) further shows that the income inequality between rich and poor countries is widening with about 1.75 billion people living in multi-dimensional poverty, meaning extreme deprivation in education, health, and standard of living; 1.44 billion people (21%) out of the developing world's 6.9 billion people live on \$1.25 per day; 2.6 billion people are estimated to be living on less than \$2 a day. Multidimensional poverty varies by region from three percent in Europe and Central Asia to 65% in Sub-Saharan Africa. It is important to note that all these statistics reveal a lot of contradictions.

Due to the mismatch between poverty results and funds invested in combating poverty scourge coupled with criticisms against poverty alleviation policies, the United Nations placed poverty alleviation as the first objective of the Millennium Development Goals (UN Report 2005). The Millennium Development Goal policy paper broadens the concept of poverty and defines it as a multidimensional problem in addition to seeking to eliminate past mistakes. The MDGs policy paper analyses poverty using a number of socio-economic variables that include lack of income and governance deficit issues.

A study report by the World Bank in 2005 on global poverty statistics showed great disparities in poverty level between the world poor countries including Mozambique and the rich countries such as the United States of America as shown in table 1.1

Table 1:A Comparative table of poverty indicators between USA and Poor Countries

Poverty Indicators	U.S.A.	Mozambique	Other Poor Countries
Annual per capita income	\$30,600	\$390	\$410
Literacy rate	97%	52%	30%
Deaths per 1,000 children under 5	6	130	107
Children under 14 in the workforce	0%	16%	19%

Source: The World Today (2005), INE (2007)

The study further revealed the following increasing socio-economic indicators

- 1,345 million poor people in developing countries live on \$1.25 a day or less and represents about 25% of the world's population.
- Extreme poverty remains the greatest challenge for the world's developing countries despite a significant reduction from about 1900 million people in 1981 to 1349 million people in 2005 by 551 million representing 29% reduction due to expanded definition of the global poverty benchmark from a US dollar to US\$1.25-- a day.
- 29,000 young children die every day from preventable malnutrition, HIV/AIDS and other diseases
- 900 million people live in slum-like conditions without access to clean water and sanitation.

- 115 million primary school age children are not in school in developing countries..
- Progress in poverty reduction has been concentrated in Asia, and especially, East Asia, with the major improvement occurring in China.
- In Sub-Saharan Africa, the number of people in extreme poverty greatly increased from 200 million in 1981 to 380 million in 2005.

The study also revealed that the African continent, despite being endowed with abundant natural and human resources, suffers from widespread and persistent poverty due to a high degree of income inequality, conflicts, and hunger. Sub-Saharan Africa is today the region with the highest incidence of poverty in the world. A high level of income inequality compounds the poverty problem and undermines the prospects for sustainable and equitable economic growth and no significant reduction in the incidence of poverty.

Mozambique is a Southern African country, which shares borders with Zimbabwe and Zambia to the west, Indian Ocean to the East, Malawi and Tanzania to the North and the Republic of South Africa and Swaziland to the south. Its landscape covers an area of about 801,590 sq km with an estimated population of about 22,948,858 million people (CIA World Fact book for July 2011) with over 50% of the population living in the rural areas.

The country attained its independence in 1975 after a 10-year guerrilla struggle against the Portuguese colonial regime and thereafter embarked on socio-economic programmes aimed at stimulating economic growth and development in the areas of education, healthcare, job creation in both the formal and informal sectors of the economy, and poverty reduction and eradication.

The government, in its efforts to expand the economy, introduced many development programmes, which it later found difficult to develop as a young nation. While it was successful in its education, health care and development programmes, it was plunged

into a long civil war from 1977 to 1992, which destroyed education, health and economic infrastructures.

The cease-fire between the Mozambican Government (Frelimo) and the Mozambique National Resistance Movement (Renamo) in 1992 and peace accord in 1994 made it possible to turn attention to economic recovery and reconstruction, including restoration and renewed expansion of basic health, education and economic infrastructure, often with the assistance of foreign donors. Most of the basic infrastructure such as roads and public facilities were destroyed during these years of turmoil. Where two elephants meet it is the grass that suffers most. This is true as most schools were completely destroyed as life came to a complete standstill as a direct result of this war and most of the population was forced to migrate in search of safer nets in the urban or peri urban areas. This unplanned development brought a lot of negative consequences to the the already overburdened cities that could hardly deliver services to the consumers.

In its efforts to revive the economy, the government of Mozambique embarked on a programme aimed at implementing the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) to fulfill the World Bank conditionalities in 1987. These programmes involved introducing measures directed at trade liberalization, privatization of non-performing state corporations and retrenchment in the civil service.

The implementation of ESAP in 1987 and law of direct foreign investment have contributed to job losses, high unemployment levels and widespread poverty amongst the population. According to a government survey, IAF (Inquerito aos Agregados Familiares), household survey (1996) 69,4% of the population was classified as poor with income less than USD 120 per year. The study also found that 71 % of the poor live in rural areas and 29 ,0% in urban centres. The study further found that 72% of the poor are female households and identified the main causes of poverty as unemployment, retrenchment and drought.

ESAP implementation brought massive loss of jobs through retrenchments and created the need for self-employment and hence the need to start small businesses as a source of family income.

The Government of Mozambique (GoM) through its National Plan for the Reduction of Poverty (PARPA's) I & II and now PARPA III continue to lay more emphasis in combating absolute poverty that presents a great deal of a challenge for the economic development of the country. Through the national development plan (PARPA III) and in consultation with donor agencies, the government continues to lay more emphasis on six areas listed below in order to effectively combat the poverty scourge in Mozambique.

These six areas that were prioritized are as follows:

- (1) Education
- (2) Health
- (3) Agriculture and Rural development
- (4) Basic Infrastructure
- (5) Good governance
- (6) Macro-economic and financial management

As a medium term strategy for combating poverty and promoting the culture of work with the objective of achieving inclusive economic growth and reducing poverty, the GoM continues to allocate significant amounts of national resources to achieve its national goals. The MPF financial statistics in Table 1.2 below shows that the budget allocation followed a predetermined pattern with 80% of the total budget being allocated to fundamental areas of national recovery like Education (32%), Infrastructure (28%) and Health (20%)

Table 2: Budget Allocation to Selected Development Areas

Priority areas	% of total GDP
Education	32%
Infra-Structures	28%
Good Governance	12%
Agriculture	6%
Other priority areas	2%

Source: Government Mozambique, 2008

According to the www.open.ac.uk, Mozambique has about 70 percent of its population living in rural areas, agriculture is the predominant economic activity in Mozambique, employing about 80 percent of the population. The smallholder agricultural sector represents over 99% of the total number of farms, and the incidence of absolute poverty is highest in rural areas at 55%.

Mozambique's second Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP), the Action Plan for the Reduction of Absolute Poverty 2006-2009 (PARPA II) prioritized agricultural development to increase rural incomes and to reduce absolute poverty. The national policy paper envisaged a structural transformation of the agricultural sector through the following measures

- i) the promotion of agrarian services, increased production and productivity, guaranteed food security, increased income and competitiveness of farmers;
- ii) Natural resource management
- iii) Institutional development.

The assessment of PARPA's I & II showed an interesting and incongruent pattern of poverty reduction over time as well as over the various population groups and provinces. For example, the assessments found that whereas the poverty headcount has sharply declined in the period from 69% in 1997 to 54% in 2003, it practically remained the same during the period 2003 to 2009 from 54.1% to 54.7% against a background of very strong economic growth as measured by GDP statistics shown in

table 1.3 below. The overall objective of the Government was to use PARPA II to further reduce poverty incidence to as low as 45% by 2009.

Table 3: Incidence of Poverty by Province by National Statistics Assessments

Regions	1966/7	2003/4	2008/9
ALL	69.4	54.1	54.7
URBAN	61.7	51.6	49.6
RURAL	71.3	55.3	56.9
NIASSA	70.6	52.1	31.9
C.DELGADO	57.4	63.2	37.4
NAMPULA	68.9	52.6	54.7
ZAMBÉZIA	68.4	44.6	70.5
TETE	82.3	59.8	42.0
MANICA	62.6	43.6	55.1
SOFALA	87.9	36.1	58.0
INHAMBANE	82.6	80.7	57.9
GAZA	64.6	60.1	62.5
MAPUTO-PROVINCE	65.6	69.3	67.5
MAPUTO-CITY	47.8	53.6	36.2

Source: MPD 1966/7; 2003/4, 2008/9

The national assessments further showed that there has not been any increase in the production of goods and services for local and international markets and that most of the rural farmers are subsistence farmers producing just enough food for their family consumption.

According to a study commissioned by the United Nations development program(UNDP) the assessments further revealed very interesting results against the background that the economy sustained high growth rates as follows:

- i) Lack of detailed evidence that the income distribution had changed dramatically.

- ii) The position of Maputo appeared extraordinary in the sense that poverty in Maputo City was found to be about as high as in various other parts of the country
- iii) That Maputo Province ranked among the poorest provinces, while, more generally, the rural-urban dimension appeared far less manifest as should have been expected.
- iv) Lack of a clear liaison among the household poverty status quo on the one hand in terms of consumption deficiency (www.undp.org.mz).

The current national policy development strategy paper (PARPA III 2011 – 2014) represents the continuation of the PARPA II, which was implemented within the time frame of 2006-2009, extended to 2010, and had as its principal goal to reduce the incidence of food poverty from the current level of 54.7% to 42% by 2014.

PARPA III is a medium-term instrument that is part of the National Planning System (SNP) and one which has been aligned with the vision of Agenda 2025, designed to help achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDG). The Medium-Term Fiscal Framework 2010-2014 (CFMP) will reflect the budgetary allocation for PARP objectives, which will be pursued each year through the Economic and Social Plan and the State Budget.

The national policy paper recognizes poverty as a multidimensional phenomenon, and combating poverty goes beyond a simple discussion of the underlying characteristics of absolute poverty. It recognizes poverty as an issue that needs to be addressed from a broader perspective, reflecting the fact that individuals, families and communities lack the capacity or the opportunity to gain access to minimum living conditions according to the basic standards of society. To achieve the objective of inclusive economic growth for reducing poverty, the government has defined general objectives, to which government efforts will be directed as follows:

- i) To increase output and productivity in the agriculture and fisheries sectors
- ii) To promote employment

- iii) To foster human and social development, while maintaining a joint focus of good governance and macroeconomic affairs and fiscal management.

The general objectives reflect the inter-sectoral approach, and are designed in an integrated manner, representing priorities, strategic objectives and priority actions in which different institutions contribute in a coordinated way to achieve the overall objective.

When Mozambique gained its independence in 1975 the country's peace was short-lived with the renewal of the war which culminated in 1992 upon the signing of the peace accord. A new phase started for the millions of displaced people as they fought very hard to resume their normal lives and the government turned to the process of initiating economic development. It is of paramount importance to note that these years long, difficult times, however brought serious consequences for the living standards of the population. According to the World Bank Report (1997), Mozambique's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita was estimated to be US\$80 which was the lowest in the world. When adjusted for purchasing power parity (PPP) the country fared as the 13th poorest country in the world.

At the end of the civil war, the Mozambican Government assisted by the Donor Community by then which are now commonly referred to nowadays as Development Partners, has undertaken to rebuild the shattered economy and to improve the living standards of the poor people. In order to achieve this mammoth task, the government thus adopted a policy of open economy coupled with some social and economic safety net for the poorest that made it more market oriented. This was in sharp contrast to the previous Marxist Socialist ideology that the country had pursued since the attainment of independence in 1975. Although there are visible signs that these efforts have resulted in the improvement of the general living conditions of the population, a large proportion of the population is believed to be living in a state of absolute poverty.

Although Mozambique has enjoyed positive economic growth averaging 8,5% per year since the peace agreement of 1992, the country has realized insignificant inroads in the fight against poverty. Estimates show that by 2005, 50% of the population in Mozambique was poor, despite improvements in agricultural productivity between 1996 and 2003. Poverty in Mozambique remains a rural phenomenon with over 80% of the rural population living below the poverty datum line. Sofala, Tete and Inhambane are the poorest of the 10 provinces of Mozambique despite rich resource endowments in some of these three provinces. Nationally 38% and 78% of the population lives on less than \$1 and \$2 per day respectively, 32% have access to improved sanitation and only 43% have access to improved water sources and life expectancy is 42 years for both sexes (Earth trends, the Environmental Information portal, 1996).

Some of the causes of poverty in Mozambique have been traced to colonialism, civil conflict of the 1970s until 1992, natural factors such as extreme weather conditions (droughts and floods), lack of access to basic education, knowledge of family planning and strong traditional habits. The latter has caused serious gender imbalances especially in rural areas where poverty is predominant. Linked to these factors are the low levels of productivity in the agricultural sector, which is the largest employer of the unskilled and semi-skilled in the country.

The Mozambican government and other rural development partners have implemented poverty alleviation programmes, mostly focusing at fighting poverty from a macro-level but the impact of these programmes has been insignificant at community level, and poverty remains a major problem. There are also arguments about the positive links between economic performance at macro-level and poverty with others saying there is no evidence of positive outcomes at micro-level. Poverty among child headed and female headed households and among children per se is increasing with many of the women and children suffering from malnutrition, illiteracy and disempowerment. Eventually most of these segments of the population are forced to work in lowly paying jobs as domestic servants or as prostitutes, just to earn a living.

This study seeks to explore the use of local resources in fighting poverty at micro-level as opposed to reliance on outward looking poverty alleviation efforts that have often failed as a result of lack of ownership by the intended beneficiaries. The Researcher believes that a change of focus that empowers the rural poor people to seek answers to their poverty as invested in sustainable utilization of resources available locally would result in a positive paradigm shift that would encourage people to take charge of their destiny. Using a combination of social and human science techniques and methodologies, this study employed open ended questionnaires, interview guides as data generation instruments from households and key informants in the District of Gorongosa in the province of Sofala.

According to Datt(2000), poverty in Mozambique is predominantly a rural phenomenon. Decades of colonialism and 17 years of protracted civil conflict caused untold suffering to the people of Mozambique, condemning them to perpetual poverty and desperation; the impacts of which 17 years after peace, the Government and non-governmental organizations are making frantic efforts to minimize. Infrastructure development, education, health delivery, access to social services, still remains relatively poor compared to neighboring countries. Very few people have access to clean water, infant mortality rates are high, transport networks linking rural and urban areas are poor, unreliable due to poor road infrastructure. Many children in rural areas face difficulties in accessing both primary and secondary education. Although the anti-government forces targeted some of these infrastructures during the civil war, even prior to independence in 1975, the development of rural areas in Mozambique was not prioritized as all investment was directed to urban areas. Decades of neglect left rural populations seriously underdeveloped, educationally, economically and socially, thus making poverty largely a rural phenomenon.

Most of the poor people in Mozambique are smallholder farmers in rural areas who depend entirely on rain fed agriculture for their livelihoods. Drought and livestock diseases especially in the 1980s and 1990s decimated the national herd and as a result problems of animal traction are rampant. Lack of farm implements, seed, fertilizer and

herbicides and difficulties in accessing credit to purchase seed and other inputs further complicate the problems already faced by these poor farmers. Subsequently farmers are forced to use traditional agricultural technologies, cultivating marginal land along riverbanks and embankments to eke out a living.

The traditional “slash and burn” agricultural commonly associated with environmental degradation in many parts of the world is still widely practiced in Mozambique. It is therefore not surprising that desertification is a serious threat in many parts of the country that still relies on this type of farming method. Dozens of hectares of forests are razed down; trees left to dry and then burnt down just before the onset of the rainy season in preparation for planting. After a few years when the soil is ‘tired’ and productivity has declined the family will then move on to other virgin forests, thus making some part of the rural farming population very nomadic.

According to the Mozambican network of fighting against Aids (MONASO), there are high incidences of poverty that have been further exacerbated by the devastating impact of HIV & AIDS. In 2006, about 16.2% of the population in the 15-39 age groups was living positively with HIV in Mozambique and the rural population bears the burden of looking after the sick. The common practice is that when city dwellers succumb to the disease, they relocate to the rural areas, their final resting place. Caring for the sick and orphans thus becomes a rural challenge and has serious implications on agricultural labor. Government through the Ministry of Health and the private sector are making concerted efforts to fight HIV & AIDS but their efforts are overwhelmed by the pandemic in communities where helplessness and despair are apparent. The causes and impact of the disease are little understood in most areas due to strong cultural practices and probably low literacy rates in both urban and rural areas.

According to the Country Economic Manual surveys of 2005, poverty in Mozambique declined rapidly between 1996 and 2003 in both rural and most urban areas, both in monetary and non-monetary measures (Fox, Bardasi, Broeck, 2005). These positive developments have been facilitated by the increase in agricultural productivity due to

use of modern inputs, improved varieties, fertilizers and mechanization. However, there remains a great deal of structural poverty in the country. The government extension services have also improved substantially and the Ministry of Agriculture is trying to ensure that at least one agricultural extension worker is available for each community which in Portuguese are referred to as *localidades*. It is arguable however that focusing on land alone may not significantly reduce poverty hence the need for the development of infrastructure, local agricultural markets, financial services, communication and technology dissemination should all be part of the rural development and poverty alleviation package.

According to Datt (2000) there are basically six possible elements of a prospective poverty alleviation strategy for Mozambique and these are:

- ✓ Increased investment in education,
- ✓ Sustained economic growth,
- ✓ Sectoral pattern of growth favoring faster growth in the industrial and services sectors
- ✓ Measures to raise agricultural productivity,
- ✓ Improved rural infrastructure and,
- ✓ Reducing fertility and dependency loads among households.

This study sought to discover alternative approaches to poverty alleviation especially among the rural households in the District of Gorongosa, in Sofala province. Working within existing government structures at local, district and provincial levels in exploring existing poverty alleviation strategies and policies, the researcher sought to make a contribution towards poverty reduction. Church organizations, NGOs and the Social Services departments were important partners to collaborate with in this study.

1.2 Statement of the problem

It is noted that the Province of Sofala bore the brunt of the devastating effects of the civil war of the 1970s, 1980s until 1992 and hence the existence of extreme poverty levels. Agriculture is the major source of livelihood and literacy levels are very low.

There are visible gender inequalities, mostly exacerbated by lack of education and training as well as strong traditional and cultural belief systems. There is still a strong patriarchal structure at all levels from the households right across the community that clearly disadvantages women and girls especially in the ownership of assets. Vulnerability and livelihood strategies and outcomes do underline the importance of ownership as an important variable in achieving transformation structures desired to reduce poverty. Analysis of ownership of assets shows that this is still skewed in favour of men.

From another angle, the poverty problem in Mozambique is a paradox. The country is rich in terms of natural resources such as timber, soils, minerals, water resources, and people. Sofala is one of the poorest provinces yet soils in Gorongosa are very fertile and there is so much virgin land, and both factors present a good opportunity for the development of productive agriculture in Sofala. In addition to this the country is one of the largest recipients of foreign aid in Sub-Saharan Africa and in partnership with Development Partners the economy registered impressive economic growth and development during the period 2006-2010

Despite high economic growth statistics (Real GDP 7.0% in 2010 up from 6.8% in 2008), massive wealth potential and massive Development Partners financial support, the country remains trapped in the poverty cycle with a low Human Development ranking of 168 out of 174 countries, low Human Development Index of 0.284 in 2010 down from 0.384 in 2006, multidimensional poverty index of 0.481 (2008), population poverty datum line at 74.7% of nationals living below US\$1.25 per day and a poverty headcount of 79.8% in 2008.

Poverty therefore has continued to remain a key challenge facing the government and its ability to address this challenge is limited by severe scarcity of resources resulting from a serious structural weakness in the economy in terms of broad-based growth and high inflation rate. The incidence of poverty as shown in Table 1.3 remains very high at over 50% in the majority of the country's provinces with Zambezia topping the list with 70.5%.

The study therefore seeks to investigate the reasons for the mismatch between high economic growth figures and worsening measures of poverty. Before independence Gorongosa was a net exporter of maize and a provincial bread basket of diverse and varied agricultural products but all that was changed by the wars. The farmers in these areas are hard working and given enough technical support in terms of agricultural machinery and equipment, they could produce enough food for the whole province.

The port city of Beira in Sofala province, links Mozambique with other inland SADC countries through the Beira corridor along which haulage trucks transport merchandise to various destinations and this presents an excellent growth opportunity for Mozambique, which is absent in the neighboring landlocked countries. Tourism thrived in Beira before independence and this potential money spinner could be revived although everything seems to happen very slowly. The “*fun and pomp*” of social life for the tourists and the urban elite in Beira is a direct contrast of the poverty that exists in the slums of *Praia Nova* and other down trodden places in the same city. Sofala is also well known for its Gorongosa National Park, also a very famous tourist destination in Mozambique.

The paradox therefore is why is there so much poverty and desperation in provinces that are naturally so richly endowed? Who are the key beneficiaries of collective community revenues from the various economic activities in these districts?

1.3 Purpose of the study

This study sought to discover alternative approaches to poverty alleviation especially among the rural households in Gorongosa District in Sofala province. Working with existing government structures at local, district and provincial levels in exploring existing poverty alleviation strategies and policies, the researcher sought to make a contribution towards poverty reduction. Church organizations, NGOs and the Social Services departments were important partners to collaborate with in this study.

This study also sought to provide innovative ideas from the Catholic Academic community and expertise on poverty alleviation issues.

1.4 Objectives of the study

The broader and general objective of this study was to establish the possibility of using local resources to reduce the negative effects of poverty on poor households in the selected sites of Gorongosa district in Sofala province. This broad objective was pursued on the understanding that developing and managing effective partnerships, promoting gender equity and women's empowerment, building human and social capital and participatory monitoring and evaluation are critical factors for success in empowering rural communities. However it is very important to note that being a qualitative study, these objectives did not play a major role in guiding the study given the fact that the researcher did not want to have any preconceived ideas on the issue under research. The operationalized or specific objectives that this study sought to address in pursuit of the general objective include the following: -

- a) To establish the extent and effects of poverty in Gorongosa district in Mozambique.
- b) To assess the successes, failures and the use of the local knowledge and skills of some of the efforts or interventions that have been made to reduce poverty in these areas.
- c) To identify local resource endowments and how these could be used to reduce poverty at local levels.
- d) To critically analyze the role of policy makers and policy decisions on poverty alleviation in Gorongosa.
- e) To identify with the communities' potential and possible transition trajectories out of poverty and how these transitions can be achieved.

1.5 Research questions

In order to address the above objectives, this study attempted to answer the following questions: -What is the extent of poverty in the selected communities in Gorongosa district and what have been the major drivers of poverty in these areas?

- a) How can Government and other organizations carrying out poverty alleviation interventions use local knowledge and resources in their activities?
- b) How and to what extent can the local poor be involved in solving poverty problems affecting their own communities?
- c) How sensitive and effective are Government and other institutional policies in addressing poverty at micro-level?
- d) What lessons from empirical evidence on fighting poverty at micro-levels can be similarly used in these selected research sites?

1.6 Significance of the study

The significance of this study is to establish the importance of involving the community in solving their own problems. It also sought to reinforce the role of the Academic Community of Mozambique in the creation of opportunities and new knowledge for development education. The study also sought to assess the role of governance, ethics and development in poverty alleviation. Previous studies have put more focus about what the Development Partners can do instead of what the locals can also do for themselves. It is hoped that the dissemination of the results of this study would bring awareness to both Governmental Organizations and Non Governmental Organizations on some of the suggestions on the way forward to alleviate poverty using local resources and efforts. This research is not only of theoretical value as it is also expected to highlight the causes and effects of underdevelopment and poverty to policy makers and other stakeholders. Finally the study also sought to propose and suggest through research findings some pathways out of poverty for civil society partners.

Finally, the researcher hoped that results of this study will help policy makers and interventionist organizations, consider implementing inward looking rural development

and poverty alleviation strategies in their broader national development and poverty alleviation policies.

1.7 Definition of terms

The terms used by this researcher in this research that could be misinterpreted are defined below and their definitions are given in the frame of reference with which I, as the researcher, viewed the problem of alleviating poverty through local resources and initiatives. This was done due to the fact that some of the terms used in this study have specialized meanings that might not have the same meaning outside the context of this study on poverty. While the definitions of some of these terms will be explained it is of great importance to note that some of these definitions are defined before being used in the sections where they were used.

1.7.1 Community development

Community development, in this study, refers specifically to the rural development that is used by government, non-governmental organizations and locals themselves to eradicate poverty by using best practices that, in most cases, have been tested elsewhere and have proved to be successful (extrapolation). This provides an opportunity for all stakeholders to capitalize on each other's local knowledge, which depends, to a greater extent, on the context.

1.7.2 Natural resources

For the purpose of this study, natural resources are those resources that the locals readily have at their disposal in their communities. These include, but are not necessarily limited to land, water, trees, minerals, sand, citrus and poultry.

1.7.3 Poverty

A lot of studies by the World Bank have revealed that African countries, described as being endowed with abundant natural resources, suffer from widespread and persistent poverty, particularly in the rural areas. Poverty is not necessarily linked to agriculture in

the general context, but it is important to note that in the case of Mozambique in particular, poverty is more abundant and linked to the majority of the population who reside in the rural areas, whose main activity of livelihood depends on tilling the land. The definition which this researcher adopted for this work was that of PARPA 1, which looks at poverty not as defined by the World Bank standard, which looks at poverty as those people whose daily income is below a certain predetermined threshold which has been the subject of controversy and various reviews over the years. The reality of poverty, in this case, is characterized by lack of money and basic necessities such as food, water, shelter, education and health. This definition is also linked to the lack of the potential and freedom that people have in order to achieve their ambitions. In the case of Mozambique, poverty is also explained by income distribution, which is heavily skewed with the lowest 20% of the population, according to a census taken in 2003, holding only about 5.4% of the national income. (Cunguara and Hanlon, 2010) Causes of poverty in Mozambique include, among other factors, access to education, lack of employment opportunities, war and natural disasters. There are visible gender inequalities mostly exacerbated by lack of education and training, as well as strong, traditional and cultural belief systems. Various theories of poverty reduction are looked at in subsequent sections as they look at poverty as a relative concept, which is not objective, because each group of elites defines poverty as influenced by the environment around their habitation. Some of these theories do take a scientific approach based on naturalistic and cultural-hermeneutic methods. Poverty, in this case, is therefore considered an objective concept that this researcher subjected to empirical research. Some of these theories include the Marxian theory of poverty, the Cultural theory of poverty, the Neo-Conservative theory of poverty, the Social Democratic theory of poverty, the Social Darwinist theory of poverty, the Programmatic poverty, the Situational theory of poverty, the Structural theory of poverty, the Social character of poverty and the Membership theory of poverty.

1.7.4 Poverty alleviation

This refers to the strategies that the Mozambican government has been implementing since Independence in order to reduce the incidence of poverty among rural households, which was the focus of this study.

1.7.5 Subsistence agriculture

This refers to the traditional agriculture done by the locals, which are often referred to as the 'slash and burn'. Subsistence agriculture farmers do not use mechanized and best practices to till the land since they do not have the implements, hence they resort to the 'slash and burn' which, in the long run, impoverishes the soil quickly due to its negative effects of burning the soil nutrients. African peasants mainly produce staple foods such as maize, mapira and sorghum for their subsistence.

1.8 Organisation of chapters

This study on alleviating poverty through local resources and local initiatives had the following organization of structure

- **Chapter 1**

This chapter provided the background to the research problem under study and this was the introductory chapter which provided, among other things, the statement of problem, purpose of the study, aims of the study, research questions, significance of the study, rationale of the study and the current status of poverty in Mozambique.

- **Chapter 2**

This chapter visited a review of related literature that is to do with poverty in Mozambique in particular and other countries in general. The chapter also covered the conceptual framework and the theoretical framework, empirical overview of poverty in Mozambique, the poverty paradox in Mozambique, the

rural phenomenon of poverty in Mozambique, changes in poverty trends in Mozambique, access to education, war and natural disasters as well as poverty and HIV/AIDS, poverty alleviation efforts being undertaken in Mozambique, the gender dimensions to poverty in Mozambique and the Gini index for Mozambique. The section on the theoretical framework of poverty made an in-depth analysis of the theories of poverty and an analysis of their relevance to the Mozambican situation. Finally, this chapter made an overview of poverty from the Mozambican experience and also looked at other African countries deemed relevant. An interrogation of the gaps in the theory of poverty reduction as they relate to selected African countries was also looked at.

- **Chapter 3**

This chapter looked at the research methodology and design used in this study. It focused on addressing the broad strategy or philosophical base of the entire research process and the designation of working strategic plans for generating the required data. The chapter also features an in-depth analysis of the qualitative methodology which was used in this study and also looks at the sampling strategy, data generation methods, confidentiality and ethical considerations deemed to be appropriate by the researcher for such a complex study in poverty in the district of Gorongosa. The chapter also made a quick overview of some of the paradigms of poverty deemed to be relevant to the study with the aim of locating the paradigm used in this particular study. An in-depth analysis of the case study which was preferred by the researcher was made and the rationale for choosing the case study. Its ethnographic focus was also looked at. A brief description of the study and the entry into the site of the study were also covered in this chapter. The population and the sampling used were also looked at in-depth and the data and the instruments that were used to generate the data. Ethical and legal considerations also formed an integral part of this chapter. The trustworthiness was also looked at.

- **Chapter 4**

Chapter 4 looks at the data presentation and analysis. All emerging themes from this particular study on poverty alleviation in Gorongosa were organized in emerging themes from the data generated for easy understanding. These various emerging themes or subheadings were grouped under various headings which are related to poverty. The chapter also provides background information about the participants and a list of key informants which provided the information used to form the basis of the study. Perceptions of participants on the concept of poverty and poverty alleviation were also looked at.

- **Chapter 5**

In this chapter, the researcher sealed all the discussions and drew recommendations for strategies necessary for poverty alleviation using locally available resources. It is important to mention that the summary and the recommendations were specific to this study. A summary of findings from literature as well as from participants was also undertaken. The conclusions from literature perspectives were also made in terms of the emmic and the etic. Recommendations were also made and the way forward for developing strategies in poverty alleviation was also looked at. Finally, the study was concluded by also looking at the way forward for future research.

1.9 Chapter summary

It is evident from this first chapter that provides a brief background knowledge of Mozambique as a country in general and the rural district of Gorongosa in particular that Mozambique as a country is full of resources and at the same time there is abundant poverty. A number of efforts have been made in the past in a bid to correct this social injustice in the form of PARPA 1, PARPA 2 and PARPA3. The country had been of late experiencing positive growth rates averaging to about eight percent owing to various mega projects that are taking place in the provinces of Tete and Maputo. There is very little evidence on the ground to show that poverty has been reducing. If anything there is glaring evidence that poverty is increasing at an alarming rate. This study sought to make an in-depth qualitative analysis of what is really happening in the

rural community of Gorongosa. Africa in general and Mozambique in particular cannot continue using colonization as the main reason behind the poverty stigma.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

In August 2008, the World Bank presented a major overhaul to their estimates of global poverty to incorporate what they described as better and new data. The World Bank's long held estimate of the number of people living on the equivalence of US\$1 a day was changed to US\$1.25 a day. Current estimates are that the amount after adjusting inflation should have been US\$1.45 a day at 2005 prices.

The practical implications of these revised figures mean that the figure of people living below this line was estimated at 1.4 billion. This is an increase when compared to the previous figure of 984 million using the previous measure of US\$1 a day in 2004. In 1981 the estimated number of poor was also revised upwards, from 1.5 billion to 1.9 billion.

The World Bank notes that the incidence of poverty in the world is far higher than past estimates have suggested. The reason for this under estimation is the fact that in most developing countries the cost of living was grossly underestimated. It is important to note that the figure could be much higher if it incorporates the recent global food crisis and the rising cost of energy which is feared will drag another 100 million into poverty. If the population increase is taken into consideration between 1981 and 2005, the poverty rate has however fallen by about 25%. This figure should be treated with a lot of care to avoid making misleading conclusions as it masks regional variations, and more glaringly the impact of China whose poverty rate fell from 85% to 15.9%, in other words by over 600 million people. What it means in real terms is that China alone accounts for nearly all the world reduction in poverty and if we exclude China poverty fell only by around 10%. The conclusions are that while China is on the right path to reach the millennium Development Goals to reduce poverty by half and tackle various other issues most countries such as Mozambique are really off target.

2.2 Conceptual frame work

While the prevailing literature on poverty theory will be analyzed in a more general context, the conceptual framework will be linked to the Mozambican context.

Poverty is a very well contested concept that has emerged in modern literature whose particular meaning depends on the ideological and political context within which it is being used. It is true in a much broader sense to look at poverty as the lack of, or inability to achieve a socially acceptable standard of living according to societal norms. The meaning of social acceptable or basic needs has also been a subject of debate as it is created and perpetrated by different processes and social relations which greatly depend on location, and the tendency has been that it is conceived differently according to context.

Most of the poverty analyses to date tend to concentrate on the description of being poor at the expense of interrogating on why and how that condition came into effect. There has been much focus on individual attributes such as lack of assets, education or of health among many other attributes. It is of paramount importance to note that these attributes are a mere result of social processes and thus there is need to understand them in the context of social institutions and systems around them. Therefore any attempt to alter this order requires a deep understanding of the structures and processes that underlie these deprivations from a holistic view point. To a greater extent poverty needs to be understood as being greatly influenced by the resources that people can claim, under what conditions and with what level of choice. Therefore given the complexity of the concept of poverty social differentiation, distributional concerns and issues of governance remain central to a comprehensive poverty analyses. Government structures and other formal and informal processes govern social relations and power structures, which extend over various spatial, temporal and social scales.

A clear distinction can be spelled out between absolute and relative poverty. In this case absolute poverty refers to the inability to satisfy what are viewed to represent the so called absolute minimum requirements for human survival. On the other hand relative poverty refers to the status of each individual in direct relationship or contrast to other

individuals in the community or other social groupings taking into account mainly the context under which it occurs. Relative poverty changes typically spatially and temporarily, and thus measures of relative poverty are not in any way comparable between locations owing to the differing social stratification between communities or over time. The relative approach therefore looks at poverty in the context of inequality within a society.

Poverty can also be viewed either objectively or subjectively. It is considered to be objective when it can be observed and measured using indicators to measure material or non material dimension. Subjective poverty is concerned with the psychological elements and perceptions of poverty, where individual judgments are sought about their experiences of life and the aspects they value in their particular lives. The inclusion of subjective measures into the understanding of poverty is a clear recognition to the effect that decision making is partially related to individual's perception about individual constraints and available alternatives. There has been increasing call for subjective well being measures to complement assessments using objective indicators.

In the second half of the twenty century, poverty was explained as a result of inadequate economic growth and individual failings, and measured as per capita income or consumption, ignoring structural issues relating to the unequal distribution of wealth and opportunity. The solutions to remedy poverty were therefore considered as greater economic growth, with a focus on building human capacity.

In recent debates and drawing heavily from the work of Amartya (2005), the conceptualization of poverty has been broadened to include non economic components. Thus poverty is increasingly being recognized as multi dimensional, distinguishing the numerous aspects of people's lives affected by poverty, including economic and non economic dimensions, and a clear recognition that poverty occurs within and is affected by the political, economic, social and cultural context.

Acknowledging poverty as being multi dimensional does not change who is classified as poor but allows a better understanding and characterizations of the poor and has

significant implication for analysis. A better understanding of poverty and of the interaction between various dimensions permits a more informed choice in terms of design and implementation of appropriate policies to reduce poverty.

Narayan and Petesch(2002) carried out a study in one of their largest studies where the poor were asked to define poverty. This researcher used a similar constructivist approach as i did not want to impose the meaning of poverty on the rural people of Gorongosa but to build it from their view point. It is this researcher's view that social reality is constructed. This researcher preferred to use constructivism due to the fact that knowledge is constructed in the human being when information comes into direct contact with existing knowledge that had been developed by experiences. This is supported by Kolber and Fry (2004) who clearly stated that scientific observation has established that education is not about what the teacher gives, education is a natural process spontaneously carried out by the human individual and is acquired by not listening to words but by experiences upon the environment. Kolber's beliefs are consistent with the constructivists views that this researcher used in that this researcher included concrete experiences as part of the learning process and as such did test knowledge by acting upon the environment, thereby giving the student reliable, trustworthy knowledge. This view parallels with my work which this researcher did and tested in the field. It is this researcher's view that knowledge is first constructed in a social context and is then taken up by the individuals. The process of sharing each person's point of view resulted in building understanding together that wouldn't be possible alone. Knowledge is thus a product of humans and is a product of our social nature, and our culture (Ernst, 1991; Prawat and Floden, 1994).

Many definitions of poverty attempt to highlight deprivation, exclusion and lack of resources to satisfy the needs of a dignified livelihood as the poverty phenomenon. Mozambique's Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, *Plano de Accao para a Reducao da Pobreza Absoluta (PARPA)*¹ 2006-2009 defines poverty as *'the impossibility owing to inability and lack of opportunity for individuals, families and communities to have*

access to minimum basic conditions, according to the society's basic standards' (GdM, 2006). It is against this background and understanding that since 1992 the government of Mozambique has made consented efforts to uplift the standard of living for citizens through various policies and projects. Poverty levels are highest in Sofala, Tete, and Inhambane provinces where more than 60% of the population falls below the poverty line (Datt, et. al, 2000).

For the purpose of this study the researcher prefers to use the PARPA definition of poverty which looks at it as the impossibility and inability and lack of opportunity for individuals, families and communities to have access to minimum basic conditions, according to the society's basic standards.

Mozambique is one of the countries with interesting rural poverty dynamics given its history, geographical location in sub-Saharan Africa among other factors. According to the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD, 2010) rural poverty report, one billion poor people in rural areas of South Asia, Latin America, and Sub-Saharan Africa and other developing countries live on less than \$1.25 per day. Their situation has been worsened by food prices that doubled in 2010 pushing a further 100 million to join the world's food hungry. Increasing pressures on land, water, weather and other effects of climate change exacerbate already vulnerable conditions of the poor – mainly smallholder farmers whose livelihoods hinge on agriculture. There is no doubt that growth in agriculture generates positive externalities in the livelihoods of the poor – particularly in most parts of the developing world where agriculture is the key sector of the economy (IFAD, 2010).

The reality of poverty characterized by lack of money and basic necessities such as food, water, shelter, education and healthcare cannot be doubted among many rural communities in Mozambique. Grappling with insecurities linked to these factors is clearly manifested at both individual and household levels. The United Nations lists Mozambique among 50 Least Developed Countries (LDCs) where 0.61% of the world's population lives below the poverty datum line of US\$1 per day (Vollmer, 2010). The country's gross domestic product (GDP) per capita of US\$900 in 2009 was

ranked 118/228 while the Human development index placed the country at 172/182 during the same year 2009 (Ibid). In the southern African region aid inflows per capita of US\$92 place the country third compared to a regional average of US\$48. Most of the aid inflows which increased rapidly in 2003 are meant to fight extreme poverty although others still argue that the battle is far from over (Cunguara, Hanlon, 2010).

In most cases poor people look towards external intervention as the only way out of their predicament yet local resources could be used to reduce vulnerability and increase sustainability of livelihoods. Poverty alleviation strategies employed by the rural poor have a destructive impact on the environment because the poor will not stop at anything as long as that will help put food on the table.

2.2.1 Causes of poverty in mozambique

The causes of poverty in Mozambique are not very different from those of other countries in the region. However the role played by the devastating civil conflict of the 1970s through 1992 on poverty, which is specific to Mozambique, cannot be ignored. This is particularly true for Manica and Sofala provinces that bore the brunt of the devastating impacts of the civil wars, hence extreme poverty levels in these provinces. Although controversial, colonialism and subjugation of the majority of black people is also responsible for the poor development in rural areas, levels of human capital development, poor health delivery system in most parts of the country, low productivity in small holder agriculture, weak physical infrastructure, poor access to basic services, transport and communication, high fertility rates and a corresponding high dependency ratios (Datt et.al, 2000).

Other drivers of poverty include,

- Failure to increase productivity, virtuous circles of unemployment due to lack of investment.
- Most donor financial inflows and government spending are channeled towards social services rather than productive real sector activities hence the minimum impact on exports and balance of payments.

- With the advent of peace in Angola, the focus of donors on Mozambique diminished as donor aid also focused on Luanda.
- Inadvertently, excessive focus on social development and social services investment stifles real sector development.
- Impoverished land and unreliable climatic conditions of extreme drought and floods also contribute to rural poverty in Mozambique.
- Poor traditional farming methods characterized by monoculture (lack of crop rotation) is attributed to low agricultural productivity among small holder farmers
- Lack of access to finance to purchase appropriate seed inputs and farming equipment. Farmers rely on donors to provide hybrid seed and other inputs or else they rely on open pollinated varieties from the previous harvest
- Poor planning and budgeting, corruption and lack of accountability as well as incoherent poverty alleviation policies also add to the existing picture of poverty in the country.

2.2.2 Empirical overview of poverty in mozambique

In this section we attempt to discuss theoretical and empirical issues related to poverty as well as look at specific statistical issues on Mozambique and the communities studied in this report, using secondary data sources. We outline the poverty paradox in the country, the rural phenomenon of poverty in Mozambique, poverty trends, income distribution, and agricultural productivity, access to education, impact of HIV/AIDS on poverty, public and private attempts at poverty alleviation and results and the gender dimensions of poverty in the country. In so doing, the researcher sought to explain the dimensions of poverty faced by many rural communities in order to provoke ideas about what could be done to alleviate poverty particularly in the rural areas of countries like Mozambique.

2.2.3 The poverty paradox in mozambique

Poverty in Mozambique is a paradox! First, Mozambique is a huge country with one of the longest coastlines in the world, has six differentiated climatic conditions characterized by droughts and floods. Second, the country is rich in terms of natural resource endowments such as timber, soils, minerals, water, human resources, etc. The country has 104 river basins very fertile agricultural land and water resources. For example, Gorongosa district in the central province of Sofala where this study was based has very fertile soils and so much virgin land, with a very good potential for agriculture but it is one of the poorest districts of the country. The district now lives in a shadow of itself because before independence in 1975, Gorongosa was a net exporter of maize and a provincial bread basket of a diverse and varied provincial economy on which the Manica and Sofala provinces relied for agricultural food production. Smallholder farmers in these areas are hard-working and given enough technical support, such as agricultural machinery and equipment, could produce enough food for the whole country.

Further, Mozambique has two important international sea ports in Beira and Maputo providing access for most of the imports into the neighboring landlocked SADC countries, namely Zimbabwe, Zambia, Swaziland, Botswana, Malawi, Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Namibia. The port city of Beira in Sofala province through the *Beira corridor* along which haulage trucks transport merchandise to various destinations presents an excellent economic opportunity for Mozambique, which is non-existent in landlocked countries of the SADC region. The “*fun and pomp*” of social life for the tourists and the urban elite in Beira is a direct contrast of the poverty that exists in the adjacent slums of *Praia Nova*, *Nhamudima* and other down trodden places within the same city.

Abundant water resources and river basins have made it possible for Mozambique to be one country in SADC with the highest number of electricity generating plants, and potential energy exporter, but instead the country imports some of its energy requirements from Eskom, South Africa (while exporting insignificant amounts of energy). In the past CahoraBassa hydro-electric power station belonged to Portugal up

until a few years ago when the Government bought it back from the Portuguese Government.

2.2.4 The paradox

The paradox therefore is why is there so much poverty and desperation in the rural communities and country that is naturally so richly endowed? Is it because of inefficiencies in production and distribution, mismanagement and corruption, that has seen most rural areas being disadvantaged! Could the excessive rent seeking activities and misplaced development policy priorities on the part of the policy makers have resulted in this status quo? This Researcher will make a serious attempt to discuss and find solutions to some of these rhetorical but very important questions.

2.2.5 Rural phenomenon of poverty in mozambique

Like in other countries in the region, there is a predominance of poverty in rural areas in Mozambique and the number of rural poor in 2009 was 14.4 million people (70% of the population). These are mainly smallholder farmers who depend on subsistence agriculture for their livelihood. Lack of farming equipment, seed, fertilizer and herbicides and difficulties in accessing credit to purchase seed and other inputs complicate lives of these poor farmers. Subsequently farmers are forced to use traditional agricultural technologies, cultivating marginal land along riverbanks and embankments. The traditional “slash and burn” agriculture, known as *Chitemene* in Zambia, commonly associated with environmental degradation in many parts of the world is widely practiced in Mozambique. Vast hectares of forests are chopped down; left to dry and then burnt down just before the onset of the rain season in preparation for planting. Despite so much energy and hard work on the part of the farmers, this has failed to make inroads into poverty alleviation in almost all parts of the country. Smallholder farmers in rural areas whose livelihoods derive directly from rain-fed agriculture are thus the poorest in Mozambique.

The Central and Northern provinces have higher agricultural potential than other parts of the country in terms of more fertile soil and abundant rainfall and have a potential to produce agriculture surpluses. Moving into the southern parts of the country the climate is drier, the soils are poor and rural disasters such as flooding and drought occur periodically. These together with the coastal communities which suffer extreme isolation are deemed to be the poorest areas of the country. What is interesting to note is that despite this great potential in Agriculture which is abundant in the Central and Northern part of the Country 95% of mechanized agriculture is in the Southern region of Mozambique which encompasses Maputo, Inhambane and Gaza where there is less fertile land. This should have been the opposite given the availability of more fertile land in the North and Central parts of Mozambique. Various arguments have been advanced in a bid to justify this mismatch of allocation of resources.

Poverty is caused by isolation, inadequate infrastructure and the consequent lack of access to goods and services. In rural Mozambique the road network is very poor and basic services are inadequate.

Low agricultural productivity is the result of lack of appropriate technologies and support services. It can also be attributed to the fact that produce markets are distant, unreliable and uncompetitive. Small holders depend on traditional farming methods, low yield seed varieties and manual cultivation techniques. Alternative sources of income outside agriculture are few if not non-existent, and this increases the vulnerability of the poor rural people to natural disasters. In times of scarcity they have little to buffer them from food insecurity.

The poor road infrastructure precludes some goods from reaching certain parts of the countryside leading to nutritional and caloric problems (Vollmer, 2010). Furthermore, only 29% of the people in rural areas have access to clean water and the infant mortality rate is 95.9/1000 increasing to 141.9/1000 for children under 5. Life expectancy at birth is 47.9 years and there is no doubt that all these statistics point to

poverty and deprivation on the part of those affected – especially those living in rural areas.

2.2.6 Changes in poverty trends in Mozambique (1996 – 2009)

Studies have shown that poverty increased from 54% of the population in 2002-03 to 55% in 2008-09 with the central provinces of Sofala, Manica, Tete and Zambezia experiencing increases of 68% in 1996-7 to 70% in 2008-9 (Datt, et al, 2000). Nampula province also experienced similar increases in poverty during this period. Estimates show that between 2003 and 2009 rural poverty increased from 55% to 57% while during the same period national poverty marginally declined from 52% to 50%. Arguably during the same period Maputo witnessed a decrease of poverty from 54% to 36%. The non-monetary poverty measurements in Mozambique present a more encouraging scenario with access to education and health particularly in the rural areas generally improving.

These different approaches to poverty measurements often lead to donors and government reporting highly conservative or lower poverty levels (Cunguara et.al, 2010). However, not statistics about poverty are common, for example, the national family consumption survey *Inquerito aos Agregados Familiares* (IAF 2002 -2003) give declining poverty levels from 69% to 63% between 1996-7 to 2002-3². According to the country Economic Manual surveys of 2005, poverty in Mozambique declined rapidly between 1996 and 2003 in both rural and most urban areas, both in monetary and non-monetary measures (Fox et. al, 2005). During the same period (1996 – 2005) there was an insignificant transformation in poverty inequality although aggregate growth reached many poor households and raised their consumption levels. Vollmer's (2010) critique of the poverty measurements in Mozambique argues that because consumption based measurements of poverty miss out on food nutrients this leads researchers to misinterpret poverty head count as falling. To the contrary these are seen

to be increasing fast in urban areas, while access to clean water recorded insignificant changes during the same period.

Poverty in any population is also explained by income distribution. Income distribution in Mozambique is heavily skewed with the lowest 20% of the population in 2003 only holding about 5.4% of the national income (Table 1).

Province	Year		
	2002	2005	2008
Cabo Delgado	87	80	86
Gaza	84	73	80
Inhambane	59	55	73
Manica	84	72	74
Maputo	62	58	63
Nampula	79	76	89
Niassa	77	68	70
Sofala	83	64	76
Tete	84	79	82
Zambezia	89	85	85
Total (Average)	81	75	81

Table 4: Income Poverty Headcount (%) by Province and Year

Source: Cunguara and Hanlon (2010), Poverty is not being reduced in Mozambique

The reliability of this information coming from government has been queried for its accuracy as government would want to gain popularity for being seen to have reduced poverty through various programmes.

Although child poverty based on the deprivations approach is argued to have decreased from 59% to 48% between 2003 and 2008, chronic malnutrition is falling slowly largely because 70% of the population which are rural based smallholder farmers cannot produce enough food to feed their families (Cunguara and Hanlon, 2010).

During any given year there are certain months of the year that farmers do not have enough food from their own production.

2.2.7 Access to education

According to the Convention on the Rights of Children (CRC) published on the www.childmigration.net, lack of access to education is a “serious deprivation” for any child, just as is deprivation of, nutrition, water, sanitation, shelter, healthcare and information. Education, infrastructure, and agricultural technology clearly distinguish between poor and rich households in many communities. Out of 72 countries ranked in the technology advancement index (TAI), Mozambique achieved a score of 0.066 and was placed last and a score below 0.20 is an indicator of country marginalization in terms of technology and skills development (Desai et. al, 2002).

Although primary education in public schools has been free since 2007, many children in rural areas face difficulties of accessing primary and secondary education. Some schools in rural areas still offer five rather than seven years of primary education. Pupils are forced to transfer to neighboring schools, usually 10 to 20km away from their homes for the remaining classes, and this results in drop outs at that level, as this is not the best option especially for the younger pupils who have difficulties walking long distances. Although some schools were destroyed during the civil war, construction of educational facilities in rural areas was not a priority even for the colonial government in Mozambique. This deprived a lot of children in rural areas of basic education, further condemning them to be custodians of the rural phenomenon of poverty in the country.

Consequently, most of the population in Mozambique has very little or no primary education and most children are still out of school today, although opportunities are better now than they were 15 years ago. The civil war also deprived most people of opportunities to access education, particularly higher education and hence better employment.

There are also various universities that have been established in almost all the major towns and provinces but the rate of uptake is still low because the primary and secondary educational structures which are supposed to be feeder points for higher education, still need to be transformed to be more effective. The quality of service provided by some of these emerging universities is still to pass the test of time. Rapid growth in the education sector can be a real problem in the long run if it is not accompanied by positive reforms and quality assurance measures. Prioritizing gender balance in education, especially for women and girls would be appropriate strategy in alleviating poverty among the rural population.

According to Datt et al (2000) there are basically six possible elements of a prospective poverty alleviation strategy for Mozambique and these are: -

- ✓ Increased investment in education,
- ✓ Sustained economic growth,
- ✓ Sectoral pattern of growth favoring faster growth in the industrial and services sectors
- ✓ Measures to raise agricultural productivity,
- ✓ Improved rural infrastructure and,
- ✓ Reducing fertility and dependency loads among households.

2.2.8 War and natural disasters

In recent decades since the attainment of independence in 1975, the country has struggled through a series of natural calamities all of which aggravated poverty levels throughout the country, and particularly in rural areas.

The civil war lasted for 16 years, leaving most rural infrastructure damaged or destroyed and large portions of arable land infested with land mines. Both the civil war and the floods and the drought that followed the conflict forced large numbers of displaced persons to migrate to urban and coastal areas. The subsequent impact on the

environment has been considerable. Desertification and pollution of inland and coastal waters have become a problem in certain areas as a direct result of this.

Poor rural households are particularly vulnerable to natural disasters such as drought and floods that beset the southern and central part of Mozambique. As a result of such events, given the fact that rural people have few income generating alternatives to agriculture, they are immediately exposed to the threat of food insecurity.

2.2.9 Poverty and hiv/aids

The prevalence of the HIV/AIDS virus in Mozambique is a further point of vulnerability for poor rural households, aggravating poverty and malnutrition levels. The number of people infected in the country has been on the rise and was expected to increase and eventually stabilize in 2010 when an estimated 16% of the population would be living with the virus. What is of great concern is the fact that the virus affects the most productive members of the households and drains already meager resources that are mainly used to pay for medical and other care. As a result the social services and the Health Care are struggling to cope with this calamity.

These high incidences of poverty have been further exacerbated by the devastating impact of HIV & AIDS. In 2006, about 16.2% of the population in the 15-39 age groups was living positively with HIV although this figure decreased to 12.5%. The rural population bears the burden of looking after the sick as is common practice that when city dwellers succumb to the disease they move to the rural areas which becomes their final resting place. Caring for the sick and orphans is a challenge that results in serious negative implications on agricultural labor in rural areas. Home based care organizations have thus sprouted in many parts of the country in response to this challenge.

Government through the Ministry of Health and the private sector are making consented efforts to fight HIV & AIDS but are also overwhelmed by the pandemic in communities where helplessness and despair are apparent. Furthermore, Mozambique is

a country facing a serious shortage of doctors in rural areas and the number of doctors per thousand people in 2006 was still zero and as of 2007 only 4.9% of GDP was directed towards health expenditure. The causes and impacts of the disease are little understood in most areas due to strong cultural practices and low literacy rates.

2.2.10 Poverty alleviation efforts in Mozambique

parpa i, ii & iii>

Attempts to reduce poverty in Mozambique have always been on the Government's agenda since 2000 through PARPA I (2001 – 2005), PARPA II (2006 – 2009) and PARPA III (2010 – 2014). Before this there was the *Lines of Action for the Eradication of Absolute Poverty* (1999), the PARPA 2000 – 2004 or interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Programme (PRSP) and the *Government Programme* (2000-2004). There were also other sectoral and inter-sectoral plans, policies and strategies developed by various arms of government to deal with poverty challenges facing the population (GoM, 2001).

However some authors argue that poverty is not being reduced in Mozambique despite massive inflows of aid into the country and all these claims by government of declining poverty levels (Cunguara and Hanlon, 2010). For example median income was 10% lower in 2008 compared to 2002, and more unevenly distributed, suggesting that poverty was actually increasing rather than decreasing. These authors attribute this to non-decreasing agricultural productivity and reduced income earning opportunities being created (Ibid). Addressing poverty among the rural smallholder farmers in Mozambique using the local resource endowments may help the rural poor leap-from their desperate situation.

2.2.11 Food subsidies

About 100 000 old people (above 50 years) in Mozambique are assisted through a minimal food subsidy although this is a far cry compared to the size of the population and the numbers of this age group. Similar programmes in Brazil and Mexico, caters for 26% of the population, about 12 million families in Brazil, with each family whose

income is less than 30% of the minimum wage qualifying for the grant. In Mexico a similar scheme called Oportunidades family grant covers 22% of the population, more than 50% of the people in the poorer regions of the country. The question is, can Mozambique sustain such programmes given its low gross domestic product, compared to Brazil and Mexico? Social services grants and subsidies, including old age pensions have been seen to be affordable in emerging economies like Brazil and to an extent neighboring South Africa.

2.2.12 Direct financial assistance to smallholder farmers

Since 2007 agricultural season the government of Mozambique has donated tractors and ploughs in each *Posto de Administrativo, localidade* a feat that has helped farmers with improved tillage equipment, especially in areas where farmers do not have any means of draught power. These tractors and ploughs have greatly helped towards poverty alleviation are argued to have recorded some significant increase in agricultural productivity due to use of modern inputs, improved varieties, fertilizers and mechanization. Further each district was given about 7 million meticaïs to finance individual and group development projects, and this money is accessed through their local *Posto de Administrativo*. Government has also increased access to extension services which have also improved substantially and the Ministry of Agriculture is trying to ensure that at least one agricultural extension worker is available for each *localidade*. It is however argued that focusing on land alone is not enough as the complete package should include infrastructure development, establishing local agricultural markets, value chain, financial services, communication and strong technology linkages.

2.2.13 The gender dimensions of poverty in Mozambique

There are visible gender inequalities, mostly exacerbated by lack of education and training as well as strong traditional and cultural belief systems. There is still a strong patriarchal structure at all levels from the households' right across the community that clearly disadvantages women and girls especially in the ownership of assets, which is

heavily skewed in favor of men. Low literacy rates, lack of family planning programmes and gender imbalances in education, economic and social decision-making are also common in rural areas.

Within rural communities of Mozambique, women are particularly disadvantaged. They have considerably less access to education than men, and consequently fewer skills. Health care is inadequate and the number of women who die in child birth is high. Most rural women work in agriculture and are primarily responsible for food crops. Their workloads are heavy and they generally play a crucial role in generating food and income for the family. What is of concern is despite this very important role that they play they have very little access to or control over productive resources. Although the 1997 Land Act affirms that women should enjoy equal access to land, in practice many women are unaware of their legal rights and those rights are not enforced. Further the number of women who are heads of households is rising rapidly. These women have less land to farm and less food security and are more vulnerable to the natural calamities that affect the country.

According to Narayan and Petesch (2002) in societies where polygamy and dowry are practiced just as in Mozambique, women endure an extreme sense of insecurity. Poverty has also resulted in child marriages where girls of between 14 and 24 are married off to men much older than them as a way of relieving the family of the financial burden of looking after the girl child. The population council has noted that about 18% and 56% of the girls in this age group have been married before the ages of 15 and 18 respectively. Girls are generally more affected and in Nampula and Maputo girls are married at 16 and 20 on average, respectively. In most cases some of these girls are forced into early marriages because of being orphaned due to the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

2.2.14 The gini index for Mozambique

According to the www.geocurrents.info, as retrieved on the 30 of august 2012, the gini index measures the degree of inequality in the distribution of family income in a country. This index is calculated based on the Lorenz curve.

In the case of Mozambique the Gini Index is currently at 0.45 according to a World Bank study (2008). This is a measure of wealth distribution and obviously it rings bells in terms of the big gap which has emerged between those who “have” and those who “don’t have”. A study carried out by James and Channey (2005) on whether the economic growth in Mozambique is pro-poor found out that while all sections of the Mozambican Society enjoyed a rapid annual increase in consumption, the rate of growth in consumption was slightly higher for richer households. This has resulted in the moderate increase in the inequality at the national level as demonstrated by the rise in the Gini coefficient from 0.40 to 0.42. However, this slight increase in inequality at the national level is not statistically significant and its impact on poverty reduction efforts is negligible.

The fight against poverty, ignorance and disease has been a major goal of Government of Mozambique since independence from the Colonial rule in 1975. However it is important to state it in categorically clear terms that the effort to date has been inadequate as evidenced by the results on the ground that have seen the growth of poverty continue unabated. In response Government mounted a new effort which incorporates wider consultation and broader participation of stakeholders through the introduction of PARPA 1, 2 and 3. This is designed as ongoing long term poverty strategy for both policy and programme development.

High degrees of inequality in income distribution can have a negative effect on growth and increase poverty (Person and Tabellin, 1989). Mozambique has one of the highest degrees of income inequality among the low income countries and the second highest world overall (World Bank, 1997). The estimated Gini-coefficient for Mozambique is 0.45 which is one of the highest among the 22 poorest countries. Reducing income

inequality is very important because it does benefit the poor immediately and in the long run this facilitates economic growth. Poverty has generated in Mozambique a range of social problems that includes high mortality rates, malnutrition and deaths from treatable diseases, starvation, crime and exodus of the economically active population to urban centers. This situation has taken place despite the existence of poverty reduction policies and programmes and implementation of assistance strategies by international financial organizations, the donor community and nongovernmental organizations.

The apparent failure of policies and programmes to reduce poverty double underlines the need for major changes in social and economic policies. The sharp contrast between the goals and objectives of implemented policies and programmes suggests the need for a critical assessment of these policies and programmes.

2.3 Theoretical framework of poverty

This chapter deals with the theoretical foundations of the present study. To this end, the theoretical context of poverty will be presented and discussed.

In August 2008, the World Bank presented a major overhaul to their estimates of global poverty to incorporate what they described as better and new data. The World Bank's long held estimate of the number of people living on the equivalence of US\$1 a day was changed to US\$1.25 a day. Current estimates are that the amount after adjusting inflation should have been US\$1.45 a day at 2005 prices.

The practical implications of these revised figures mean that the figure of people living below this line was estimated at 1.4 billion. This is an increase when compared to the previous figure of 984 million using the previous measure of US\$1 a day in 2004. In 1981 the estimated number of poor was also revised upwards, from 1.5 billion to 1.9 billion.

The World Bank notes that the incidence of poverty in the world is far higher than past estimates have suggested. The reason for this under-estimation is the fact that in most

developing countries the cost of living was grossly underestimated. It is important to note that the figure could be much higher if it incorporates the recent global food crisis and the rising cost of energy which is feared will drag another 100 million into poverty. If the population increase is taken into consideration between 1981 and 2005, the poverty rate has however fallen by about 25%. This figure should be treated with a lot of care to avoid making misleading conclusions as it masks regional variations, and more glaringly the impact of China whose poverty rate fell from 85% to 15.9%, in other words by over 600 million people. What it means in real terms is that China alone accounts for nearly all the world reduction in poverty and if we exclude China poverty fell only by around 10%. The conclusions are that while China is on the right path to reach the millennium Development Goals to reduce poverty by half and tackle various other issues most countries such as Mozambique are really off target.

In this context, the purpose of the following sub-chapter is to present and to discuss the phenomenon of prevailing poverty based on some of the most relevant theoretical approaches to the topic.

2.3.1 Theories of poverty reduction/elimination

Poverty in the recent past has emerged in the global scene as a natural disaster that can be used to explain a lot of social ills including child mortality rates, spread of HIV/Aids, increase in crime rates and historical injustices. A comprehensive study of poverty requires an effective theoretical understanding of the causes, the spread and effective methods of reducing poverty.

This research aims at providing a theoretical understanding of poverty including the implicit ideological fabric on which each of the poverty theories is modeled. Theories of poverty in this particular study have been evolved in a chronological way.

Harvey and Reed (1992:270) capture three assumptions on which theories of poverty are developed. Firstly, the welfare reforms were victims of poverty are considered victims of poor structures of production, distribution and governance. Poverty is considered a structural problem and therefore victims are absolved from the blame.

Secondly, poverty is also largely viewed as an ideological fact and therefore elites develop a concept of poverty based on perception. These elites dictate the dimensions of poverty based on their own social groupings and achievements.

Poverty becomes a relative concept which is not objective because each group of elites is influenced by the environment around their habitation. Thirdly, poverty takes a scientific approach based on naturalistic and cultural-hermeneutic methods.

Poverty is therefore considered an objective concept that can be subjected to empirical research.

This study adopts this scientific assumption due to its objectivity. The *scientific studies* approach is based on two axioms. The first axiom is concerned with the role of politics in poverty. As a political problem, poverty is seen as a testimony of failure of political structures of governance and poor policies by governments. In political economy, explanation of poverty is either grounded in a problem of production or market distribution mechanisms in an economy. The political class can therefore alleviate poverty in their areas of jurisdiction (economy) by improving means of production or by improving the distribution system of what the economy produces (Harvey & Reed, 1992:271). This assumption exonerates the poor from the state of poverty since they find themselves poor as a result of structural and economic policy failures. Factors responsible for poverty are beyond the control of the poor. The second axiom focuses on the poor and considers poverty as a result of a specific culture exhibited by the poor. The poor are therefore to blame for their state of poverty.

2.3.2 Marxian theory of poverty

This is a theory based on the fact that poverty comes about as a result of the situation a poor person finds himself or herself in. The poor person is therefore a victim of circumstances resulting from a number of factors, critical of which is the production system. Karl Marx points out that the entrepreneurial practices of the owners of means of production (capitalists) to move away from labour to capital intensive means of

production in order to boost production and increase profits lead to massive unemployment. Capital intensive production forces the capitalist to retrench workers in order to increase profitability. Retrenchments lead to massive unemployment. The retrenched persons can either migrate to reengineer themselves in urban areas or change professions. Those who fail to reengineer end up at home as paupers and form what Karl Marx calls a reserve army of labourers (Harvey and Reed,1992:277). These paupers finally end up poor. Continued retrenchments lead to increased number of paupers in the economy and in the long run increases poverty levels.

A series of structural failures give rise to an increase in the number of the poor. Gordon et.al (1982:1) identify these structural failures as racial and gender discrimination and nepotism resulting in deprivation of certain groups of peoples' opportunities for jobs, education and social assistance. Albrecht and Milford (2001:67) contribute to this theory by pointing out that massive restructuring of economic systems leads to increased economic and social marginalization of an entire group of people. Such groups end up poorer due to the lack of access to opportunities.

The Marxist theory recommends poverty alleviation through improved structures of production and increased education and training to those rendered irrelevant by technological improvement to adapt through change of environment to change of profession. Education also ensures that the retrenched persons embrace change and adapt (Winch, 1987:32-35). The theory also advocates for a kind of government welfare programme to aid those who are unable to reengineer themselves through education so that they can access basic requirement for upkeep such as food rations, health programmes and subsidies (Coser, 1969; Harvey & Reed, 1992:280).

This theory does not apply in our specific case of Gorongosa rural communities as it is more concerned with the production and retrenchments due to the intensive use of capital at the expense of labour.

2.3.3 Cultural theory of poverty

This theory was developed by Oscar Lewis in 1968 and builds on the Marxian theory of poverty by pointing out that as retrenchments continue, driven by the capitalists' quest for improving means of production and profitability, paupers emerge. The paupers collectively group up into a specific geographical environment or class. The grouping can emerge as a result of either formerly instituted government welfare programmes or setting up of formal national boundaries such as districts or provinces for effective governance. An example is the result of policy initiative under the 'Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 on African Socialism and its application to planning in Kenya where Kenya was classified into high potential and low potential areas. Based on spill-over economics, the Government of Kenya pumped development resources in the high potential areas to spur economic development with the hope that the benefits of such investments will spill over to the lower potential areas. This policy initiative is cited as the reason why provinces classified as low potential such as Nyanza and North Eastern Kenya have remained poor to date.

Groups or classes of the poor can also emerge gradually and informally due to individual initiatives where persons seeking residence in affordable areas or those looking for areas with residents sharing in similar challenges in order to develop coping strategies or survival tactics end up settling in a certain geographical area. This has consequently given rise to slums in urban areas such as Beira, in Sofala Province and clear examples that come to mind are those of Munhava and Praia Nova in the outskirts of Beira City, Mozambique.

The socialization of emerging groupings of the paupers leads to the emergence of new behavioral traits in order to cope with material deficiency experienced by the groupings. Shulman (1990:1) identifies these traits to include limited time horizons, need for impulsive gratification, low aspirations and psychological self doubt. These traits collectively change the world view of the poor and lead to pervasive

hopelessness, despair and state of poverty (Lewis, 1968:187: Jones, 1984:253 & Shulman, 1990:1)

BacaZinn(1989:67) and Albrech et.al. (2001:508) point out that this defective culture is passed on to children born and raised in these homes or geographical areas as a result of socialization of poor families and communities and consequently limit or obstruct such children's successful participation in mainstream institutions. The resulting "underclass" becomes permanent and is "locked into its own unique, but mal adaptive culture". Oscar Lewis (1968:187) refers to these emerging behavioral traits and norms as a culture of poverty.

Since the culture of poverty is only based on material deprivation and not specific to any ethnic or religious marginalization, it is possible for a person to be poor without living in a culture of poverty. Reforms aimed at poverty alleviation should not focus on immediate gains because culture takes a long time to change because of its relative autonomy. Over the years, the culture of poverty can be modified without necessarily focusing on having the objective of poverty alleviation as is seen in societies taken over by revolutionary or nationalistic movements where many of the key traits of the culture of poverty are altered ideologically (Lewis, 1968: 190).

The Malthusian paradigm recommends provisions of moral education to curb over-population as a good solution to the problem of poverty. Moral education results in sexual restraints, delay in marriage, practicing abstinence prior to marriage. Poverty can also be reduced through improved production technology (Winch, 1987: 32 – 35). An initiative by an individual to migrate to other areas in search of survival can also eliminate this culture of poverty through change in social groupings.

Although this theory is a proxy to the issue of poverty in Mozambique as it has nothing to do with migrations and social marginalization and therefore would not fully justify the rural poverty of Gorongosa Communities.

2.3.4 Neo-conservative theory of poverty

This theory is predominantly influenced by the Malthusian paradigm developed by Thomas Robert Malthus (1766-18834) and later improved upon by Robert Brenner in 1976 (cited in Harvey & Reed, 1922:281). This theory attributes poverty to economic factors resulting from the tension between population pressures and subsistence. This poverty therefore is based on material wealth where over-population of the poor coupled with poorly managed capitalistic systems result in poverty.

This theory is therefore based on two axioms; firstly, poverty is attributed to a mismatch between production capacity of the previous years and demographic trends in what is referred to as demographic catastrophes. Poverty is caused by geometric growth in population mismatched with arithmetical growth in means of subsistence. Unless regulated by positive checks, the mismatch continues producing an increased number of poor people. Positive checks include war, famine, plague and misery which constantly curb over-production. Since these positive checks rarely occur, poverty continues to increase. Secondly, marginal productivity of land, labour and technology, and the way that these affect the supply of food and other resources also explains poverty over the years. Prices influence the affordability of commodities among the population and result in factors such as retrenchments which in turn explain poverty (Harvey & Reed, 1922:281). Although this theory applies to Mozambique as it has experienced the so called positive checks but poverty continues unabated thus clearly showing that positive checks alone cannot alleviate poverty.

In order to alleviate poverty, Neo-Conservative theory of poverty recommends provision of moral education to curb over-population. Moral education results in sexual restraints, delay in marriage and practicing abstinence prior to marriage. Poverty can also be reduced through improved production technology to ensure that production of goods and services satisfy demand at affordable prices (Winch, 1987: 32-35).

It is important to also note that this theory does not apply to the Gorongosa rural community as they have abundant land and resources at their disposal and there is no tension between population pressures and subsistence.

2.3.5 The social democratic theory of poverty

This theory was advanced based on experiences in Britain in the 1920s. The theory assumes that poverty is a class based concept and it comes about due to class struggles in the society and not on the basis of means of production. Piero Sraffa who advanced this theory argued that class struggles went beyond production spheres and therefore restricting poverty explanations to productions means as was the case in Marxian theory of poverty would be limiting the scope needed to understand poverty. The politics around the manner in which goods and services are produced and distributed has an effect on poverty just like the means of production used (Sraffa, 1926:550).

The politics of distribution of goods and services go a long way in explaining reasons as to why certain classes of the society are poor. In the Social Democratic theory of poverty, poverty is both a class issue and also a market based factor. Elimination of poverty requires distributive justice to ensure that goods and services produced are equitably distributed .to ensure that all classes of society are fairly involved in the enjoyment of these goods and services (Harvey & Reed, 1992:283). Sen (1981:7) concludes that poverty is a function of entitlement and notes that “starvation ...is a function of entitlement and not of food availability.” Entitlement refers to legal claim on existing resources and such entitlements are functions of a political process aimed at improving market forces or failures of such forces. The researcher finds the social democratic theory of poverty making a lot of sense and being very relevant to this particular study of the impoverished rural communities of Gorongosa District.

Failure of market forces as a result of capitalist’s fear to entrepreneurial risks in periods of economic downturn decelerates production and causes unemployment as argued by John Maynard Keynes. In such times, market forces fail, the poor get poorer due to increased unemployment or retrenchment and low levels of incomes. Failure of market

forces require the state to step in and ensure continued production and stable employment (Sen, 1984:328).

Sen (1984:326) argues that in cases where access to resources or income is deprived, personal capabilities of individuals lead to absolute deprivation, however market forces are not capable of correcting the situation. Government must ensure that while citizens who are in political power and are capable of production are not curtailed from producing, the government must also ensure equitable distribution of all that is produced in order to eliminate poverty and this is part of what the Mozambican Government should do. Equitable distribution will be enabled by giving citizens entitlement. Where existing political power cannot guarantee entitlement, there should exist both alternative governments which can guarantee entitlement to all and a democratic process to ensure that the alternative government takes political power to change the state of affairs positively. This researcher seriously casts a lot of doubt on the political power to change the state of poverty particularly in Mozambique. The Social democratic theory of poverty centres on a reform process committed to preserving a system based on production for profit while focusing on elimination of poverty politically mediated in redistribution of consumables.

This theory is also a proxy of the Marxian theory which traces the causes of poverty to the production and distribution of goods. This research subscribes in part to the Marxian Theory as the poor communities are not solely to blame for the poverty that they find themselves in.

2.3.6 The social darwinist theory of poverty

Poverty is a self-inflicted situation according to the social Darwinist theory of poverty and so it evolves over time as a result of social evolution. An individual's excellence or mediocrity will naturally cause that individual to be poor or otherwise. Poverty is therefore "both a final judgment and a purgative by which society selectively eliminates the unfit". Poverty trends in any society is as a result of natural selection and therefore

any man-made attempt to change the course of the trend leads to impairment on the natural functioning of institutions (Harvey & Reed, 1992:286).

Social Darwinist theory of poverty identifies two types of poverty based on studies in the urban areas. The First type is *normal-class* poverty which is a correctable situation caused by social and ecological developments that take place in urban areas. Normal-class poverty is manifested through physical handicaps, old age or female headed household with dependent children. Normal-class poverty is self-correcting since it focuses mainly on income based poverty. It can be eliminated when an individual attains maturity or moves from one economic class to another or is assimilated. Other methods of elimination include education and training or natural evolution of the urban area (Harvey & Reed, 1992:286). This theory has very little relevance since it deals more with the urban or peri-urban poverty. This study concerns itself strictly with rural poverty.

The second type is *lower-class* poverty caused by either specific habits or cultural practices and norms of the poor. This kind of poverty comes about as a result of a lifestyle that does not pay attention to work, self improvement or service to the family (Harvey & Reed, 1992:287). Since educators and opinion leaders who are able to change the normal-class poverty circumvent issues of culture and habits passed down from one generation to another, lower-class poverty remains largely unchanged. Lower-class poverty therefore gradually evolves into a natural process through which society eliminates the unfit members (Harvey & Reed, 1992:287).

This theory does apply given the fact that this study was based in the rural areas where the issue of culture cannot be underestimated.

2.3.7 Programmatic poverty

Programmatic poverty is a kind of poverty practiced by religious or political leaders wishing to benefit from the positive attributes associated with poverty despite the fact

that such leaders are not poor. A missionary priest of the Roman Catholic Church and a Buddhist all take vows of poverty. Harvey and Reed (1992:2880) observe that this type of poverty is of marginal interest to social scientists investigating the structural roots of poverty unless the social scientist is interested in studying the sociology of culture.

2.3.8 Classification of theories of poverty

This approach explores theories underpinning the evolution and development of the concept of poverty. Paradigms of poverty form a strong basis on which theories of poverty evolve. The paradigms of poverty are collectively mapped into a chronology of the development of the theories of poverty. These theories form a good basis for developing appropriate solutions to the problem of poverty. Theories of poverty can be classified into different categories (Albrecht et. Al (2001: 67); Duncan (1996 103); BacaZinn (1989: 854) tackle poverty from an individual dimension and classify theories of poverty into two categories: cultural or situational theories of poverty while (Gordon, Edwards & Reich, 1982:1) and (Cobb 1992:1; Duncan 1992:104 and Maril 1988) approach poverty from an individual perspective and classify theories of poverty as structural where the poor are only seen as victims of a force beyond their control.

2.3.9 Culture of poverty

Cultural theories are generally based on what has been called a “culture of poverty” portrayed by poor persons which is a common thread in the Critical Marxist and social Darwinist paradigms (Lewis 1996:187; Shulman 1990:1). Cultural theories assert that people are poor because they have a distinctive culturally predetermined way of life which largely explains why there is an occurrence and persistence of poverty among households. These culturally predetermined ways that cause poverty are what the cultural theories refer to as a *defective culture* (Shulman 1990:1). The aspects of this defective culture include a limited time horizon, impulsive need for gratification, low aspirations, and psychological self-doubt. These aspects, when taken together, change the world view of poor people which help them to cope with pervasive hopelessness, despair and state of poverty (Lewis, 1996:187; Shulman, 1990:1; Jones 1984:253).

Poor families and communities then socialize their young with these values and norms, and consequently limit or obstruct their successful participation in mainstream institutions. The resulting “underclass’ thus becomes permanent and “locked into its own unique, but maladaptive culture” (Albrecht et al, 2001: 508; and BacaZinn, 1989:67).

Cultural theories mainly focus on the individual. These theories contend that to be poor is an individual’s own making and not as a result of other causes. Scholars such as Shulman (1990: 2); BacaZinn (1989: 854); Borcoran, Greg Gurin, and Gurin (1985:516); Wilson and Aponte cited in Albrecht et al (2001: 70) and Jones (1984; 253) maintain that this theory “blame the victims” for their poverty yet poverty is caused by not only factors within but also beyond the control of a poor person such as economic fundamentals and market forces. These criticisms are the causes of the continued search for the meaning of the concept of poverty. Nonetheless, cultural theories provide a good insight into understanding poverty at the household level and form part of the conceptual framework of this particular study on poverty in the rural communities of Gorongosa.

2.3.10 Situational theory of poverty

This theory explains why the poor people tend to portray fatalism and immediate gratification. Jones (1984: 248) says that this behavior is “a rational response to deprived circumstances.... This behavior derives from opportunity structure facing the poor rather than from distinctive cultural values” The interpretation is that the poor reflect impulsive behavior as a utility maximization effort aimed at ensuring livelihood. The poor do not work because of hopelessness resulting from lack of hope and lack of commensurate result between efforts expended by the poor and the resulting benefits. The situation the poor find themselves in is one that does not allow them to gain much from hard work and a long term view of issues. Consider a child in a slum trying to study. Lack of supportive factors and an enabling environment such as school fees, career counseling, text books and the like will lead the child to give up and engage in

immediate gratification such as street vending, theft, commercial sex activities and the like in order to satisfy immediate daily demands of food, shelter and clothing.

2.3.11 Structural theory of poverty

The second major category of theories is the structural ones where poverty is blamed on circumstances and structures in the social or economic systems such as racism, sexism and segregation limits rather than by the individual (Gordon, Edwards & Reich, 1982:1).

Poverty is therefore caused by deprivation of training and job opportunities sufficient to maintain acceptable standards of living or quality of life (Cobb 1992:1; Duncan 1992:104 and Maril 1988). Albrecht et. al. (2001; 67) contribute to these theories by pointing out that massive restructuring of the economy also contributes to increased economic and social marginalization of an entire group of people. Structural theories absolve the poor from blame. Poverty is blamed on structural failures which include sexism, racism, and bad governance, wretched state of infrastructural development, poor development policies and even geographical placement.

2.3.12 The “social character” of poverty

This is not a theory of poverty but some kind of default hypothesis that has emerged from criticisms of structural and cultural theories of poverty. All these theories have been criticized for failing to bring out the issue of social behavior among the poor. These theories fail to explain the role of interpersonal relationships in poverty alleviation efforts of the poor. Jones (1984: 250) points out that these theories look at poverty from a macro perspective. The poor are just a homogenous aggregate of people portraying similar traits. The geographical dispersion of the poor is not important. The homogeneous aggregation lacks a social character. This deficiency causes structural and cultural theories to ignore the impact of interpersonal bonds in poverty alleviation efforts. Jones argues that family members’ approval and support may make an individual change his or her future despite his or her own culture or situations. An encouragement from an older sister to the child to continue reading despite difficulties

and the sister's approval or disapproval of his or her own future career plans can change the future destiny of the child.

2.3.13 The membership theory of poverty

According to S. N. Durlauf of the department of Economics of the University of Wisconsin, the role of group affiliations in determining socio-economic outcomes should not be underestimated. In his paper he described this particular perspective on the causes of poverty which he attributed to membership based theory. The idea of this theory is that individual socio economic prospects are greatly influenced by the groups to which he/she is attached over the course of his/her life. According to the author such groups may be endogenous and the example of these includes residential neighborhoods, schools and firms. Other groups are exogenous, that includes ethnicity and gender. The basic idea of the membership theory of poverty is straight forward and it is based on the supposition that an individual's socioeconomic outcome depends upon the composition of the various groups of which he/she is a member over the course of his/her life. Such groups may in principle be defined along many dimensions that encompass ethnicity, residential neighborhoods, schools and work place. These memberships can exert causal influences on individual outcomes through a variety of factors. Some of these factors include: peer group effects, role model effects, social learning and social complementarities.

The peer group effect refers to the impact of the choices of some members of a group have on the preference of others in accessing those same choices. Standard examples of peer group effects include juvenile crimes, in which the appeal of participating in a crime is higher when one's friends are involved and cigarette smoking in which the use of cigarettes is more appealing when one's friend also smokes.

The role model effects occur when the characteristics of all the members of a group influence the preferences of younger members. If a typical student places a higher value

on college education when the percentage of adults in his community who attended college is high therefore college attendance exhibits role model effects.

The social learning refers to the influences which the choices and outcomes experienced by some members of a group have on the subsequent choices of others through the information that those choices and consequences impact. When a community only contains adults who have attended university education but not succeeded economically, this information can influence how high school students access the benefits of university.

Social complementarities refer to the idea that the choices of some members of a group make the choices of other members more or less productive depending on whether the choices are positively correlated or not . A typical example is a study group in which hard work by other members makes the effort of its members more productive thus, exhibiting social complementarities.

It is important to note that when group influences are powerful, then socio economic success or failure is significantly causally influenced by the evolution of these memberships as well as the groups themselves. Suppose that an individual is a member of an ethnic group which suffers from discrimination, further grows up in a poor community whose role models and peer groups militate against economic success, and is in turn placed in sequence of poor schools and jobs undoubtedly this sequence accounts for why such an individual is in poverty by the membership theory of poverty, the author refers to a perspective on poverty in which these group influences play a primary role in understanding why an individual is poor for much of his life.

This study interests itself with poverty issues particularly poverty alleviation in Mozambique and its novelty lies in discussing how poverty at local level can be alleviated using local resources, instead of waiting for external interventions in terms of resources, knowledge and skills. This researcher assumes that there is scope for transition out of poverty based on sustainable utilization of local resource endowments, indigenous knowledge and local human capital.

2.4 The Mozambican experience: is poverty being reduced?

The United Nations' Millennium Development Goals aim to reduce poverty by half the proportion of people living on less than one dollar a day by 2015. According to Miles and Scott (2005:40) reducing poverty requires either boosting of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita or reducing inequality by redistributing resources towards the poor.

Research over the past decades has described poverty in sub Saharan African countries that include Mozambique. Some scholars have even explained causes of poverty in selected countries. For example, according to Sanchez et al. (2007) poverty is caused by a poverty trap in which poverty itself, hunger and disease, rapid population growth, environmental degradation, poor governance are mutually reinforcing. Thus in rural areas where greater than 80% of the population live in poverty farmers from self financing or getting credit for needed farm input(fertilizers, improved seeds), and soils become depleted of nutrients after repeated crop circles without replenishments.

Collier (2007) has argued that that the cause of African poverty is the lack of economic growth. A combination of failure among the causes of economic growth are resource scarcity and wealth, coastal and land locked locations, small national populations, ethnic diversity and geographic. Okwi et.al.(2007) conducted poverty mapping for 2 232 small families in Kenya. They found out that physical factors such as land use, soil type, distance to public resources, as well as demographic and income inequality explain more than half of the variations in rural poverty numbers.

Available data indicate that instead of promoting sustainable development, most of these policies contained in PARPA 1, 2 and 3 have resulted in widespread poverty, massive unemployment and glaring disparities in income and wealth. Poverty has generated a number of a wide range of social problems including crimes and slums. It

is interesting to notice that the crime rate in the Tete province has risen drastically due to the mega projects of Coal and Tobacco that are taking place.

Evidence from a recent study carried out in the Mozambique Province of Tete which is endowed with natural resources of coal have revealed that the presence of the Mining Company has prejudiced the locals as prices of food, goods and accommodation sky rocketed due to a lot of money chasing few products (inflation). Locals can no longer afford a decent living as a result of mine workers who are well salaried and the most of whom are foreigners occupying key posts. The money is not pumped to circulate in the Mozambican Economy as most foreigners with good salaries invest in their countries of origin such as Brazil and South Africa. Criminal activities are said to be thriving in Tete as a result of the exploration of the coal.

A study by C. Oya and J. Senga (2011) on Discretion and Heterogeneity in Mozambique Rural Labour Markets presented some results from the largest rural labour market survey yet conducted in Mozambique. Overwhelming evidence from the country's three provinces revealed that labour markets have a significant impact on the lives of large number of poor people and that employers exercise considerable discretion in setting wages and conditions of casual, seasonal and permanent wage employment. This evidence is a result of a combination of a quantitative survey based on purposive sampling with other techniques that included interviews with large farmers. The findings are in sharp contrast with ideas that rural labour markets are irrelevant to poverty reduction policy formulation in Africa. The research addressed major shortcomings of many rural household surveys and it also addressed the lack of empirical understanding of labour markets in developing countries, a gape that development economists and agencies have increasingly acknowledged.

In an article co-authored by Aurelio Bucuane and Peter Mulder, the authors discuss another key topic related to current challenges for development in Mozambique, "Expanding the Exploitation of Natural Resources in Mozambique: will it be a blessing or a curse?" Mozambique has considerable natural resources, the greater part of which has yet to be exploited. The government of Mozambique is determined to extract and

export its natural resources potential as fast as possible, supposing that this will positively contribute to economic growth and poverty reduction. However, many resource rich countries are among the poorest nations in the world, in spite of decades-long exploitation of their natural wealth. This so-called ‘paradox of plenty’ or ‘resource curse’ raises the question of whether the foreseen exploitation of natural resources in Mozambique will pose a threat rather than a blessing to its economic development as had been the case in most African countries such as the Democratic Republic of Congo where neighboring Rwanda has been instrumental in destabilizing peace prospects because of the minerals. . In this paper, the Co Authors first estimated the potential resource wealth of Mozambique in comparison to other countries. Next, they briefly reviewed the growing body of literature on the existence and determinants of a natural resource curse. They then proceeded to evaluate the risk of a resource curse occurring in Mozambique in the (near) future. Finally, the article tried to come up with suggestions to avert a Mozambican resource curse.

The fifth article, “Budget Reforms in Mozambique; towards a Political Economy Approach”, by Paolo de Renzio, looks at the progress achieved by Public Finance Management reforms in Mozambique in the period 2001-2007, using consolidated data from HIPC and PEFA assessments. The results show that there have been improvements, especially with regard to budget coverage and transparency, and to the role played by the Administrative Tribunal and by Parliament. Important weaknesses persist, however, in the area of internal controls, despite recent improvements. Traditionally, capacity constraints and a generally conceived ‘lack of political will’ have been blamed for slow and uneven reform efforts. Taking politics seriously, however, implies a much more careful approach to the political economy dynamics shaping reform initiatives and efforts, including the role of donors. Some basic questions and hypotheses have been put forward to outline what a political economy approach could look like.

In his published article on Poverty and Social Exclusion: Theories, Concepts and Social Politics in Portugal , E. V. Rodriguez (2008) , argues that the use of the concept

of social exclusion is very recent, making the topic very difficult to tackle given the diverse meanings being attributed in various sectors such as the political and intellectual. Social Exclusion emerges as a result of the increase in inequality which is a direct result of the difference in resource capacities between those who have and those who don't have. Those with immense resources will be able to mobilize their resources and take an active part in the economy of the country. Social exclusion is viewed by Rodriguez as a multi-dimensional phenomenon and it co exists with other social phenomenon such as unemployment, marginalization, discrimination, poverty among others.

Freund ApudCosta (2007) in his article of Poverty and Social Exclusion identifies five types of social exclusion which are of the economic type which is generally associated with poverty which is defined as multiple deprivation due to lack of resources. The second type is the social type of poverty whose roots are eradicated in the society. The Cultural type of exclusion encompasses phenomenon such as racism, xenophobia and other forms of nationalism can give origin to social exclusion of the minority ethnical cultures. The fourth type of social exclusion is of the pathological origin and it is of social, psychological or mental. The fifth and final is the one caused by self destruction behavior which is associated to drug abuse, alcoholism and prostitution. It is important to note that although the base of the author's argument was from a European perspective this is also valid to a greater extent to the case of Mozambique.

Joao Francisco of Coimbra University (2010) looks at poverty as deprivation of certain power and solving this issue involves the devolution of this very power (empowerment). He concluded that poverty is a social problem and it is up to all members of society to fight against this evil if this war is to be won by humanity.

There has been a lot of debate among the politicians, civil society, academics and nongovernmental organizations on what is really happening on the ground with regards to poverty in the rural communities.

According to Cungiara and Hanlon (2010) the country remains as one of the poorest countries in the world with a GDP of 169 and a human development index of 172. These ratings are a clear indication that Mozambique remains far below the poverty datum line. Trying to recover after nearly three decades of war, it became a donor darling and this saw aid rising for the past decade. Mozambique receives more aid than its neighbors at a similar level such as Malawi and Tanzania. Analysts attribute this skewness to the fact that the country is one of the few countries to be loyally following a neo liberal free market development policy and is apparently also reducing poverty(Hanlon and Smart, 2008). It is interesting to note that both Malawi and Tanzania have publicly opposed donor policies.

A national family consumption survey (IF, inquerito aos Agregados Familiares) in 1996 and 1997 showed that sixty nine percent of the population lived below the poverty datum line. A similar study six years later offered two alternative figures: sixty three percent based on the same poverty datum line; or fifty four percent based on the changed consumption patterns which effectively lowered the poverty datum line. Poverty datum lines were based on food baskets; between the two surveys poor people switched to cheaper, lower quality food, which it was claimed, allowed the poverty line to be lowered. Not surprising this figure was quickly accepted by the Government and the Donor Community as it gave credibility to their policies which had yielded positive results.

Officially seventy percent of the Mozambican population is rural and Agriculture is the predominant economic activity in the country. The small holder sector accounts for ninety nine percent of all farms which means further reduction in reducing poverty should target this group by enhancing the farmer's income. The Government took cognizance of this fact and in their PARPA 2 prioritized agricultural development to increase rural incomes and reduce absolute poverty. The program calls for the transformation of agriculture through the promotion of the agrarian services, and increased productivity and production. Many analysts believe that this has not been achieved by looking and making a quantitative analysis on the different sources of data.

This failure has been largely attributed to the donor led development model which does not give ownership to the locals.

In his paper on whether poverty is increasing in Mozambique, Joseph Hanlon of England Open University argues that poverty remains a paradox in Mozambique. This is because there is no way poverty can be said to be reducing whilst at the same time there is a rise in chronic child malnutrition. J. Hanlon argues that there are four links to this paradox. First, people's living standards are very insecure as evidenced by half the rural people above the poverty datum line in 2002 that had fallen below the line in 2005, to be replaced by others rising. Second, differentiation is increasing, with most of the growth in the GDP being attributed to the top twenty percent, while in sharp contrast the spread between the poor, very poor and extremely poor is increasing. Third, the official fall in poverty is exaggerated because it is based on people eating cassava instead of their usual staple food maize which may be a reason for the rise in malnutrition. Fourth, most people cannot use the present economic model being pursued to pull themselves out of poverty by using their own bootstraps, because of their level of poverty and the lack of assets and external links, and therefore one does not need to be an economist to know that such people cannot use free markets. As a result of this harsh reality the lack of jobs and the way risk is shifted to the poorest.

Fox (2008) made a comparison on how Mozambique fares on the region in terms of poverty by using an internationally comparable measure which defines poverty as those living on less than one US\$ in purchasing power parity(PPP) terms, per day. Compared to the neighbors the author concluded that Mozambique is poorer than South Africa, Uganda, Zimbabwe and Tanzania but richer than Zambia and Malawi. Mozambique is no longer with the highest poverty rates in the region.

The way forward for the reduction of poverty is to focus on its root causes in poor investment and economic performance, rather than immediately focus on the outcome.

2.4.1 Summary of gaps in the theories of poverty reduction as they relate to mozambican poverty dialectics

Table 5: Summary of gaps in the theories of poverty reduction as they relate to Mozambican poverty dialectics

Theory	Mozambican context
Marxian theory	Although relevant to a certain extent, the study interests itself with rural poverty where this theory has very little relevance.
Cultural theory	Proxy to the rural poverty of Gorongosa, although it cannot fully justify the rural poverty
New-Conservative Theory	Does not apply as land is abundant, and there is no tension between population pressure and subsistence...
Social-Democratic Theory	Proxy to the Marxian theory and the poor are not solely to blame for their poverty...
Social Darwinist Theory	Does not apply given the fact that the study is concerned with rural poverty
Programmatic theory	Marginal interest...
Culture of poverty	Very relevant but cannot fully account
Situational theory	Slightly relevant to the rural communities of Gorongosa
Structural theory	Issues of governance and poor development policies are indeed relevant to the current scenario of rural poverty in Gorongosa
Membership Theory	Relevant to the rural poverty of Gorongosa as poor people tend to group themselves into endogenous and exogenous groups

Source: Own Source

As emphasized in the previous chapter on the theoretical framework of poverty, from most theories visited the researcher is of the opinion that no single theory on its own can fully account for the present status quo of poverty in the Gorongosa rural communities. As the Mozambican case shows, poverty is multidimensional and

resolving it requires multiple methods that are well coordinated. There is need to develop new theories that take local knowledge and participants' views on the issue of poverty and that also encompass issues of governance.

In the following chapter, the study will therefore take a broader view on selected African countries in order to further interrogate gaps in the theories of poverty reduction as they relate to these specific countries.

2.5 Interrogation of gaps in the theories of poverty reduction as they relate to selected countries

In order to get a broader perspective of poverty alleviation strategies and their effectiveness, the researcher deemed it fit and appropriate to have a quick look at some of the experiences from not only Mozambique but also other countries on poverty alleviation strategies. The researcher started with a brief analysis of poverty alleviation strategies that have been implemented in Zimbabwe and then proceeded to draw some examples deemed to be relevant for this study from other countries such as Mozambique, South Africa, Nigeria and India.

2.5.1 The Zimbabwean experiences

In Zimbabwe the government is making strides to address the issue of poverty from a holistic view as evidenced by some of the reforms in the mining sectors that give shareholdings to communities who live around the minerals being exploited. The current laws are viewed to be criminal and must be urgently amended to empower the people and their communities.

As published in the Herald of the 15 of November 2012, the deputy Prime Minister Arthur Mutambara, who is a renowned academic by international standards, was giving closing remarks at the world diamond conference. He spoke about the problem being the current mining laws in Africa in general as favoring the investors be it in Zimbabwe, Botswana, Namibia and all over the African Continent. It is his opinion that

these laws in Africa empower the investor at the expense of the African Community and the people. According to Professor Mutambara the issue of looting natural resources had not only occurred in the mining sector but also in other areas such as oil. There was no evidence on the ground in terms of the communities' s standard of living that justify Ghana to be called the Gold Coast, Johannesburg to be called Egoli (City of Gold) and the same story applies to Zimbabwe which is rich in minerals that includes Gold and Diamonds. In his learned opinion Professor Authur Mutambara believes that the key problem is the fact that there is no exploration done so as to quantify and give value to the minerals available before exploration and urged the investors to have an intricate value of the assets underground. A lot of minerals have been mined in these communities but there is very little to write home about as the poor people continue to live in absolute poverty. He urged Africa to draw lessons and learn from Norway, Canada and Australia where it was mandatory to have the 93 percent of the shareholding to the locals living the investor with poultry 7 percent. He bemoaned the Community share ownership bemoaning the perception created in most instances when companies donate to these poor communities as if they are doing them a favour. He argued that this perception is wrong as it is the other way round; the communities are the ones as custodians of the resources under their jurisdiction donating to the company through allowing them to exploit their resources. He stressed that the Zimbabwean Government would come up with a Diamond Bill that will include the intricate value of the minerals and he said that the Government has set up a geological and exploration company to establish and quantify all minerals in Zimbabwe so that these can benefit the poor communities and the country in terms of royalties and dividends.

Government is committed to transforming the economy and reducing poverty, another Zimbabwean Cabinet Minister was also quoted in the Daily News of the 15th of January 2013. He was officially opening the United Nations Day symposium in Harare. Economic Planning and Investment Promotion Minister Tapiwa Mashakada stressed that the Zimbabwean Government was working hard to create jobs and restore the economy's capacity to produce goods and services competitively.

“One of the biggest challenges facing Zimbabwe is the high incidence of poverty.

“The Government of Zimbabwe’s major goal is therefore to transform the economy with a view to reduce poverty, create jobs, maintain macro-economic stability, restore the economy’s capacity to produce goods and services competitively to achieve environmental sustainability,” he said.

Minister Mashakada said Government’s Medium Term Plan 2011-2015 was aimed at transforming Zimbabwe’s economy.

“As such the Medium Term Plan, our national development blueprint, aims at economic and social transformation of the country.

“The plan clearly guides all other Government policy documents, the national budget and sets out clearly the national priorities and investment opportunities and programme.”

He said Zimbabwe was still in the early stages of integrating its industrial, social and economic sectors. “I believe this forum will provide an opportunity for all stakeholders on how we can capitalize on each other’s experience, knowledge, resources and forge strong partnership as we map a way forward,” Minister Mashakada said.

The minister said it was Government’s desire that Zimbabwe becomes a green economy promoting economic growth.

Minister Mashakada highlighted the co-operation between Government and the United Nations pledging to continue working together with the international organisation.

Minister Mashakada said the main target of the MTP was to ensure that the economy remained on a sustainable growth path.

UN resident and humanitarian co-coordinator Mr Alain Noudehou said the day was marked to celebrate the 67th Anniversary of the founding of the UN.

He commended the Zimbabwean Government for implementing the sustainable development agenda.

“The Government of Zimbabwe has indeed underlined that the implementation of the sustainable development agenda should be mainstreamed into key development programmes through its Medium Term Plan,” he said.

He said Zimbabwe was facing several challenges including limited access to clean water, lack of access to energy and high unemployment.

“These challenges can lead to persistent food insecurity, diseases, environmental degradation, social instability and ultimately to delayed development.

“Therefore the country’s ability to reduce the current access to energy gaps and the level of unemployment would greatly contribute to Zimbabwe’s ability to reach its sustainable and human development potential,” he said.

Mr Noudehou said the UN was committed to supporting Zimbabwe in pursuing its national sustainable development objectives.

“Our assistance will continue to be provided through the Zimbabwe United Nations Development Assistance Framework on sustainable development growth, basic social services, good governance, food security, gender equality, environment management and agriculture as well as fighting HIV and Aids ” he said.

The key objective of the symposium under the theme “Green Economy for Sustainable Development and Poverty Eradication” was to raise awareness among stakeholders on the need for a green economy to accelerate the progress towards MDGs.

A green economy would result in improved human wellbeing and social equality while significantly reducing environmental risks and ecological scarcities.

The Researcher finds the Zimbabwean experiences very interesting and extremely relevant given the fact that Zimbabwe is in close proximity as the two countries share a common boarder to Mozambique and the two countries share a common culture particularly with the people who live in the central Provinces of Mozambique (Manica, Sofala and Zambezia) as they all speak Ndau and Chimanyika. There are strong arguments that the boarders were simply put in place to preserve the interests of the colonizers as some people living in Mozambique have close relatives on the other side

of Zimbabwe. Further, Mozambique played an exceptional role in the armed struggle of Zimbabwe, thus bonding the two countries with blood. It is also of paramount importance to mention the assistance rendered to the Mozambican Government by the Zimbabwean Government to fight against the RENAMO guerrillas who had literally taken control of the Central part of Mozambique.

2.5.2 The South African experiences

In their paper on Participation and poverty reduction issues in South Africa, Hoddinott, Adato and Haddad (2005) they examined the relationship between community participation and the efficacy of interventions designed to reduce poverty. They developed some simple analyses that were used to structure a review of the extant literature and motivate the analysis of the effect of participation on the efficacy of public works interventions in South Africa. These analytics suggest because communities possess informational advantages not available to outsiders, community participation offers the prospect of lowering the cost of antipoverty interventions. In cases where the outcomes of interventions are difficult to measure, community participation is attractive because it is more likely to produce a set of outcomes actually desired by the community. However, this observation must be used with some care, because these outcomes may not be those desired by all members of the community, nor by those financing the interventions. These arguments are supported both by a review of the extant literature and also by a multivariate analysis of the effect of community participation on poverty reduction. The author examined the effect of community participation on a variety of outcomes associated with public works projects implemented in the Western Cape province of South Africa between 1995 and 1997. In his analyses the author considered seven outcomes that capture the ability of these projects to utilize publicly provided funds in a cost efficient manner, the extent to which project benefits flow to individuals in the form of wages and training and the extent to which these projects target particular groups within these localities. In this paper an effort was made to examine the relationship between community participation and the efficacy of interventions designed to reduce poverty. The author developed some simple analytics that was used to structure a review of the extent literature and

motivate the analysis of the effect of participation on the efficacy of public works interventions in South Africa. The analytics suggest that because communities possess informational advantages not available to outsiders, community participation offers the prospects of lowering the cost of anti poverty interventions. In cases where the outcomes of interventions are difficult to measure, community participation is attractive because it is more likely to produce a set of outcomes actually desired by the community. However, this observation must be used with some care, because these outcomes may not be those desired by all members of the community, nor by those who finance the interventions. These arguments are supported both by a review of the extent literature and also by multivariate analysis of the effect of community participation of public works projects in South Africa. The author concluded that community participation reduces the cost of these interventions and improves their targeting towards the poor. Just like Zimbabwe, South Africa shares a common border in the South with Mozambique and South Africa is Mozambique s largest trading partner, with a negative balance for Mozambique as the Country s imports are far exceeded by its exports to South Africa.

2.5.3 The Namibian experiences: income grants in namibia

Raising farm incomes is described as the core of the antipoverty effort as three quarters of the poor today are farmers. Estimates show that growth in Agricultural productivity of small farmers is, on average, at least twice as effective in benefiting the poorest half of a country's population as growth generated in nonagricultural sectors.

The issue of income grants brings a new dimension to the poverty alleviation strategies. The key issue behind this is the fact that a guaranteed minimum income ensures that every citizen will live and will be in a better position to purchase the desired level of basic needs. A more specific policy, called a basic income (or negative income tax) is a system of social security that periodically provides every citizen, rich or poor, with a sum of money that is enough to cater for his basic needs. In parts of Namibia where such a program was implemented and it paid only the equivalent of

us\$13 on a monthly bases, research has shown that people were able to pay tuition fees, raising the proportion of children going to school by 92%, while child malnutrition fell drastically from 42% to 10% and economic activity grew by an average 10%.

A lot of arguments have been raised on the pros and contra of this practice as it can create a source of comfort and promote laziness. The researcher casts great doubts on this method to solve the income inequality.

2.5.4 The Nigerian experiences:

social theory and poverty reduction with special attention to nigeria: social institutional explanation of small-scale financial institutions

The key issues to be addressed is whether institutions and social capital provide a viable means for advancing the goals of poverty reduction programs in low capacity provinces. This question has particular importance not only for Nigeria but for Africa as whole because of the poor performance of poverty reduction programs notwithstanding domestic and global efforts to reduce poverty in the continent. In his paper Osaoreideyan, Franklin& Marshall College (2011) assess the usefulness of the informational aspects of the new institutional economics and social network method of social capital paradigm in reducing access information and monitoring costs faced by the poor and service providers of micro credits institutions in Nigeria. The general proposition of their paper is that poverty reduction can be promoted on the one hand, by designing programs to reflect some regularities (formal and informal rules and regulations) which best enhance benefits and mitigates costs faced by the poor for obtaining services and on the other hand a mobilization of coercive social relationships based on existing networks of semiautonomous units that substitute for weak enforcement of contracts to reduce the service delivery costs to the poor. Over the past years various studies have approached the debate of Nigeria's inability to move a significant portion of its population out of poverty using several explanatory variables that includes governance, the weakness of society, class ethnic privileges, gender discrimination and empowerment, as causal factors influencing the success and failure of targeted programs. The majority of these explanations of policy or program failures

tend to fall into one these categories: state centered explanations which contend that bad governance, lack of political will and the inability or unwillingness to transparently apply public resources to generate public goods produce failed results. The second explanation is that which centers on corruption, short sightedness among policy makers and the predatory nature of the powerful and privileged few that lead to unsatisfactory outcomes.

The study presented an alternate explanation which emphasizes institutional designing mechanisms to overcome typical problems of implementing development programs such as sustaining good governance from the work force, and keeping to minimum the tendency of a few target beneficiaries to corner program benefits and flout organizational norms for their personal benefit. This alternative explanation was used by the authors to provide and fill in some gaps identified in the review of the literature of existing studies and explanations as to why development programs do not succeed. This Researcher believes that Mozambique as a country can take a leaf from this experience as some of the problems that the country is facing are a direct result of poor governance and corruption particularly in the civil service.

2.5.5 The indian experiences

Philippe Aghion and Beatriz Armendariz de Aghion (2004) concluded in their findings that poverty started a pronounced and steady decline in India in the 1960s and 1970s. Datt and Ravallion (1998). But meanwhile there was little growth in the manufacturing sector. So what explained this reduction in poverty? The answer is that is a result of the green revolution and the resulting boost to productivity in agriculture that made it happen. That is the diffusion of a new fundamental innovation to the entire agriculture sector and its spill over onto the urban sector via its effects by way of its effects on food prices and wages. Interestingly is that this declining poverty trend has been sustained over the past two decades, even though the productivity impact of the green revolution had been largely exhausted. In their recent paper on poverty and inequality in India, the authors analyzed the recent evolutions of inequality and poverty in India over the past decades. There is no doubt that this experience from India, although it has a very

different cultural and social set up as compared to Mozambique can be very encouraging if similar measures are taken and adjusted to fit the local context.

2.6 Summary with respect to the interrogation of gaps that related literature have revealed

From the various literature and papers presented on poverty it is evident that Poverty is a very complex issue that requires a multiple approach strategy to reduce it meaningfully. Tapping local knowledge is very essential just as it proved to be successful in the South African Model. Poverty is multidimensional and resolving it requires multiple methods that are well coordinated.

It is however argued that focusing on land alone is not enough as the complete package should include infrastructure development, establishing local agricultural markets, financial services, communication and strong technology linkages.

The study from Nigeria presented an alternative explanation which emphasizes institutional designing mechanisms to overcome typical problems of implementing development programs such as sustaining good governance from the work force, and keeping to minimum the tendency of a few target beneficiaries to corner program benefits and flout organizational norms for their personal benefit. This alternative explanation was used by the researchers to provide and fill in some gaps identified in the review of the literature of existing studies and explanations as to why development programs do not succeed.

It is of paramount importance to note that in most classical literature that the most prominent and widely popular way to assessing poverty all these years has been to make use of a poverty line with the poor being people whose income is below a certain defined level. This has been done very simply by just counting the number of the poor, and then expressing poverty as the ratio of the number of the poor to the number of people. The problem is that identifying poverty becomes reduced to the tallying up how much people fall below some preset threshold which has been widely applied in studies conducted by the World Bank. One central point of critique on the use of poverty line

and any pre set threshold set by people sitting in a western setup in the World Bank is the inherent implication that need is absolute and therefore implies directly that once needs are satisfied poverty is no more. This approach takes no account of the extent of the shortfall of the incomes of the poor from the poverty line and thus it is insensitive to the distribution of income over the poor. It does not look at the problem from the affected people's view, thus this researcher seeks to resolve this myopic lens through which these views have been seen in the past.

It is of great importance to note that from the previous studies that the focus on poverty is not on what locals themselves perceive as their problem. Most of the programmes implemented do not take into account the local input of the rural poor people who are to benefit from the assistance and this has seen many donor driven programs crumble as soon as the Donors leave because there is absolutely no ownership of the programs at grass root level.

Although farming and agriculture are not necessarily related to the incident of poverty, it is true to say that in developing countries the incidence of poverty is higher in rural areas than urban areas. Thus, focusing in Gorongosa which is a typical rural community of Mozambique would likely bring out new knowledge.

From most theories visited in this chapter the researcher is of the opinion that no single theory on its own can fully account for the present status quo of poverty in the Gorongosa rural communities. There is need to develop new theories that tape local knowledge and participants' views on the issue of poverty and that also encompass issues of governance.

2.7 Summary

The present chapter presented an analysis and review of relevant theoretical understandings and approaches of poverty. From most theories visited the researcher is of the opinion that no single theory on its own can fully account for the present status quo of poverty in the Gorongosa rural communities.

Paradigms and theories of poverty broadly identify three dimensions from which the introduction, spread and alleviation of poverty can be understood. Poverty is a direct result of both factors within and outside the control of the poor. Factors that are in the control of the poor are a matter of socialization. In a bid to cope with deprivation of food, education, or employment opportunities, poor persons are obliged to develop survival strategies in the short run. Some of these immediate strategies visited such as immediate gratification, focus on the short term and psychological rationalization and then become an acceptable way of life and soon are passed on to the next generation and eventually become a culture. This culture once passed to the next generation leads to a vicious circle of poverty. Fighting poverty caused by this kind of socialization requires proper education, patience and role modeling for long term success. The ultimate achievement is however influenced to a greater extent by household poverty alleviation efforts based on micro aspects and guided by personal financial planning models adopted by household heads.

Factors beyond the control of the poor persons are caused mainly by the environment. Such factors can be attributed to market forces, production systems, infrastructure and development policies of governments. The poor become a victim of the environment and alleviating this kind of poverty requires serious government involvement and long term view of success.

Table 6: Table showing the summary of the visited theories on poverty Alleviation

Theory	Origins of poverty	How to alleviate poverty
Marxian theory	...means of production and capital intensive to boost production resulting in retrenchments	...migrate and reengineer themselves in urban areas, improved structures of production and educational training to those rendered jobless
Cultural theory	..means of production and profitability..	..moral education to curb overpopulation, delay in marriage, sexual restraint, , migration, improved production technology.
New-Conservative Theory	..economic pressure, , overpopulation, mismatch between growth rate and production capacity..	Positive checks(war, famine, plague and misery), moral education, sexual restraint...
Social-Democratic Theory	..class struggles and market forces, production and means of distribution, .	Equitable distribution of all what is produced, entitlement, change of governments...
Social Darwinist Theory	Self inflicted, individual excellence, social and ecological developments...	Education and training, natural evolution, ...
Programmatic theory	..religion or political leaders, style of life.	..sociology of culture.
Culture of poverty	..defective culture, blame on victims..	Change of cultural practices that promote poverty...
Situational theory	..lack of supportive factors and the absence of an enabling environment,creating an enabling environment and supportive .
Structural theory	Circumstances and structures, deprivation of job training and opportunities, racism, bad governance...	..training. equal opportunity for all citizens, good governance..
Membership Theory	groups to which an individual is attached, that encompass ethnicity, residential neighbourhoods, schools and workplace, peer group effects social complementarities	..self esteem, positive role models, positive group influence..

Source: Own Source

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

3.1 Introduction

There is no doubt that the research methodology and design constitute the most complex of all the phases of the research process. The importance of this stage lies in the fact that whatever results which are going to be obtained, their credibility depend greatly on the methodology used. This chapter focuses on addressing the broad strategy or philosophical base of the entire research process and the designation of working strategic plans for obtaining the required information. As a broad strategy the research methodology gives a brief overview of the overall research process and according to Babbie (1992), the research methodology serves mainly two distinct purposes which he names as follows: it gives a sense of how the researcher might go about designing the study, and also provides some methodological challenges that are faced by the researchers. In principle a research methodology defines what the activities of the research were, how the study proceeded and how progress was measured.

Unquestionably the research methodology is the planned architecture of inquiry. The current study adopted a qualitative methodology. This Chapter focuses on the Research Methodology and the design that was used in this study. This Chapter also makes an in depth analysis of this methodology in terms of its strengths in a bid to justify why the author saw it appropriate to use it. Qualitative methodology provides the researcher with different ways of operationalizing and measuring theoretical constructs and practical concepts in poverty. The researcher saw a number of advantages of applying the qualitative methods in this research. Qualitative research methods allowed the researcher to obtain in-depth information about poverty in the areas under study. The Chapter also features sampling strategy, data generation method(s), confidentiality and ethical considerations deemed to be appropriate for such a complex study. Given the complexity of the phenomenon of rural poverty under study, the researcher saw it appropriate to have a quick look at some of the paradigms of poverty deemed to be relevant to this study in a bid to locate the appropriate paradigm applicable to this present study.

3.2 Paradigms of poverty

3.2.1 Introduction to the paradigms of poverty

A theoretical understanding of what forms poverty is critical in guiding world efforts in fighting poverty and achievement of sustainable development. Understanding of poverty requires proper knowledge not only of the paradigms that form the basis of conceptualization of poverty but also the underpinning theories that are adopted by social theorists in attempts to explain reasons as to why people are poor and suggest appropriate means of poverty alleviation. This section aims at providing an insight into formal paradigms of poverty and resulting poverty theories and also shows implicit ideological fabric on which these theories are modeled.

Harvey and Reed (1992:270) advise that the best method of capturing theories of poverty is clearly to identify assumptions of the theories. Harvey and Reed (1992:271) identify three forms of assumptions. Firstly, welfare reforms where poverty is seen as a structural problem. Secondly, perception where poverty is an ideological phenomenon developed by an elite group's perception of the poor. Thirdly, poverty consists of scientific studies that use naturalistic or cultural- hermeneutic methods to identify the structural causes of poverty. This study adopts the third assumption because it is scientific and therefore more objective.

3.2.2 Research paradigm used in this research

Research is governed and motivated, as well as operating around some beliefs of the researcher. The purpose of research, according to Chilisa and Preece (2005) is either (to) “predict, test a theory, and find the strength of relationships between variables and a cause and effect relationship”. The philosophy guiding this research is to gather the researched peoples' own experiences and views on poverty and what they think themselves should be done to solve the problem, which in essence is the interpretivist paradigm. The Interpretive or phenomenological paradigm is based on a belief that

reality is multiple and socially constructed. It is the belief of this researcher that truth is not universal, but that it is dependent on context and therefore research in this school of thought has to focus on the context of the people's experiences. Terre Blanche and Kelly (1999) argue that the qualitative research methodology describes and interprets people's feelings in a human way rather than through quantification and measurement. The interpretive approach argues that research should explore "... socially meaningful action through the direct detailed observation of people in natural settings in order to arrive at understandings and interpretations of how people create and maintain their social world" (Neuman, 1997; pg 68) . This emic perspective which represents the insider's view point is very essential and will be complimented by the etic perspective (outsider's view point, in this case this researcher's viewpoint).

Given the fact that the essence of this research is to make an in-depth study on the issue of poverty particularly what the locals think about these phenomena makes the qualitative methodology ideal for this kind of study. The interpretive or phenomenological paradigm is the one associated with the qualitative research methodology. If the essential description truly captures the intuitive essence, one has validity in a phenomenological sense (Giorgi 1988, pg. 173).

3.3 The methodology of the study and the rationale for its choice

3.3.1 Introduction

According to Kothari (2004), a research methodology involves various steps adopted by the researcher and the logic or rationale behind those steps. This means that a research methodology involves two things which are steps or processes that a researcher takes in the research enterprise and the logic or the philosophy that supports the steps or processes of the research endeavor.

The qualitative methodology provided me with an opportunity to develop insight into the policy and cultural dimensions of poverty and poverty reduction efforts (Bartlett, 1994; Kelchtermans, Vandenberghe and Schratz, 1994). The researcher believes that

the qualitative methodology would provide him with a deep understanding of behavior and culture which are central in understanding poverty and efforts to alleviate it.

As a methodology, the qualitative research methodology is especially responsive to research questions of why, how, what and who and it provides scholars with a flexible yet integrated framework for holistic examination of poverty in its natural setting. It is of paramount importance to note that the study setting or context is not something to be pushed to the background but is integral to the holistic character of qualitative research, providing the research and evaluation process with a fabric from which meaning and interpretation could occur.

Guba and Lincoln (1989) define research methodology as an overall strategy in research which is underpinned by beliefs and values (philosophy). This methodology does not use rigidly structured plans that are called research designs.

Qualitative research is an effort to understand situations in their uniqueness as part of a particular context and the interactions there in (Patson, 1985). From the gathered literature review and the research paradigm it is evident that poverty is truly a human phenomenon and the aim of the study is to make an in-depth study on locals' perceptions, thus the study is purely a qualitative one in terms of methodology. Therefore in view of these facts this study used the qualitative methodology. It is the researchers' opinion that this qualitative methodology produced a deeper insight into the social problem being studied. The qualitative nature of the research called for the use of semi structured interviews and focus groups discussions. The goal of the open ended questionnaire and focus group discussions was to obtain an in-depth knowledge on how locals perceived poverty and the strategy to be used to solve this problem. The study is also qualitative because it involved field work. The researcher went to the people, setting, site, institution, in order to observe behavior in its natural setting. This qualitative research used an inductive research strategy because the study was aimed at building abstractions, concepts, hypothesis or theories and did not dwell on testing existing theory. Most typically qualitative findings are in the form of themes,

categories, concepts or tentative hypotheses or theories. The product of a qualitative study is richly descriptive.

3.3.2 Qualitative methodology

The qualitative methodology was developed as a direct reaction to positivist philosophy which had practically overran all practical sciences, even philosophy itself. This was also a clear recognition and acknowledgement of the fact that the world of humanities requires a different approach to the natural world as noted by Fryer (1991).

Qualitative research shares the theoretical assumptions of the interpretive paradigm, which is based on the notion that social reality is created and sustained through the subjective experience of people involved in communication (Morgan, 1980). It is based on the notion that an individual can learn a lot by just watching. Qualitative researchers are concerned in their research with attempting to accurately describe, decode, and interpret correctly the meaning of phenomena occurring in their normal social contexts (Fryer, 1991). The researchers operating within the framework of the interpretative paradigm are focused on investigating the complexity, authenticity, contextualization, shared subjectivity of the researcher and the researched, and minimization of illusion (Fryer, 1991).

In the qualitative methodology, there is no data collection or gathering. There is data generation as Mason (2002) puts it across, because in this methodology there is a “much wider range of relationships between researcher, social world and data that the research spans”.

It is of great importance to note that the researcher is not a completely neutral collector of data or information but must be viewed as a constructor of knowledge through building hypotheses based on local experiences or the experiences of the people under study (participants). The techniques used to generate the data in qualitative research are mainly in-depth interviews, participant observation, pictures, videos, photographs, diaries and documents.

Qualitative research in general is more likely to take place in a natural setting (Denzin, 1971; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Marshal & Rossman, 1989). This means that topics for study focus on everyday activity as “defined, enacted, smoothed, and made problematic by persons going about their normal routines” (Van Maanen, 1983, pg 255). Qualitative research is less likely to impose restrictive a priori classification on the collection of data. It is less driven by very specific and idiographic descriptions (Cassel& Symon, 1994).

Extending the fundamental beliefs of the interpretive paradigm, one can name three characteristics of qualitative inquiry. First, qualitative research is the study of symbolic discourse that consists of the study of texts and conversations. Second, qualitative research is the study of the interpretive principles that people use to make sense of their symbolic activities. Third, qualitative research is the study of contextual principles, such as the role of the participants (locals), the physical setting, and a set of situational events that guide the interpretation of discourse (Ting-Toomey, 1984).

Terre Blanche and Kelly (1999) summarizes the interpretive approach as based on the assumption that:

- People make sense of their social worlds
- Many social realities exist due to varying human experience
- Human behavior is context bound and variable
- Common sense provides insight into social realities
- Understanding of Social reality is achieved through rich contextual description
- Contextual understanding exposes a social reality
- Subjectivity in social research is important
- Research process is inductive(observation, patterns, hypothesis, theory)
- Social reality meaning is constructed
- Focus on in-depth meaning
- Values are present and explicit(empathy)
- Contextual importance
- Few cases, participants

- Thematic analysis
- Researcher as the central tool for data collection
- Researcher is immersed (insider)
- Process oriented
- Holistic perspective
- Subjective “insider view” and closeness to data
- Generalization by comparison of properties and contexts of individual organism

According to Kielborn (2001), qualitative researchers are interested in understanding the meaning people have constructed. It is of great importance to note that this meaning is mediated through the investigator’s own perceptions. One common characteristic of qualitative research is that the researcher is the primary instrument for data collection and analysis.

The strength of the qualitative methodology in making an in-depth study on poverty includes:

- ✓ Obtaining a more realistic feel of the world that cannot be experienced in the numerical data and statistical analysis used in quantitative research;
- ✓ Flexible ways to perform data collection, subsequent analysis, and interpretation of collected information;
- ✓ Provision of a holistic view of the phenomena under investigation(Bogdan & Taylor, 1975; Patton,1980);
- ✓ Ability for more interaction with participants in their own language and on their own terms (Kirk & Miller, 1986);
- ✓ Descriptive capability based on primary and unstructured data.

According to Gubrium and Holstein, qualitative researchers inhabit the lived boarder between reality and representation (1997:102). On this boarder in their view, each idiom veers too far to one side as follows:

- ✓ Naturalism- its pursuit of the content of everyday lives offers deeper insights into the reality of both participants and researcher.

- ✓ Ethno methodology- Its focus to common sense practices gives clarity and credit to how questions of contextual givens were tackled.
- ✓ Emotionalism- helps understand people's experiences.
- ✓ Postmodernism- Reveals practices of representation but can lead to a nihilistic denial of content

The qualitative research approaches focused on the perceptions of participants on poverty, it involved collecting, classifying, ordering, synthesizing, evaluating and interpreting data from participants' point of view. Qualitative methods are grounded on the scientific disciplines such as anthropology or adhere to a philosophical orientation such as phenomenology both of which traditionally advocate the use of qualitative methods for data gathering and analysis whose use has given satisfactory results.

In this regard, the current research on poverty alleviation in the District of Gorongosa was deemed to be qualitative type of research where in depth open ended group and individual interviews, direct observations and document analysis were used. Document analysis in qualitative inquiry yielded excerpts, quotations, or entire passages from documents, publications and reports, while in-depth interviews provided a detailed thick description, with direct quotations capturing people's perspectives and experiences (Best and Kahn, 1993).

By using qualitative approaches, the present study had direct contact with and got close to the rural community of Gorongosa to examine their position with regard to poverty and the local resources. Also my personal experience as a peasant boy in a not different set up of Amatongas in the Gondola District of Mozambique where I grew up and did part of my early education formed an integral part of the enquiry and was critical to my understanding of poverty in the rural setup. Qualitative approach in general allowed me as the researcher to discover reality with my own eyes directly from participants without the need to fit into a theoretical perspective. I was a learner throughout without any preconceived ideas or theories. All qualitative researchers are philosophers in that

they operate in a universal sense in which all human beings are guided by highly abstract principles and this researcher was not an exception.

3.3.3 Philosophical perspectives of qualitative research.

Qualitative research according to Patton (2001) is a generic term for investigative methodologies described as ethnographic, naturalistic, anthropological field or participant observer research. It emphasizes the importance of looking at critical issues and opinions in the natural setting in which they were found. In this study which focuses on poverty in the District of Gorongosa, I as the researcher sought to collect the data through open ended questions that provided direct quotations. Initially after discussing with my supervisor I had settled and intended to use questerviews as these were deemed to be easier for administration but later decided on abandoning the idea after the pilot study revealed that most of the rural people in this District of Gorongosa were unable to read and write and let alone interpret and fill in answers the questions on their leisure time was impossible. Given this unplanned scenario on the ground the researcher saw it appropriate and convenient to use mainly interviews. The Interview therefore formed an integral part of the investigation on poverty in the rural district of Gorongosa which is rich in resources and languishing in poverty. Qualitative research is regarded as inter disciplinary and sometimes counter disciplinary field which cross cuts the humanities and the social and the physical sciences. In essence, it is about dealing with many things simultaneously. Those who chose it ahead of the quantitative methodology are indeed sensitive to the value of the multi method approach. The key behind this is that as a qualitative researcher I am committed to the naturalistic perspective and to the interpretive understanding of human experience. At the same time the field is inherently political and shaped by multiple ethical and political positions (Lincoln and Gubba, 1985).

The term qualitative research encompasses a variety of philosophical positions, methodological strategies and analytical strategies to create new knowledge. The interpretivist, or qualitative approach is mainly viewed as a way to gain insights

through discovering of meanings by improving our understanding of the whole. Qualitative research explores the richness, depth and complexity of phenomena such as the one at hand on poverty. The ultimate aim of qualitative research is to offer a perspective of a situation and provide well written reports that reflect the researcher's ability to illustrate or describe the corresponding phenomenon.

Robson(1995) argues that because of the undoubted deficiencies of the typical traditional view of contemporary science which has stimulated the development of a more dynamic and very different methodology, variously labeled as post positivist, ethnographic, phenomenological, subjective hermeneutic, humanistic and naturalistic. The research methodology used in this study describes a flexible set of guidelines that connect theoretical paradigms first to strategies of inquiry and second to methods of collecting empirical material. Robson noted that a qualitative research situates researchers in the empirical world and connects them to specific sites, persons, groups, institutions and bodies of relevant interpretive material including documents and archives. Thus my study methodology clearly outlines how the study addressed the two critical issues of legitimacy and representation. Particularly, the research methodology implements and anchor paradigms in specific methodological practices. Rather than considering and contrasting the qualitative and quantitative methodology the two should be viewed as complimentary despite the known fact that procedures for textual interpretation differ from those of statistical analysis. This is because of the different types of data used and questions answered the underlying principles were almost the same.

Given the complexity of poverty, as a qualitative researcher I was more concerned about uncovering knowledge about how people think and feel about the circumstances in which they find themselves in and making judgments on the validity of such thoughts and feelings.

While in a quantitative study, concepts are generally in the form of distinct cases, concepts in a qualitative research are in the form of themes, motifs, generalizations and

taxonomies (Newman, 1997). In a quantitative study data are in the form of numbers from precise measurement which are systematically created before data collection and are standardized, while in a qualitative study, data were in the form of words from observations and interview transcripts and the measures were created in an adhoc manner and were often specific to the individual setting or researcher. In a qualitative study, data analysis proceeds by extracting themes or generalizations from evidence and organizing data to present a coherent consistent picture.

Any attempt to give an essential definition of qualitative research requires a qualitative analysis of the circumstances that led to the production of such a definition. There are several considerations when deciding to adopt the qualitative research methodology. According to Strauss and Corbin (1990), qualitative methods can be used to gain new perspectives on things about which is already known, or to gain more in depth information that may be impossible to convey numerically. Therefore, qualitative methods are appropriate in circumstances that require one to first identify the cases the cases that at a later stage might be tested quantitatively, or in situations where the researcher has decided that quantitative measures cannot adequately offer a good description or interpret the situation most appropriately. It is common practice that in a qualitative study, research problems tend to be framed as open ended questions that will lead to discovery of new information. Therefore qualitative research has an emergent (as opposed to predetermined) methods and researchers do focus on this emerging process as well as outcome or product of the research (Stenback, 2001). Qualitative studies propose that there are multiple realities, no single realities of phenomena, and that these realities can differ depending on time and place.

The attribute of qualitative data to more fully describe a phenomenon is an important asset not only from the researcher's perspective but from the reader's perspective as well. Qualitative research reports are typically rich and full of details and insights into the participants' feeling of the world, may be epistemologically in harmony with the reader's experience and thus more meaningful (Paton, 1990). Qualitative methods do take into account the social structures that put constraints on the choices people make,

thus they uncover and attempt to understand what lies behind a phenomenon about which very little is known. Qualitative research is grounded on the strong assumption that features of the social environment are constructed as interpretations and therefore these features have a tendency to be transitional or situational. Thus the current study on poverty in the district of Gorongosa sees the qualitative approach as most appropriate in its focus and involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its matter as a very powerful approach to such a complex issue which is multi dimensional. I sought to examine poverty in the rural district of Gorongosa in its natural setting, endeavoring to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meaning people brought to me as a researcher. The product of a qualitative study is richly descriptive, expressed in words and pictures as opposed to numbers or statistical representations which is typical of quantitative studies. According to Bogdan and Birklen(1992) qualitative research is viewed as data collected from a natural setting and the researcher as the key data collection instrument and thus this methodology was deemed by this researcher as most suitable for this study. Patton (1990) sees a qualitative research as a naturalistic inquiry studying real world situations as these unfold naturally, non manipulative, unobtrusive, and un-controlling openness to whatever emerges.

The present study preferred the qualitative methodology due to the fact that it uses a naturalistic approach that seeks to understand phenomena in context specific settings. The study on rural poverty in the District of Gorongosa enjoyed detailed in depth interviews and observations which are a key feature in the naturalistic (interpretive) paradigm. Qualitative studies are a key tool of establishing a common phenomenon in society. They can help researchers improve their understanding of a phenomenon. Qualitative studies involve the systematic collection, organization and interpretation of textual material derived from talk or observation. It is used in the exploration of meanings of social phenomenon as experienced by individuals, in their natural setting and context. It is important to double underline the major strength of the qualitative methodology which lies in the depth to which the explorations were conducted in this particular study and descriptions were written, usually resulting in sufficient details for the reader to grasp the idiosyncrasies of the situation (Myers, 2002).

This researcher also saw it befitting to use the qualitative study as Patton (2001) puts it across, that by its nature, a qualitative study commences with an intention to explore a particular area, and collects data to generate ideas and hypothesis from the data largely through what is commonly known as inductive reasoning. I found this really befitting my study on poverty in Gorongosa.

In conducting the current qualitative study, I as the investigator sought to obtain a total or complete picture of the status quo of poverty in Gorongosa. It should be emphasized that a holistic description of events, procedures and philosophies occurring in the rural communities in their natural settings was needed to make accurate situational decisions. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2000) believe that qualitative research has been expanding rapidly in recent decades and it is their view that it is quickly displacing the outdated quantitative research styles. The combination of multiple methodological practices, empirical materials, perspectives, and observations in a single study was best understood and it was a strategy that added a rigour, breath complexity, richness and depth to the study (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). From Patton's (1990) view point using a combination of questionnaires, interviews and observations the researcher is able to use different data sources to validate and cross check his findings. It is important to state that in this particular study interviews and focus group discussions were a dominant feature of this research supported by observations.

Qualitative Research is known for its creativity and interpretive nature. Because of this the researcher does not leave the field with mountains of data and then easily write up the findings, the researcher has to go a further mile by studying people, doing things together in the places where these things are occurring and this researcher derived a lot of joy from this.

The reports from the current study are descriptive, incorporating expressive language and the presence of voice in the text. As noted by Eisner (1991) who noted that qualitative research had an interpretive character, whose aim is to discover the

meanings events have for the individuals who experienced them and the interpretations of those meanings by the researcher. This in essence represents the emmic and etic perspectives respectively. Being a qualitative study, the data was analyzed inductively. Given the complexity of the phenomenon under study, that of poverty, the research process had direct contact and got close to the people, situation and phenomenon under study and my personal experiences and insights as a researcher were a vital part of the inquiry and critical to understating clearly the issue of rural poverty in Gorongosa.

3.3.4 The preferences of qualitative researchers

According to Martyn Hammersley (1992) qualitative researchers share a set of preferences which are:

- A preference for qualitative data- understood simply as the analysis of words and image rather than numbers.
- A preference for naturally occurring data- observation rather than experiment, unstructured versus structured interviews.
- A preference for meanings rather than behavior- attempting to document the world from the point of view of the people studied (Hammersley, 1992: 165).
- A rejection of natural science as a model.
- A preference for inductive hypothesis- generating research rather than hypothesis testing (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

The methods used by qualitative researchers exemplify a common belief that they can provide a “deeper” understanding of social phenomena than would be obtained from purely quantitative data.

Although the study adopted the qualitative methodology, it is of paramount importance to double underline the fact which was observed by Silverman (2005) that there is no reason why qualitative researchers should not, where appropriate, use quantitative measures. This researcher intends to use measures of dispersion and central tendency where appropriate. It is this researcher’s view that simple counting techniques, theoretically designed and ideally based on participants’ own categories, can offer a

means to survey the whole corpus of data ordinarily lost in intensive, qualitative research. This will help the reader have a chance to gain a sense of the flavor of the data as a whole and allow him to make his own conclusions and generalizations.

I conclude this section on the qualitative methodology, with a statement which shows the absurdity of pushing too far the qualitative/ quantitative distinction which should help us to be more prudent, cautious and avoid being overzealous on the methodology: We are not faced, then, with a stark choice between words and numbers, or even between precise and imprecise data, but rather with a range from more to less precise data. Furthermore, our decision about what level of precision is appropriate in relation to any particular claim should depend on the nature of what we are trying to describe, on the likely accuracy of our descriptions, on our purposes, and on the resources available to us, not on methodological paradigm or another (Hammersley, 1992, pg 163).

3.4 Research design

The Research Design is important in qualitative research as it shows the sequence and the flow of the direction to be followed. "Every type of empirical research has an implicit, if not explicit research design. In the most elementary sense, the design is the logical sequence that connects the empirical data to a study's initial research questions, and ultimately to its conclusion" (Robert, pg20,2006). Another way of thinking about a research design is a "blueprint" of research dealing with at least four problems: what questions to study, what data are relevant, what data to collect, and how to analyze the results (Philiber, Schwab, & Nachmias, 1992, pp77-78).

A research design is the "researcher's plan of how to proceed" in a chosen research endeavor (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992). In qualitative research, there are usually no research designs because the researchers proceed "as if they know very little about the people and places they will visit". (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992). Because of the nature of this study on poverty, which is qualitative, the study will make use of one of the subsets

of the qualitative paradigm which was observed by Bogdan and Biklen and therefore no research design is deemed necessary in a qualitative study.

3.4.1 Case study

The chosen Case Study was supported by one more research method, which is the Interpretive Ethnography. This is not unique or surprising as all qualitative research will always have one or two other qualitative methods to support them.

This was chosen after a careful analysis of the other subsets of qualitative paradigm such as case study, ethnography, ethnomothology, phenomenology, among others. The simple case study was preferred ahead of the multiple case studies. The evidence from case studies is considered more compelling, and the overall study is therefore regarded as being more robust (Herriot& Firestone, 1983)

According to Roberts (2006), a case study has five components of a research which are: a study question, propositions (why and how), unit of analysis, the logic linking the data to the proposition and finally the criteria for interpreting the findings.

The study question is the poverty paradox in Mozambique given the abundance of resources in the communities. The proposition is why this poverty exists and how it can be eradicated using homemade solutions. The unit of study (variable) is poverty in the rural communities. The last may be done using “pattern matching” described by Donald Campbell (1975) whereby several pieces of information on the existence of poverty from the same case may be related to some theoretical proposition.

The research method chosen for the current study is the case study research which endeavors to understand the phenomenon in context specific settings, such as real world setting where the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomenon of interest (Batton 2001). Generally a case study research method is deemed as a complex operation and the first requirement is essentially the development of a clear work plan.

However, it is important to note that research method used broadly contemplated in this study involves a clear focus on the research question, the purpose of the study and the nature of information deemed to be appropriate to answer specific research questions and the choice of strategies that are viewed to be effective in obtaining the required information on poverty.

3.4.2 Rationale for choosing case study

The case study enabled the researcher to make an in depth study of the phenomenon of poverty in Gorongosa and assumed that each case is special and unique. It enabled the capturing of the details of the individual cases being studied, cross case analysis followed from and depended largely on the quality of the individual case studies. Case Studies place findings in a social, ethnographic, historical and temporal context which is free from the possibility of generalization overtime and space. A case study pays attention to details. A case study pays attention to the idiosyncratic as well as the pervasive, seeking the uniqueness of each case as Eizner (1991) says. In this particular case as an interpretive researcher the researcher sought to learn what is meaningful or relevant to the people he was studying or how individual experiences are obtained through their daily life activities. This was accomplished by this researcher by getting to know a particular social setting and seeing it from the point of view of those who reside in it. The researcher shared greatly the feelings and opinions of the people under study and managed to see things using their eyes and interpretations. As Newman (1997) noted that reports from case study researchers are full of rich descriptions, colourful details and unusual characters (viva voice) instead of neutral tone which emphasizes on measures of central tendency and dispersion (Statistics). Silverman (1998) noted that the open ended nature of the case studies research projects leads to a perpetual resistance against attempts to impose a single umbrella like design over the entire project. There are multiple interpretive projects that include performance ethnographies, stand point epistemologies, critical race theory, materialists, feminists' ethnographies and projects linked to the Portuguese Cultural studies (Marriam, 1998) therefore, a case study is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world of

study. It comprises of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible through the lens of the participants. In making use of this case study during the analysis stage, mathematical techniques were minimally used, although assuredly rudimentary or implicit counting and measuring are involved (Stenbacka 2001). Therefore, the case study approach used in this study helped the researcher to discover intricate details of poverty that are difficult to convey with other methods. The participant's views were reported and quoted in the way they were actually expressed without any effort being made to deviate what was said.

3.4.3 The ethnographic focus in this study

Rationale for selection of this method

The ethnographic method was chosen for this research, because it enabled me to investigate the intact culture of poverty in its natural setting during a prolonged period of time by collecting observational data (Leedy, 1997:159). It was preferred because of its unique qualities of probing cultural behavior, values and traditions (Chisaka, 2007: 28).

The ethnographic paradigm requires the researcher to spend a fairly long time at the site of the study, precisely to overcome the problems of gaining access to information. Such behavioural traits can only be fully comprehended through a prolonged stay at the sights of my study. The culture of poverty itself is a complex phenomenon. The interpretive ethnographic paradigm, helped this researcher to develop deeper insights into the causes of poverty hidden in this human cultural system (Fetterman, 1986). The paradigm as Hammersley and Atkinson (1992:195) suggest, allowed me to develop an understanding of poverty because of its principle that, closeness to, if not participation in, the reality being studied was the best way to create knowledge of a cultural situation. My interest to this paradigm was its capacity to develop theory from the grassroots or from the ground. It is however, very important to double underline the fact that I did not go to the communities of my study armed with an hypothesis of theory to prove or disprove. I read in detail theories around poverty before I started my

investigations. The main reason for doing this was to develop deeper insights about the culture of poverty in different situations other than those of my study. As Chisaka (2007) points out, the aim in this approach is to investigate the culture of poverty at the sites of study with no preconceptions.

Just as according to Bryman (2006), the qualitative researcher seeks to see things in context, therefore the researcher needs some basic knowledge of the historical tradition from which observational studies arose. Just as Kirk and Miller (1986) argue that qualitative research is an empirical, socially located phenomenon, defined by its own history, not simply a residual grab bag comprising of all things that are not quantitative. The initial thrust in favour of observational work is anthropological. Anthropologists argue that if one is to understand a group of people it is important for the researcher to be engaged in an extended period of observation. Anthropological fieldwork in this case involved immersion of the researcher in the culture of the participants over a long period which among others involved learning their language and participating in social events which are typical in this area under study.

Atkinson and Hammerlsley (1994:248) suggest that ethnographic research usually involves the four features that the researcher also found in this study, and these are:

- ✓ A strong emphasis on exploring the nature of particular social phenomena, rather than setting out to test hypothesis about them
- ✓ A tendency to work primarily with “unstructured” data, that is, data that have not been coded at the point of data collection in terms of a closed set of analytic categories
- ✓ Investigation of a small number of cases in detail
- ✓ Analysis of the data that involves explicit interpretations of the meanings and functions of human actions, the product of which mainly takes the form of verbal descriptions and explanations, with quantification and statistical analysis playing a subordinate role at most.

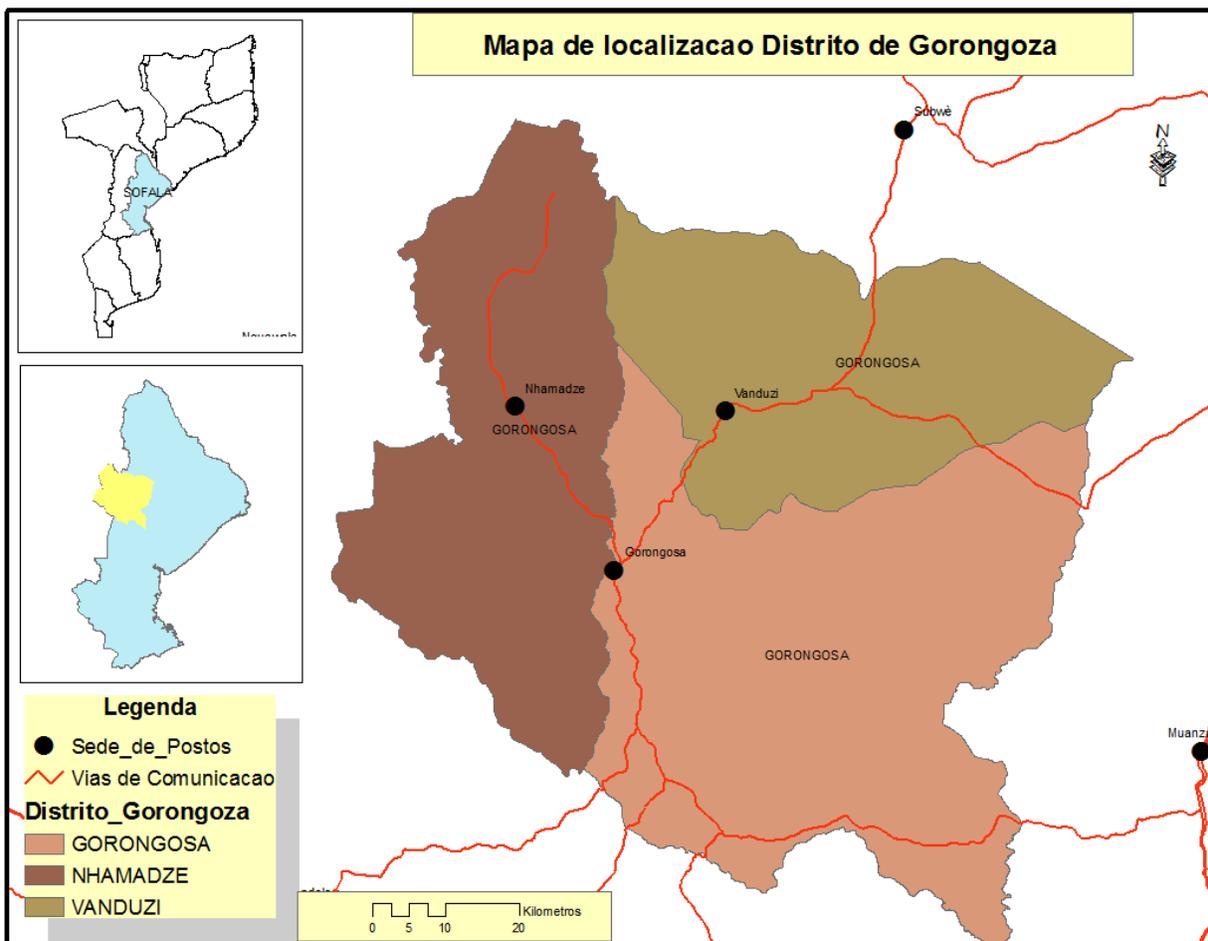
According to Smart (2006) interpretive ethnography is a method for studying the ways in which social groups construct and live, its particular, indigenous version of reality. Smart argues that interpretive ethnography offers a useful avenue for exploring how members of a professional community go about producing and applying specialized written knowledge. In my choice for this supportive method of ethnography, I was guided by the assumption that rural communities create through their discursive practices, the specific forms of knowledge they need for carrying out their daily activities. According to Geertz (2006), gaining access to the conceptual world lived by the participants or informants requires constant engagement with the community under study by swimming in the stream of their experiences. For Geertz the goal of interpretive ethnography is to work towards a thick description of a community's interworked systems of construable signs, its structures of meaning and systems of symbols.

Maynard (1989) argues that in pursuing ethnography, researchers attempt to draw a picture of what some phenomenon "looks like" from an insider's account of the phenomenon and for some audience who want to know about it. The ethnographer is in the business of describing culture from participants' view point.

From the above definitions it is clear that interpretive ethnography is a way of studying and speaking about culture. In this particular case the author used this definition to produce a detailed observations of the local community, climate, social and political relationships, kinship systems and life ways. The researcher analyzed culture by interpreting everyday routines, rituals, concerns and conversations through his own lived experiences.

3.5 A brief description of the site of the study

Figure: 1: A brief description of the site of the study



Source: Government of Mozambique website

The District of Gorongosa is in the province of Sofala and in the north it has a boundary with the District of Maringue, in the south the district of Nhamatanda and in the east it boards with the districts of Cheringoma and Muanza. The district used to be the bread basket of the province during the good old days and used to supply the neighboring cities of Beira and Chimoio with cereals before the armed conflict between Frelimo and Renamo erupted. The Gorongosa District covers an area of 6.722 square kilometers and an estimated population above 100 000 according to the 2005 population estimates. Most of the inhabitants are youth and 48% of these are female. The inhabitants of Gorongosa have been more exposed to the political and social upheavals more than any other district for many decades. The ant colonial war lasted for ten years and the rural

fields were the battle fields and Gorongosa was not spared from the devastating effects of these armed conflicts given the Mountains and the thick bushes that cover most of the district making it a favorable area for guerilla warfare.

3.6 Entry into the site of the study

This researcher stepped out of his car on a day of light rain and the trees around the District of Gorongosa where the researcher literally stayed with the participants for three months. The trees around the patch of tarred road poetically dropped their leaves to carpet the ground. It was the researcher's second visit to the site after the pilot test which took the researcher a complete week with the participants. Like an illegal miner the researcher needed no guide since he was relatively familiar with the site. The researcher wanted to discover everything personally ranging from the beautiful environment, the vegetation, and even the twittering of birds at their nests. When the tarred road ends, the researcher entered the real tracks. The researcher was really amazed by the immensity of the green formed by creeping plants. The environment is typical of a rural space, with a variety of small animals. Every now and then the researcher spotted a small lake, surrounded by small hills covered with native vegetation. Here one feels and breathes the pure air of the country side. The researcher's first port of call was at the local leader's residence whom the researcher had previously met. I presented my credentials as a researcher and he allowed me to proceed with my work and consult him should any need arise. This same format was used in all the areas which the researcher visited and found the local leadership to be very cooperative during my three months stay of the data generation process.

The first major activity in this study involved visiting the selected research sites and unveiling the project to the various stakeholders, mainly the community leaders, heads of ministries and the local communities through group meetings and individual courtesy calls.

The second stage of the research, which ran concurrently with the first and other subsequent stages, was the completion of historical archives documents summary

document that did outline the status quo of poverty in Mozambique, particularly in the communities in which the study focused.

The third stage involved the development of data collection\generation instruments, mainly the household interviews, the key informant interview and focus group discussion guides. These questionnaires with open ended questions for the interview guides were pilot tested for appropriateness, relevance and clarity of the questions before they were administered.

The Fourth stage comprised of the fieldwork, which essentially involved data generation in each of the selected sites in the Gorongosa communities. The researcher himself spent about three months in the communities under study talking to key informants and collecting\ generating data from the participants.

It is of paramount importance to mention that before conducting any interview this researcher negotiated with all the participants the terms of references and confidentiality by assuring to the participants that their true names would not be revealed but that instead pseudonyms would be used. This process was done with everybody who participated in the research in order to get their consensus.

Triangulation was achieved by using multiple sources methods which in essence involved observations during my prolonged stay and documents. Membership checking to address whether the researcher had captured correctly the participants views was done through counterchecking with the participants themselves. The validity of certain observations and views formed as a result of interaction and prolonged engagement helped reduce bias by capturing their experiences and generating data. Bias was also overcome by the presentation of the generated data which is in thick form.

3.7 Population

According to Crashaw (1986) a population is a set of elements under study. A population as mentioned above, being a case study, this study focused on the district of

Gorongosa in Sofala province of Mozambique. Therefore the population was made out of all the rural communities of this district. Being a qualitative study the emphasis was not on numbers but on getting an in-depth insight on the phenomenon of poverty in the District of Gorongosa.

3.8 Sample and sampling procedures

The researcher opted for purposeful or purposive sampling. This means that the sampling procedures were not random (Patton, 1990; Bong and Gall; 1989; Lancy, 1993).

For the purpose of this study the researcher used the non- random sampling method which falls under non-probability sampling as an appropriate tool. This was because the researcher knew at hand his objectives and only interviewed those people who would help him achieve the set goals.

According to Fraser (2005), purposive sampling is virtually synonymous with qualitative research because the way the sample is chosen is tied to your objectives. Being a qualitative study the researcher is the main instrument of data generation.

3.9 Data generating instruments and procedure

Methods are basically tools and techniques of research (Guba and Lincoln, 1989; Chisaka, 2007). These are specific steps taken by the researcher in the research process, in this case being a qualitative study this refers to the generation of data. In this particular case it includes interactive interviews in the form of interviews, observations, focus group discussions and document analysis.

Primary data on demographic characteristics of the households, their main livelihood strategies, and what they understood about poverty as applied to their communities was collected. For example in agriculture, data on crops, land holdings, quantity of harvests, incomes from crop sales, uses of incomes, markets, agricultural technologies,

agricultural policies were generated. The researcher used interviews with open ended questionnaire which was administered by the researcher himself. This was complimented by informal interviews, both on households and key informants as well as focus group discussions to collect primary data from households, key informants and others. Ownership of assets focused on what the poor rural households owned rather than problems that they faced, as has been the case with most previous studies of this nature.

In the qualitative ethnographic research paradigm, the researcher himself/herself is the instrument of data collection (Borman, 1986; Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Bogdan and Biklen, 1982; Robinson, 1993; Moris and Copestake, 1993).

The main advantage of the researcher being the main instrument is that he/she experiences the phenomenon under study, first hand (Lancy, 1993) and therefore can develop a much deeper insight into it.

In addition to the primary data collected for this study, the researcher saw it fit to make use of some published data from empirical studies and grey literature sources in this study, the researcher as the main instrument of data collection used the following methods (research instruments) which consisted mainly of questionnaires and focus group discussions. Some photographs of poverty defining phenomenon in various communities were also taken and are used as illustrations in this report (see section 4 on resources).

3.9.1 Interviews

A total of eighty nine participants from about 40 households in the district of Gorongosa were interviewed for this study by the researcher himself. I personally collected/generated all the data in each community and I also personally did all the data collection/generation process. I used formal interviews and informal conversations.

My original idea was to use the questerviews which the participants were supposed to fill in during their own leisure time. However, given the high level of illiteracy in these

communities under study I opted for the formal and informal interviews. For the interviews I used an interview guide which was composed of a set of open ended questions. Being a qualitative study other issues not in the guide were also raised with the participants depending on their answers so as to probe further. This study sought to provide an opportunity for the locals who were participants, to seek their own experiences and to express their sentiments on the issue of poverty that affects them directly. It is therefore appropriate to say that the interviews constituted the major method of collecting\generating data in this qualitative research.

Yin (1986) and Nyawaranda (1998), note the importance of interviews as follows:

- 1 That interviews give background information on participants;
- 2 That interviews assist the researcher to gain access to information that cannot be accessed through observations, for example, feelings and intentions;
- 3 That interviews assist in identifying other sources of evidence not available in observations.

In this research, interviews were conducted at the very outset of research. Data on household background, gender, dependents, level of education, occupation, assets, livelihood strategies, food security and poverty status of the household were collected. In addition and more directly related to the topic of this research, local knowledge about resources available that could help improve the status of the household livelihood and suggestions on what could be done to help the household realize desired outcomes as transitions out of poverty was also collected. This was meant to investigate the households' perceptions about what they thought could be done towards livelihood improvements without external intervention. As is most often believed livelihood transitions out of poverty should "always" be externally driven yet in most cases resources there will be abundant locally that could be used for this purpose.

3.9.2 Observations

This also formed part of my study and enriched the findings as I took down notes on a daily basis on what I observed in the communities under study. These observations

which I made also formed the basis of further interviews and in formal conversations, to seek a clear understanding on any issues observed.

Qualitative research uses both participant and non-participant observation as methods of data collection. In participant observation, according to Denzin (1978: 182), the researcher adopts the perspective of those studied by sharing in their day to day experiences. However, as Chisaka (2007) points out, the ethnographic research also accommodates another strategy, whereby the researcher can be a non- participant observer. According to Wolcott (1987: 39), this strategy is as relevant to ethnographic research as is participant observation since detachment is an important issue to the ethnographic process as is the case with involvement.

In my use of observation as a method of data collection, I accompanied and took part in all the activities as I took notes also on the proceedings. I also had informal conversations with community leaders and government authorities, and recorded relevant information to my study soon after taking leave of the company of my participants. I also joined the communities in some of their cultural activities and this opened up my understanding of these communities.

The researchers' observations, pictures, videos, photographs, diaries containing the detail of daily events of the day was conducted in each locality and key informant interviews varied according to the number of key informants in that area.

3.9.3 Focus group discussion

A straight forward definition of Focus Group is given by Krueger who argues that focus groups interview taps into human tendencies. Attitudes and perceptions relating to concepts, products, services or programs are developed in part by interaction with other people which is what focus group discussion does.

We are a product of our environment and are influenced by people around us (Krueger, 1994, pp.10-11). This definition links to the researcher's principal justification for using focus groups, which is the fact that the researcher capitalizes on the interaction within a group to elicit rich experiential "data".

Kitzinger argues that developing this emphasis on interaction is the main idea behind the Focus Group method as group processes can help people to explore and clarify their views in ways that would be less easily accessible in a one- to- one interview (Kitzinger, 1995, pg. 299). When group dynamics work well, the participants work alongside with the researcher, taking the research in a new and often unexpected direction.

Thus, all definitions of focus groups centre on the use of interaction among participants as a way of accessing data that would not emerge if other methods were used. Interaction is the key to the method, giving the method a high level of face validity (Krueger, 1994) because what participants say can be confirmed, reinforced or contradicted within the group discussion.

About four focus group discussions were held. The focus Groups were chosen in terms of age and gender. Gender was used because in these communities women would not feel free to express their opinion openly in the presence of men. Although this might appear strange, but this is reality and ethnography is the reason behind this.

Four focus group discussions were also held with the young adults, 18 – 25 years, middle aged parents, 26 – 49 years and old people of above 50 years, all differentiated according to gender. These data were triangulated with the in-depth interview data to check if there were gender disparities between what men and women, and also across the same gender groups in the different age groups were saying.

Figure: 2: Group discussion in Gorongosa



Source: Researcher

3.9.4 Document analysis

As Eisner (1991) points out document data are important in qualitative research, because they provide an additional source for analysis and interpretation of the phenomenon under study. The documents provided an insight into the policy and philosophy of poverty. In this research document data served two purposes, which are:

1. To develop insights into the causes of poverty.
2. To develop an understanding of the strategies that have been used to date and their perspectives which are reflective.

The examination of existing documents (PARPA 1, 2 and 3) also helped me to make a comparison between the data I collected and generated from the two communities vis-a-vis the information found in some of these documents.

The first stage of the study essentially comprised the documentation of *state of the art*, summarizing issues that would have been identified, collected and comprehensively organized on this topic, "*alleviating poverty through local resources and local initiatives, A casestudy of Gorongosa communities in Mozambique*". Both gray (published) and blue (unpublished) literature on various aspects of poverty in Mozambique was reviewed in order to understand the *status quo* of poverty and contributing researches. The study used a combination of social science estimation techniques for the collection of both primary and secondary data. Secondary data on

poverty incidences in Mozambique were used to form the background of the study and made it possible in comparing results of this study with previous studies in order to broaden the general understanding of key drivers of poverty in this country as well as possible solutions to this problem.

3.10 Ethical and legal considerations

It is of great importance always to take into consideration the ethical consideration of participants. In view of this the researcher sought permission from government and local authorities before embarking on this research. The participants' identities were protected so that the generated information was not in any way used to embarrass or harm them. To ensure that that the respondents clearly understood the scope and procedure of the study, the researcher explained to all the informants before administering the research instrument and made it clear that they were free to discontinue their participation in the study at any time should they wish to do so. Participation was entirely on voluntary basis and that all the information and data gathered was used to achieve the objectives of the study only. The researcher ensured that the participants' rights of confidentiality, anonymity, freedom of expression and choice was strictly adhered to. All the participants were treated with respect and their cooperation was sought at the beginning of the research. Initially before the study was embarked upon, a consent form was signed by the participant and the researcher abided fully by all terms as spelt out in this document.

The researcher assured all participants that all fairness and honesty would be used to produce a true report. To make sure that the issue of confidentiality was fully abided by the researcher resorted to the use of pseudonyms and this idea was communicated to all participants before embarking on the interview.

3.11 Data presentation, analysis and interpretation

definition of terms

As noticed by Chisaka in his research on ability streaming(2007), it is very difficult to make a clear distinction between the concepts "analysis" and "interpretation", because these two processes tend to take place simultaneously. You tend to analyze as you interpret and interpret as you analyze. There is a little distinction between the two concepts.

The Concise Oxford Dictionary (1990:38) defines analysis as a detailed examination of something. On the other hand the Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary (1975), defines analysis as follows:

1. Separation of a whole into its component parts;
2. An examination of a complex, its elements, and their relations.

Interpretation is defined by the Concise Oxford Dictionary (1990:62), as to make out or bring out the meaning of. The Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary (1975:604), defines analysis as follows:

1. To explain or tell the meaning of
2. To conceive in the light of individual belief, judgement or circumstances.

On the case of ethnographic research, analysis, according to Bogdan and Bilden(1982:145), would include the following:

Systematically searching and arranging the interview transcripts, field notes and other materials that you accumulate to increase your own understanding of them and to enable you to present what you have discovered to others.

In this particular study, my analysis of data was separated from its interpretation. The analysis consisted of categorizing data into manageable themes, identifying and separating what was of importance to note, lessons learnt and what I could report on my findings.

Thick description of data, according to Wolcott (1994), is the pivotal base of qualitative research. Consistent with the requirements for thick description of data, the researcher

used where possible, the participants' own words and gave a vivid description as I found it on the ground.

Qualitative research produces large amounts of textual data in the form of transcripts and observational field notes. The systematic and rigorous preparation and analysis of these data is time consuming.

In this case, data analysis commenced alongside with data collection/generation and this allowed questions to be refined and new avenues of inquiry to develop during the data collection/generation. Textual data was typically explored inductively using content analysis to generate categories and explanations and helped to shape the ongoing data generation. This sequential analysis or interim analysis had the advantage of allowing me as the researcher to go back and refine questions, develop hypotheses, and pursue emerging avenues of inquiry in further depth. Crucially it also enabled the researcher to look for deviant or negative cases; that is, examples of talk or events that ran counter to the emerging propositions or hypotheses and could be used to refine them.

There was a lot of work to be done after the researcher had left the field. Textual data (in the form of field notes or transcripts) were explored using some variant of content analysis. The data were preserved in the textual form and "indexed" to generate or develop analytical categories and theoretical explanations. These categories were derived inductively, that is obtained gradually from the data. The term grounded theory is used to describe the inductive process of identifying analytical categories as they emerge from the data.

Initially the data were read various times with the aim of identifying index themes that centred on particular phrases, incidents, or types of behavior. All the data relevant to each category were identified and examined using a process called constant comparison. A coherent and systematic approach was therefore used.

3.12 Trustworthiness (triangulation, validity and reliability)

In a paper submitted to the Republic Polytechnic the validity of information is measured by its relevance and appropriateness to the research question under study.

Consistency is the main measure of reliability. Patton (2001) advocates the use of triangulation by combining methods. Babour (1998) looks at triangulation of several data sources.

Engage in research that probes for deeper understanding rather than examine surface features (Johnson, 1995, pg4).

Reliable data are dependable, trustworthy, reputable, authentic, genuine and certain.

Consistency is the main measure of reliability.

Patton (2001) advocates the use of triangulation by combining methods

Barbour (1998) looks at triangulation of several data sources

In qualitative research methodology as already stated elsewhere in the presentation, the researcher himself is the main instrument of data collection/generation and analysis.

This increases the element of subjectivity and hence the possibility of unreliability of such research works.

The purpose of Triangulation in qualitative research is to increase the credibility and validity of the results.

Cohen and Manion (2000) define triangulation as an attempt to map out, or explain more fully, the richness and complexity of human behavior by studying it from more than one standpoint.

According to Donogue(2003) triangulation is a method of cross checking data from multiple sources. Data triangulation involves time, space and persons.

Investigator triangulation involves the use of multiple researchers. Theory triangulation involves using more than one theoretical scheme in the interpretation of the results

The validity of information is its relevance and appropriateness to the research question and the differences and strengths of its association with the concepts under scrutiny

Ethnographers believe in their own assessment criteria for reliability and validity of data and some of these are below:

- Prolonged research engagement: This involved a long stay (three months) at the site of study and making persistent observation to provide sufficient scope and depth to observations (Lincoln and Guba, 1985);
- Member checking: This process involved the submission by me as the researcher, the analysis and interpretations I made to the respondents for them to validate or comment on them(Robinson, 1993)
- Thick description of data(Wollcott, 1987):This entailed detailed descriptions of raw data and background information of the informants accompanied by analysis;
- Triangulation: This process involved a multiple approach in the collection and analysis of data, which Morris and Copestake(1993) say increases the reliability of overall findings(Chikomba et al, 1999:47).

3.13 Chapter summary

The author strongly believes that the qualitative paradigm is appropriate for this kind of study on poverty since poverty is a social reality and this can change depending on the circumstances (constructivism). I am of the view that reality is only meaningful if it is constructed from the people's experiences.

CHAPTER 4: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at data presentation and analysis. The researcher thought it appropriate to start by revisiting the research objectives that guided this study. Being a qualitative study, the researcher organized emerging themes from this data in subheadings for easy understanding. These emerging themes or subheadings were grouped under the perceptions of participants on the concept of poverty and poverty alleviation (4.2) as follows: socio economic and demographic factors, household assets, land ownership, perceptions about poverty in the household, household income, access to credit, food security, knowledge about resources and their uses, human resources, livestock, citrus, land and water, information and communication technology. Although the study did adopt the qualitative methodology, it is of paramount importance to double underline the fact which was observed by Silverman (2005) that there is no reason why qualitative researchers should not, where appropriate, use quantitative measures. This researcher also used measures of dispersion and central tendency where the researcher deemed them to be appropriate. It is this researcher's view that simple counting techniques, theoretically designed and ideally based on participants' own categories, can offer a means to survey the whole corpus of data ordinarily lost in intensive, qualitative research. It is the researcher's opinion that this would help the reader have a chance to gain a sense of the flavor of the data as a whole and allow him/her to make his/her own conclusions and generalizations.

The broader and general objective of this study was to establish the possibility of using local resources to reduce the negative effects of poverty on poor households in the selected sites of Gorongosa district in Sofala province. This broad objective was pursued on the understanding that developing and managing effective partnerships, promoting gender equity and women's empowerment, building human and social capital and participatory monitoring and evaluation are critical factors for success in empowering rural communities. However it is very important to note that being a

qualitative study, these objectives did not play a major role in guiding the study given the fact that the researcher did not want to have any preconceived ideas on the issues under research. The operationalized or specific objectives that this study sought to address in pursuit of the general objective include the following: -

- a) To establish the extent and effects of poverty in Gorongosa district in Mozambique.
- b) To assess the successes, failures and the use of the local knowledge and skills of some of the efforts or interventions that have been made to reduce poverty in these areas.
- c) To identify local resource endowments and how these could be used to reduce poverty at local levels.
- d) To critically analyze the role of policy makers and policy decisions on poverty alleviation in Gorongosa.
- e) To identify with the communities' potential and possible transition trajectories out of poverty and how these transitions can be achieved.

4.2 Background information of the participants

Out of all the participants interviewed in the rural communities of Gorongosa District, the oldest was 73 and youngest 18, resulting in a range of 55 and sample mean of 37 years. What this means in qualitative language is that the difference between the oldest and youngest person interviewed in terms of age is 55 years. Some elderly (5) participants could not remember their age. Fifty six percent of the informants were male, suggesting that most of the views expressed in this report reflect views of both men and women because of the gender balance reflected by these numbers.

This is not usual and atypical for the majority of participants to be male in these communities because it is cultural for women not to express their opinion publicly, particularly when the men are available. This is a clear indication that most of these

households where women were interviewed are headed by women. Of these participants, 47% and 53% had no primary and secondary school education, respectively. None of the participants in all the communities had higher levels of education than secondary school education. This agrees with documentary evidence of low literacy level in the district of Gorongosa and the country in general. The majority of participants (88%) listed farming as their major occupation, while the rest were students, fruit and vegetable vendors, teachers and millers. However it is of interest to note that there are still some teachers in Mozambique who are only educated up to secondary school level, and have not attended a teachers' training college. There are some cases of part of trained teachers whose training was accomplished under the old colonial education system with only a few years of schooling and there are remnants of such teachers still practicing today. A Teacher by the name, Raul Goncalves had this to say: "I started working in 1975 when our Country had gained its independence from the Colonial rule. The Country in general did not have enough qualified personnel in various fields, particularly in the education sector. There was a call by the first President of the country for all citizens who had done five years of primary education to participate in the development of the country. That's when most of us who had done five years of education joined in as Teachers. We were thrown in the deep end of the pool and nobody taught us how to swim. It was really tough in the beginning as we did not have much pedagogical material to support us as it is today. We learnt most of the things by our own. What made the situation worse in these days was the fact that most of the classrooms were overcrowded and pupils had to sit on the floor. I have seen much of the changes and I can assure you that things have drastically improved from what it was in the beginning when we started. I have not received any form of further training besides my five years of primary education but I am convinced that the experience and knowledge gained has sharpened me to an extent that even those coming from Teachers College do ask for some guide lines from me. "

Like Mr Raul Goncalves, this researcher found quite a considerable number of teachers in a similar situation that did only five years of primary education. In my further probe with the local education authorities they said that most of the schools were taught by

qualified teachers. It is interesting to note that some of the trained teachers from the country's Teacher Training Colleges graduating nowadays do not find automatic placement as they cannot find placement or vacancies as Government allocations are limited and thus not everyone with some teacher training can be absorbed. Most of these teachers were recruited in 1975 when the country gained its independence from colonial rule and at that time there was scarcity of trained teachers to beef up the education system which was lagging far behind other sectors. Although it was not the objective of this study to assess the effectiveness of untrained teachers, this researcher sought the consent of these untrained teachers to interview some of their pupils in a bid to verify the validity of what they had expressed with regard to the high esteem with which fellow trained teachers and students regarded them, despite their lack of training and low education.

Mr Luis Malopa, the school head had this to say " Indeed Mr Raul Goncalves is a very good teacher as his pass rate is one of the highest in the school. I have been his Headmaster for the past seven years and honestly without any bias, he is an asset in this school. He has won the prize of the best teacher during the last three years. This is indeed a record and an indicator of good performance in the eyes of students, colleagues and administration. The school is indeed very proud and happy to continue with his services."

A student in Mr Raul Goncalves grade three class, of name Pedro Guizado which he is currently teaching had this to say about his teacher, " he is an exceptionally gifted teacher as he explains to us clearly all the subjects with special reference to mathematics. Not only does he deal with the current concept but makes an effort to recall all the information that the student should recall in order to understand the current chapter. Even some things that we did not understand in our previous years have since become very clear to us because of his approach. I am of the opinion that this school would be wonderful if all teachers emulated his traits. He is punctual and is very patient with some of us who are slow learners and also pays individual attention to everybody in this class. Yes, he really enjoys the locally brewed beer from the sugar cane (nipa), but he makes it a point not to drink during the week and only

does so during the weekend. Everybody knows that he loves his beer so much but this has never interfered with his work.”

This researcher concluded that contrary to what I expected to hear about the untrained teachers' performance most students interviewed had a positive perception of these untrained teachers. These scap gap measures which were taken by the Mozambican Government at the time of its independence in 1975, have still not been fully rectified through further training of the affected individuals so that they may remain relevant to the education system and are more effective in their service delivery through further training.

Most of the participants interviewed were male heads of households, which was not surprising given that men make up about 56% of the sample. Naturally there were more male headed households in most communities. Empirical evidence shows that female headed households are more vulnerable to poverty and other challenges than the male headed households.

The average age of dependent children was 7 years and almost all households had dependent children either attending or not attending school. The numbers of children not attending school ranged between 5 – 9, and the highest percentage of household (32%) reported that at least one child was not attending school. The ratio of dependent girl children was 73% compared to only 27% for boys. Reasons for not attending school varied from household to household but generally included children not interested in going to school, long distance of school from homestead, need for children to help with work in the fields and home, married children and lack of money. The fact that lack of money was raised as one of the reasons for not sending children to school is of concern because primary education is free in Mozambique and such a response would imply that parents are either ignorant of this fact or do not have money for uniforms and other items required by pupils in primary and secondary schools. A further probe on whether the parents were aware that education was free revealed that for most parents the fact that the person had to abandon farming in favor of school means that

those left at home had a deficit in terms of labor. This is a clear indication that in these communities Education is not viewed as an investment for the future.

Mr Pedro Rosario, an illiterate farmer of sixty four years who has never been to school, polygamist with eight children with four of these with school going age had this to say: "Education is not free at all as these very children have to eat when they come back from school. Whom do you think should produce for them to have food on the table? We should strike a balance between school and field work. I did not go to school myself but because my parents instilled in me the spirit of workman ship I am able to look after my children and two wives. I am of the opinion that everyone should produce for his own mouth." Probed further on why these children of school going age cannot do the field work during that part of the day when they are at home given that schools in Mozambique do take only half the day. "In my opinion, when these children come back home they have further home work which they should do leaving them with very little time for field work. A man is only complete when he knows how to work in the field. You do not eat school and I know some people who have been to school but are still roaming the streets here. We should instill in our children the workmanship spirit to prepare them for their own future manhood."

The data generated suggests the existence of child brides in most of these communities as already noted from secondary data. In these largely traditional communities, children, especially girls as young as 15 – 18 years are married off to elderly men in exchange for livestock, food and other valuables. Investing in the education of the girl child is not viewed as important as evidenced by the numbers of girls not attending school. This practice is very rampant especially among very poor families where marrying off their daughters relieves the parents of the ‘burden’ of looking after their daughter who has already attained puberty hence capable of “starting” own life elsewhere. From an ethnographic point of view this practice is common in the central region of Mozambique and is called in the local language of magorongosa, “kusungira”, which translated to English literally means tying the younger girl to somebody at an early age.

Some children were said not to be interested in attending school, despite parents affording to send the child to school, implying that there was very little parents could do about such a child. Surprisingly such children were also said to be looking for employment presumably as general hands or domestic workers in neighboring towns or locally, as they were ‘only children’ and not skilled in any other way - a challenge faced by children from poor families with less years of schooling. There is rampant child labour and this agrees with most of the secondary data on the existence of child labour in Mozambique in general. This is a direct result of lack of child mentoring and role models that could serve as an inspiration in these communities and motivate pupils of both sexes to further their education. There is rampant ignorance on the importance of education as most interviewed youths and adults do not attach any importance at all to education. Apart from child dependents, there were also some elderly dependents, average age 50 years, by virtue of not having anywhere else to stay, or elderly parents staying with their children as they are too old to fend for themselves, a very common practice in many African settings in Mozambique. Usually such dependents also have some health or disability problems to grapple with, hence cannot look after themselves. This is very challenging – having an extra mouth to feed - especially to already overburden poor households.

This is why children in an African setting such as the Mozambican, are seen as an investment guaranteeing future stewardship whereby the child looks after their parents after getting married and parents are too old to look after themselves. This however has its own problem of burdening the new married couples who are still trying to establish themselves socially and economically. The idea of old people’s home is not viewed favorably in the African culture(set up) as it is regarded as tantamount to rejection of one’s own parents and the myths is that whoever does it will be crossing the paths of the spirits and therefore risks bad omen from the spirits.

4.2.1 Key informants

Due to the reason of confidentiality pseudonyms were used for all key informants.

Table 7: KEY INFORMANTS

Participant pseudonyms	Academic qualifications and profession	Age, marital status and status in the community	Material possessions	Family size (dependants)
Joao Armando	12 th grade Senior Civil Servant in local Government	44 married Highly regarded	Lives in a rented three bedroomed house, has a family plot, has poultry	Four children of his own And two family relatives, one wife
Raul Goncalves	5 th grade in the old educational system Teacher	54 Married Highly regarded	Three huts, five goats and 12 chicken, owns a plot	Two wives, six children, one relative
Pedro Rosario	Illiterate Farmer	64 married, Moderately regarded	Two huts, 12 chickens and 6 ducks, owns a plot	8 children, two wives
Artur Jacinto	Grade 3 Farmer	36 widowed, Lowly regarded	One hut, 5 chicken	3 children,
Jordao Maheu	4 th grade Farmer	56 married, Highly regarded	7 goats, 23 chicken, three huts	8 children, two wives
Mama Merina Goncalves	Illiterate, Pottery	60 widowed, famous	1 Huts 2 Goats 20 chicken 3 goats 4 pigs 5 chickens	6 children fom her first marriage, 2 children from her second marriage
Joao Pedro	8 th grade Youth secretary Farmer, entrepreneur	28 years Married, Highly regarded	Piggery 4 chicken One hut, Tuck-shop owner	2 children
Maria Saize	Illiterate farmer	35 years Single, lowly regarded	4 Chicken 3 goats	1 child

Source: Researcher

4.3 Perceptions of participants on the concept of “poverty” and “poverty alleviation” (emerging themes)

All the emerging themes from this study were grouped under this sub heading which concerns itself with the perceptions of participants on the concept of poverty and poverty alleviation as follows: household assets, land ownership, household assets, land ownership, perceptions about poverty in the household, household income, access to credit, food security, knowledge about resources and their uses, human resources, livestock, citrus, land and water, information and communication technology.

4.3.1 Household assets

The participants were asked what farming implements they owned and these were also asked what other farming implements they needed in order to be self sufficient. The number of poultry and other domestic animals each participant owned were also asked. Poverty in rural areas can also be defined by the type and number of farming implements owned. In the sample almost all households had a hoe and an axe for chopping down trees, and only a few had a rake, cutlass and sickle. A quarter of the participants stated that these implements were adequate for their farming activities. The higher the number of these implements the richer the household and the more dependent will be the neighbors on this particular household. This means that those in possession of a lot of these household assets are viewed favorably by the majority and this gives a different status quo in the community.

Mr. Jordao Maheu, who is a community leader had this to say: “Everyone in this community has a hoe and an axe to use for land preparation. It is taboo to have a household without these implements as they are indispensable to our main activity which is agriculture. We use these implements on a daily bases. There is a lot of collaboration among the peasant farmers as instruments such as rakes, cutlasses and sickles can be borrowed among neighbours.”

In addition to the above, some households also owned goats, pigs, chickens, guinea fowls and turkeys as shown below. Not many household had these types of livestock, and on average each household would have one to two goats and pigs. Some

households had a significant number of chickens (see Picture 1), turkeys and guinea fowls. Such households would essentially be better off in terms of nutrition, and by locals standards would have been considered rich.

Figure: 3:Some Chickens



Some farmers keep poultry mainly turkeys, chickens and guinea fowls. The way these are raised could be improved and done on a more commercial basis to create more income for the owners

Source: Researcher

Figure: 4:Some Turkeys



Source: Researcher

An interesting case was that of Mr. Joao Armando, who is a senior civil servant and has a lot of poultry. He is a source of reference to anyone if you ask about poultry. He had this to say: "I have many chickens, turkeys and guinea fowls which I keep. Usually I buy these from the local communities when they have a financial problem. They know that I work and whenever a family has pressing problems they resort to the sale of their poultry to meet their immediate needs. I later resale these to people coming from the cities at a much higher price than I will have bought it for. I do keep the proceeds for future purchases and this

helps augment my Government salary which is very low. Thanks to these initiatives I can augment my income.”

Most of the participants claimed to have bought these different types of livestock, from incomes realized from agriculture and other activities. Only a very small percentage (7%) said that they had been given either by friends or relatives but in all cases they were very passionate about whatever they owned. It is customary in all these communities for participants to enjoy meat from these livestock only when they have visitors. Therefore livestock meat is customarily reserved for special occasions only.

4.3.2 Land ownership

In terms of land the participants were asked how much land they owned in terms of hectares and they were also asked to describe the adequacy of this land in relation to their farming needs and activities.

Land ownership is also another defining factor in poverty analysis. Those households without land of their own cannot grow enough food for their families and hence are considered poor and usually face food security challenges. In these communities the average land holding per family was stated as ranging between 1 - 2 hectares, irrespective of the size of the family. The least hectareage was 0.2 while the maximum was 20, relatively too large for any rural local community. This is surprising and is in sharp contrast to the empiric literature that apparently until now land is not really a major constraint in Mozambique, especially for the purposes of agriculture in rural areas. Most of the participants claimed to utilize fully all their land implying that in most cases this land is not enough for all the farming activities farmers may want to pursue. Some participants stated that land is their only source of income, so they would even cultivate the land when there were no rains and just wait and hope for the best.

Participants were asked to give a ranking of their household in terms of being very poor, moderately poor and moderately rich. From the data generated it was evident that a very small portion and almost half of the participants regarded themselves as very poor and moderately poor respectively. It is important to note that a very insignificant percentage regarded their households as belonging to the moderately rich category.

None of the participants classified themselves as rich implying that these communities are generally poor communities in many aspects.

A Local anthropologist staying in the Gorongosa Villa had this to say:

“In these local communities marriage is seen as a source of security and acceptance in the Gorongosa communities. As a result married women are highly regarded in the Magorongosa Culture. Not being married in these communities is associated with bad spirit called “pfukwa” and as a result no women want to be associated with these spiritual husbands. In most conversations I have held with the Local Leadership and Church Leaders we are of the consensus that having more than one wife was viewed favorably so as to cut down on prostitution. As you can see the non existence of low morals in most of these communities is to a large extent attributed to this measure which is quite acceptable.”

4.3.3 Household income

The participants were asked about their source of livelihood and how they augmented for their shortfall.

The sources of income reported in these communities included farming, formal and informal employment and self employment, with mean monthly household incomes of 1481, 1462, 1875 and 700 MZN respectively. Although farming is the major source of income for the majority of participants (47%) it had the least estimate income of 20 MZN per month. The maximum reported monthly income for farming was 9000 MZN. This shows clearly that farming is not viewed as a lucrative business and people do venture into farming for subsistence purposes only. The next major source of income is seasonal informal employment with minimum and maximum monthly incomes of 100 and 8000 MZN respectively. Self employment is the least paying activity reported by only two respondents. This researcher came upon a very interesting case of success of an old woman of name mama Merina Goncalves; the golden woman of clay. Mother Merina Goncalves has become known in the district of Gorongosa as one of the greatest

practitioner of Magorongosa Pottery. She was born in Gorongosa and has never left the district since birth. Her mother was her first and last Master who taught her this art of pottery using clay and she lost her mother when she was still young. Her mother's lessons, however have lasted and transcend the domestic and utilitarian context. She has done hundreds of works and she has lost count. She makes domestic objects and artistic creations that personify love and suffering, conflict and harmony, the war and a hope of a new moon. It is interesting to note that despite the fact that she has not travelled from the district of Gorongosa everybody in these communities speak about her fame and wonders and how most of her work has travelled and vibrates in exhibitions in many Museums of Mozambique and abroad. She proudly passes her trademark to her children who will perpetuate her talent after she has ceased to exist. The data on her national identity card are a clear reflection of the bureaucratic summary of a journey presented in an orderly form. Behind this, many achievements lie hidden. Between the official date of her birth in 1953 and her marriages, including with the younger brother of her first husband, there is an insuperable distance between her work and everything this researcher can endeavor to typify in words.

She calmly said the following: "my source of inspiration is the dream. The spirits that are freed from souls and that wander around in the nocturnal clarity, shaping my creativity and this is where I draw my strength and inspiration. If I did not dream, then I absolutely would never learn to be creative. Dreams bring back my mother who has left and interferes in each of my creativity. My main tools are my hands and my heart. Because they share a common family and a geographical past, their techniques are similar. Once I have shaped the format that I want, the decorations enjoy special aesthetic touches from my hands and heart when I commence using the minerals which are abundant here in Gorongosa."

Clay or graphite and powdered white limestone, mixed with water and, often with the help brushes and other manageable objects, they touch up the work, providing it with almost metallic or white shines and tones, contrasting with the darkness of the clay. In the absence of the original components from the Gorongosa Serra Mountain she resorts to the most suitable products available. The finishings are exposed to the sun or to an

open fire, to minimize the appearance of cracks. This researcher observed that she dresses smartly despite the nature of her work but she preserves a strong personality, eternally in love with her work and her birth place, which she has not left for the whole of her life span. She is proud to the pottery that is restricted to the women in Gorongosa. Although she is cognizant of the fact that her works travel across the whole country and the world, in galleries and collections, she is not vain. This woman like many other artists in Gorongosa represents the wealth of the culture that has not yet been fully commercialized and tapped to its maximum potential.

From this corner of the world we will perhaps be indifferent to her dimension and talent. The researcher strongly feels that there is absolutely no correlation between her fame and the kind of simple life that she leads. I hope in so concluding I am not missing what is essential for understanding the cultural complexity and the raw material of the fertile Gorongosa Serra Mountain.

She told this researcher at the end, "I do not seek recognition from mankind but what I want is for the dreams of my mother to prevail forever and pass the test of time."

The ethnographic aspect of inheritance of one's brother's wife is also evident as it depicts that in this culture a woman is married to the family and if your husband passes away the woman passes on to the brothers. This culture is still rampant despite the risk of inheriting problems or diseases.

Seasonal employment is not for everyone, but the lucky few who can be able to secure such employment as this factor implies few jobs available given the unemployment situation in the country. These figures should be interpreted with caution bearing in mind that farm income flows are irregular, with peaks and lows at different times of the agricultural season. Low income levels are synonymous with poverty especially in most developing countries such as Mozambique, with very low income per capita. Quite a reasonable number of households received remittances from children, spouses and relatives working in the cities to supplement household incomes. Remittances are an important source of income for many poor households in rural areas, and households

that receive remittances are generally better off than those that do not receive any remittances as observed by this researcher.

4.3.4 Access to credit

The participants were asked to state if they had ever applied for a Loan from a financial institution or whether they had received any financial assistance from any other institutions and for what purposes was it used for.

Access to credit helps the poor supplement their incomes from farming and informal off-season employment. Only a few participants had ever applied for credit and the majority had never done so. The purposes of these loans were stated as to purchase household implements and also for use as capital to purchase farming equipments and seed. This is not uncommon in rural areas as most people are either afraid of being tied up in debt or do not want to be pestered by financial institutions and end up risking the few household assets they own. Among the reasons advanced by participants on why they never sought for external funding to their activities varied. Others felt that they did not need such a facility whilst others claimed lack accessibility of financial institutions. Some had fear of being unable to pay back the loan and others do not have valid documents which are a pre requisite.

It is worth noting that access to loans for some of those poor rural people is a challenge as there are not enough financial institutions offering loans close to them and as a result this becomes very constraining to them. Some people fail to access loans because they do not have valid documents required by banks. However, it should be stated that most banks would classify most poor rural households as high risk borrowers who would exhibit an abnormally high default rate and not worthy giving loans.

Asked if the participants knew about the Government Loan Scheme which is given to all the 128 Districts as strategy to fight poverty at micro level, most of the participants claimed to know about the existence of this government revolving fund but many had the perception that this funding had strings attached to it such as the presentation of a

viable business Plan. This is indeed presents a challenge given the high levels of illiteracy in these communities under study. Many participants also believe that only those connected to the ruling elite do have access to this loan facility and as a result it is almost a foregone conclusion that this money is available to the ruling party elite.

Joao Pedro had this to say: “ I applied for fifty thousand meticais and I was given sixty thousand meticais. I think this is because of my position of influence in the youth of the ruling party. I used the money to start my project on piggery, which later failed”. Probed if he had any training in the area that he ventured, this is what he had to say: “Life is full of experiments and you don’t necessarily need to be taught everything in a formal set up. I have never received any form of training in piggery but I have a passion for keeping pigs. Unfortunately things did not work quite well with me. A Colleague of mine borrowed and he sells beer. He was quite lucky as he went to a witch doctor who helped him to have the success he is having now. He now has three wives.”

It is evident from these remarks that in this District people do not regard training as important pre requisite for success and the big question is how this credit was offered to an individual who did not have prior knowledge into the business area he intended to venture. Further research by this researcher revealed that this money was accessible to only those in position of influence and belong to the ruling Party. On the other note there is need for more transparency in the allocation of public funds by those occupying public offices to avoid misinterpretation and general discontent in the population which could be a result of ignorance.

There is also a lot of superstition as success is viewed as a product of good omen that only comes from outside forces such as witch doctors. Success is not attributed to education and entrepreneurship skills. Gorongosa is very famous as it houses the Country’s most famous witch doctors such as Samatenje. It is also interesting to note in these communities that the most important indicators for success is having more than one wife.

4.3.5 Food security

The participants were asked about their major field crops and cash crops in terms of the approximate yield. They were also asked if this yield was enough to see them through to the next harvest.

Food insecurity is associated with primary poverty in developing countries where farmers are unable to produce enough food for their families. There was a higher incidence of households producing enough food to last until the next agricultural season in most communities in Gorongosa and this is consistent with the agricultural land and more productivity in Gorongosa than in most of the districts in the rest of the country.

Nhamadze is more food insecure than Nhanguo with some participants claiming to be unable to produce enough to feed their families compared to those in Nhanguo. One factor explaining this problem is the differences in soil fertility conditions between the two communities and also the rainfall patterns. Nhanguo comprises fertile clay/loam and red soils suitable for agriculture while in Nhamadze the soils are generally sand and relatively less fertile.

A local resident from Nhanguo, Ms Luisa Pedro who is a widow had this to say: “ This land of us is very tired as it has been used by many generations. We need to move from our homes to far areas and start cutting down trees and burn these as we prepare the virgin land for Agriculture. In my case, I don’t have a man at home to help me cut down these trees in virgin lands.” Interrogated further on why they did not resort to the use of best agricultural practices and the use of fertilizers and pesticides. She had this to say: “The use of fertilizer is very expensive and there is a generalized concept that if you start using fertilizer the land yield will only be good as long as you can maintain this practice. The moment you stop using this fertilizer your yield will go down drastically. To most of us it is not sustainable to continuously purchase these as we do not have any other sources of income. I would never advise anybody to risk using fertilizer without the assurance of sustaining this practice.”

Some of the participants affected by food insecurity, the different ways through which they supplement to cover up for the food shortages were as follows: buy food; work on

other people's farm, remittances from children and the National Institute for Social Assistance. Some reportedly said that they would resort to selling livestock (goats, chickens, pigs) whilst a very small portion claimed that they would produce and sell charcoal.

All these scenarios discussed above demonstrate further the existence of poverty in these communities where people are just producing for subsistence and opportunities of improving their lot do exist but have not been seriously explored.

4.3.6 Knowledge about resources and their uses

The participants were asked to state five most important resources available in their community and their use. The researcher also asked the participants were also asked if they were utilizing the potential benefits and their opinion was sought in terms of what should be done to make sure that maximum benefits were derived from the local resources available in their area.

A major objective of this study was to establish the knowledge of local resources that could be utilized in poverty alleviation as well as the activities that the informants thought could be employed. The results are discussed in this section of the report. Trees (36%), water (31%), land (27%), minerals (4) and sand (1%) were identified as some of the natural resources available in the communities.

Table 8: Available Resources Identified by Participants and their Use

	Frequency	Percent	Use
Land	21	27	Farming, growing crops
Water	24	31	Drinking, Building traditional huts, cooking, fishing
Trees	28	36	Furniture, firewood, charcoal
Minerals (gold, gems)	4	3	No important use identified by the locals
Sand	1	1	Building and other uses for sand
	78	100	

Source: Research Data

94% of the respondents agreed that they were indeed benefiting from these resources and were aware that they have to be used sustainably.

There are no known best practices and technologies among the poor rural household on how to improve incomes from agriculture without necessarily destroying the environment. This is particularly true in common property resources where inhabitants do not have title to the land that they are using and land in Mozambique belongs to Government although people can use it for agriculture and other purposes. In hindsight it would be very important to demonstrate to the rural poor about the shortcomings of external poverty alleviation interventions and their ability to solve local problems. Locally developed strategies and solutions whose ownership can be claimed by the locals have been proved to offer more sustainable solutions instead. Most of the externally imposed solutions collapse soon after the non-governmental organizations completes their programmes because locals do not understand them as evidenced by some such programmes that are no longer in existence in the visited areas.

4.3.7 Human Resources

Although it would have been redundant to ask, in all the communities this qualitative researcher observed that there is an abundant availability of human resources, comprising young women and men both in school and out of school. This does not exclude the old people as well who are a wealth of knowledge and some traditional and cultural heritage for these communities. People are indeed an important resource that is capable of transforming other resources into commodities that would be useful and consumable by the community. To achieve this, local human capital needs to be enhanced or transformed through training in basic skills such as carpentry to exploit the trees around them, building to improve their homes from locally available timber, sand and clay. The researcher noted that across all the communities people are generally very cooperative and could be organized and trained in some specific activity that would benefit them as a community and shown some willingness to listen and learn. This is one wonderful trait and characteristic of local rural communities that has been under explored in many instances.

Notwithstanding their low levels of education in these communities under study, most people in these rural areas have demonstrated a propensity of being able to be ‘multi-skilled’ because specialization is sometimes not ideal for their situation. The village builder is usually also the plumber, the carpenter or what we could call ‘a jack of all trades and indeed master of none’. Also because of limited exposure and opportunities knowledge in rural settings is still passed from parents to their offspring, unlike in the cities where young people have a number of choices to make from colleges and universities. They tend to pick on trades and professions which in most cases their parents have no clue about.

Picture 2: The Youths



The most important resource, people available for skills development are there waiting to be made more productive

Source: Researcher

Figure 5: Women and the Youths



Source: Researcher

Harnessing these human resources could avoid the danger of large contingents of disillusioned, unproductive and impoverished young people who are a potential source of conflict and crime and can be much more easily mobilized for violent ends, into productive citizens.

It is also noticeable that there is an urgent need for a development program between the farmers because, as it was reported, it will be easier to gather all the human resources this way. A very small portion of the participants say that a development program will help them, on the other hand others feel that the key problem is lack of control from the government ministry responsible for rural development, so they say that the institution responsible to ensure that their suggestions are implemented is the relevant Ministry of Agriculture through the relevant department. (Direction of Agriculture and Ministry of Agriculture). Few people recognize the need for NGOs that may be an evidence of the

lack of sustainability on the activities carried out by these kinds of institutions in most of these communities. Most of the participants interviewed felt that the major problem of Non Governmental Organizations has to do with the imposition of programs without taking into account the locals' input. This has led to most of the programs that were developed in these areas to be unsustainable as they lack ownership which is an important ingredient for success. There is glaring evidence to this effect and many stories about various Projects that have come and passed as most participants narrated.

Mr Jone Chamba did not have any kind words for these interventions. "They come here as if we know nothing and simply impose their ideas which in most cases do not address our immediate needs. Some of the models that they bring to us cannot be sustained and as a result they collapse soon after the life span of the project. We don't want people who tell us what do but people who are alienable to our advice. I have a feeling that there is a tendency by most of these donors to concentrate too much on the AIDS epidemic at the expense of other important issues. I am not so sure on what our government thinks about these foreign imposed projects. Yes we are poor, but we should not be forced to swallow all rubbish that comes".

4.3.8 Livestock

With our cameras we were also able to capture different types of livestock available in the different communities (Pictures, 1, 2, 3 & 4). Of particular interest in this section is the fact that the value of these livestock could be multiplied, if the communities could be trained in better ways of looking after their livestock. In most cases owners of chickens, ducks, pigs and other livestock do not perceive any commercial value in the livestock they own hence the neglect that they show in keeping such livestock. Pigs in these communities for example are not penned but are allowed to roam around freely eating whatever food they come across and there is no evidence even on the ground of any farmer trying to breed them for commercial purposes, yet this could be possible.

Figure: 6:Pigs in Nhanguo



The pigs in most rural communities of Mozambique are allowed to roam freely and where they are penned these pens are built from basic materials leaving a lot of room for improvement

Source:Researcher

Figure: 7: Pigs in pen feeding



Source:Researcher

In third picture, we see a litter of pigs just sprawled on the ground amid all sorts of dirt in the yard and the pen in picture 4 could be transformed into something better than this. However this can only be possible if the people in these communities are taught about the options available and the possibilities of realizing more income from these livestock that they already own. These locals could be trained using the ZOU model in Zimbabwe where they trained the newly resettled farmers using local extension workers and the training was done in their area without the need to dislocate and using local language for easy understanding. Empirical evidence from this project shows a great deal of success as farmers reported bumper harvests as a direct result of this project which values the local communities' knowledge in Marondera, Zimbabwe.

4.3.9 Citrus

In all the two communities there are numerous citrus trees, especially mangoes that can be used to improve the people's diet but these are allowed to mature and follow the natural cycle with major loses experiences, especially for mangoes. During their season most if not all of the mangoes are allowed to drop of and rot, and farmers experience serious losses because they do not have mechanisms to dry them and sell them later in the year as dried mangoes. The same goes for bananas in some communities.

Figure: 8:Mangoes in Nhanguo



Most farmers have fruit trees on their homesteads, mainly mangoes, bananas, lemons, and oranges which are not grown on a commercial scale

Source:Researcher

Figure: 9:Bananas in Nhanguo



Source:Researcher

4.3.10 Housing and construction

Just behind the first mango tree in Picture 7, there is a modern building built from bricks and other locally available materials like pit sand, sand, water and timber. This is a house meant for teachers in Nhanguo Primary school and like in many communities, people coming from outside to work are usually housed in better accommodation than locals for various reasons. Local villagers never question the status core and are content in them and their families living in substandard structures. Ironically, while other materials like cement, roofing sheets and paint were sourced from outside the area, others have always been available locally and all that was necessary was to mould and bake the bricks in order to make them stronger hence more durable. The manpower to do the work has always been available, right from the people to mould and bake the bricks, general labor to dig the foundation and the builder and carpenter to do the rest of the work. In most cases some of the local semi skilled people are multi-skilled as are most builders of structures like the one shown in the picture.

The researcher probed further in a bid to understand why people in these communities did not pay much attention to their accommodation. This problem should be looked from the participants view using ethnography. It is a custom in most communities of Nhamadze, Vanduzi and Nyanguo for people to abandon a house after the death of a family member. This local practice of ethnography is called “pita kufa” in the local language. This constitutes the major reason why many participants feel that building strong and lasting structures is viewed as a worst of time given the belief that is rampant of abandoning the homestead to avoid being followed by evil spirits. This practice is very rampant in Vanduzi in Gorongosa district as a result of the existence of the “Magorongosa” tribes who strongly believe in this kind of culture. The study found out from a local anthropologist that this is the main reason why many participants don’t invest in durable structures for their accommodation. The other reason given by the anthropologist for this lake of pride also is the historical perspective of these rural communities. They have suffered so much in two different wars, one waged by FRELIMO and the second by RENAMO. Where two elephants meet it is the grass that usually suffers. This has reduced people’ s mentality to beggars and the only thing they

think of when they see a foreigner is that he has brought something for them. The anthropologist argues that these are the direct effects of war that have impacted negatively on the participants at large. Self esteem is very low if ever it exists in these local communities. These beliefs are passed from one generation to another resulting in most participants contenting with their status quo. Locals need to be educated that being born poor is not a sin, but to die poor is indeed a sin as it depends on the individual effort that one has to put to achieve success. Success is a direct result of people also believing in their abilities to come out of the quagmire that they find themselves in.

4.3.11 Land and water

The participants were asked to identify two most important resources available in their community were benefits derived from these are not maximized.

Land and water are some of the resources that were identified as available in the different communities and these are depicted in Pictures 9 & 10 below. These play a crucial role in poverty alleviation particularly in a rural context. While the land as shown in picture 9 is already being utilized for farming, there is still scope for improvement as can be seen from the crop in the picture. Farming is still done in the most traditional way with non uniform spaces between plants and the land exhibiting some element of having been overworked. Crop rotation does not exist at all and the use of fertilizers and chemicals is nonexistent partly due to financial constraints and also due to lack of knowledge of best practices of agriculture.

Figure: 10:Maize Fields in Nhanguo



Source: Researcher

Figure: 11: Water source in Nhanguo



Source: Researcher

Although the borehole shown in Picture 10 suggests a gloomy picture of water scarcity in Nhanguo, there are abundant water resources in these communities. However unlike in other very dry areas of the country, these boreholes do not dry up during the course of the year if average rainfall had been received for that season. There are perennial streams that flow from the mountains from which people get water for their market gardens. Water in any context means life especially for rural agriculture based economies like the communities in question and this researcher found out that water is abundant in these communities.

Other resources not depicted in pictures include soils that are available in abundance in these areas and participants are aware that they do exist in their communities. However

they only identified them as important for farming and building homesteads but the researcher noted out that in these uses too could actually be improved and have these resources' potential fully utilized. Market gardening should be thriving especially in most of these Communities given the abundance of water and rich soils. This potential has not being fully exploited by locals.

An interesting story was featured by one of the very old woman in the area identified as Dona Mariana Rafael who spoke at length about one of the riches of Gorongosa in terms of plants.

She spoke about the Madumbe plant . “This plant is of great importance as it has a lot of medicinal value. It helps the body to be resistant to sickness such as malaria which nowadays is rampant. It also purifies the blood and helps those with ailing to live longer. It also acts as a natural repellent against mosquitoes which cause malaria. When we were young malaria was not rampant as it is nowadays because we had developed some resistance as a result of madumbe being part of family diet. This is no longer the case now as people opt for bread which has less nutritional values compared to madumbe“

People from all the communities were concerned about the availability of clean water. As can be seen on the discussions held particularly in the focus groups most of the participants were unanimous and agreed on the construction of dams. This is because in Mozambique there are floods during the rainy seasons and apparently in the same regions you also have lack of water afterwards and hence the need for construction of irrigation channels so that the fields can be supplied with water during the dry season. These dams will serve as water reservoirs. Practices such as charcoal production and the indiscriminate cutting down of trees should by all means be discouraged as they lead to deforestation and desertification. Trees and land must be seen as resources not only for the current generation but for others to come. Improved farming techniques and manure use is also evidently lacking in these two communities. It is of paramount importance to note that developing vegetable gardening could take the locals to desist

from the indiscriminate cutting down of trees for charcoal as this could help them meet some of their daily requirements.

4.3.12 Information and communication technology

All participants were asked on whether they owned a cell phone and for what purposes they used it for.

Most of the areas, in all these communities visited are accessible through mobile phones and locals use solar energy to charge their mobile phones. This is one area in which Mozambique as a country has a comparative advantage compared to its neighbors. Communicating with relatives and loved ones in various towns and cities in the country have been made so easy with the advent of these mobile gadgets in the area. Gone are the days when they used to rely on hand written letters posted on buses and other forms of transport or messages sent through local community radios. The network is very good in these communities thus one can communicate easily with loved ones without any hassles, particularly using the Movitel line. However there are still problems of acquiring airtime or credit as this is not sold in local shops although this turn of events presents opportunities for business people to incorporate these as one of the products they offer. In most cases locals still rely on those in towns to purchase credit for them and send codes via text messages – not so convenient but it works for now.

Rosaria Fernandes, a successful entrepreneur by Local standards who owns a small tuck-shop had this to say: “I buy most of my products from the Villa of Gorongosa. I have this small tuck-shop thanks to remittances I get on a monthly basis from my two daughters, one in Chimoio and the other in Beira. Whenever I run out of credit in my cell phone I send them a message and they quickly send me a number that will charge and credit my telephone. There is nobody who sells credit for cell phones locally and the majority of individuals with handsets do resort to a similar method. We heavily rely on people in Town for credit or you have to go to the Villa of Gorongosa. It is important to have credit because

we use it to communicate on a daily bases with my children to know how they are. Any news is communicated through messages because it is cheaper.”

However, the researcher noted that for now the community has not taken full advantage of this revolution in information technology apart from just using it for communicating social messages with counterparts in various parts of the country. The technology could be used for various commercial purposes like improving the marketing of their agricultural produce, linking these rural farmers to markets. This has been successfully done in other parts of the world, like Kenya where daily price fluctuations of various commodities are relayed through mobile phones and farmers are informed of the status of various transactions with their clients through their mobiles. Full utilization of this new development could indeed help improve the livelihoods of the farmers and reduce poverty in the long run.

Mobile technology can radically transform small holder farmers’s access to critical and timely information. New mAgriculture services being developed allow farmers to call a helpline in Kenya and get advice from an agriculture extension service provider or receive personalized daily agriculture alerts through SMS or voicemail. Farmers can exchange up to date information on pests and diseases, seed and input varieties, weather, market prices and so on. In many African Countries and Mozambique is not an exception, agricultural extension agents are stretched to service up to a four thousand farmers each, which results in large delays between visits. Mobile phones provide a complimentary way to reach farmers with timely and personalized information.

In Nigeria Mobile technology is playing a role too with mBanking and mPayments revolutionizing the way people send and receive money. More sophisticated financial services are emerging, which allow rural citizens to make and receive payments without travelling long distances or carrying lots of cash as is the case in Gorongosa. A very interesting example from the Nigerian Government that provides fertilizer vouchers to ten million of the poorest farmers in the country via mobile phones. This example can

be extrapolated to Mozambique where the conditions in the rural areas are not in my opinion very different from the ones prevailing in Nigeria.

4.3.13 Assistance from government

A question was asked to verify if the participants had ever received any form of governmental assistance and in what form.

There is no evidence of effective Government assistance that has been rendered to these communities to improve on their livelihood.

A widow with two children, of pseudo name Maria Pedro could not hide her disappointment.

“I expected to get some financial assistance from the government but this has not been forthcoming. I have heard people speak about a Government revolving fund in meetings but I and many others have never benefited even a single cent from this fund. I am not so sure about the criterion being used to screen the beneficiaries. A lot of stories are being said on the manner in which this fund is being disbursed. These people only come to us when it is election time to make sure that we vote for them. A lot is promised but non of it is fulfilled.”

There are a few participants who claim to have benefited from government assistance in these communities but as evidenced in my observations there is not much to write home about these people as there is no noticeable difference among them. Those who benefited from the government revolving fund claim to have used it to purchase farming implements.

4.3.14 Strategies to reduce poverty

The participants were asked to suggest on the poverty alleviation strategies that in their view could help them out of the current quagmire they unfortunately find themselves in.

As for the strategies to reduce poverty, people mentioned so much in the focus group discussions. Among the stated strategies is the one viewed by many as very important

which is the use of land for farming in the form of farming the land more thoroughly. Other strategies mentioned include the increase of use of seeds and manure, instructing people on the use of natural resources; solve amicably land disputes, free seeds, creation of programs to explore wood usage alternatives. There is also a need to help in the tilling of the land and to encourage best practices to enhance productivity. Land is not a scarce resource in these communities, so alternatives that maximize the use of land have a high probability of success. Access to finance was also mentioned by most participants as a strategy to alleviate poverty.

The majority of participants think that these strategies could be possibly implemented using local resources and incorporating local knowledge in all future projects.

4.3.15 Challenges faced

Participants were asked on the challenges they faced at household level to ensure the implementation of their suggested strategies out of poverty.

Some few participants say that lack of resources is the main problem, because their work is still based on rudimentary tools, such as hoe and axes; but to farm large areas it is needed tractors because of the distances. Other identified problem is the destruction of forests because of the use of fire to clean the fields. The high number of children per family contributes to the low level of living. There is also the problem to preserve the seeds because of high temperatures in Gorongosa communities. Others view lack of employment contributing to a greater extent on poverty, the revenue that comes from the farm is very low and sometimes it isn't enough to meet even the food necessities.

Mr Alberto Jose had this to say:

“There are no employment opportunities for us in these rural areas of Gorongosa. We have heard about the existence of minerals such as Gold in the Mountains and we hope whoever will be given the green light to explore will

recruit locally. Most of our children are just roaming in the streets. If you want employment you must move to cities such as Beira”.

The Researcher observed that in these communities there is lack of people who are trained in farming and this is despite the fact that all claimed that farming was their main activity. The Participants have not been empowered with technical abilities to instruct them on how to farm more efficiently the land and as a direct result have positive results and even sell the surplus to companies that operate in the large cities. Creation of workshops and courses to instruct people and availability of farming implements were amongst the major efforts identified to ensure implementation of the above mentioned suggestion to alleviate poverty by using local resources.

4.4 Perceptions of poverty and poverty alleviation from literature

From the visited Literature some of the causes of poverty in Mozambique have been traced to colonialism, civil conflict of the 1970s until 1992, natural factors such as extreme weather conditions (droughts and floods), lack of access to basic education, knowledge of family planning and strong traditional habits.

The Mozambican government and other rural development partners have implemented poverty alleviation programmes, mostly focusing at fighting poverty from a macro-level but the impact of these programmes has been insignificant at community level, and poverty remains a major problem. There are also arguments about the positive links between economic performance at macro-level and poverty with others saying there is no evidence of positive outcomes at micro-level. Poverty among child headed and female headed households and among children per se is increasing with many of the women and children suffering from malnutrition, illiteracy and disempowerment.

According to Datt (2000), poverty in Mozambique is predominantly a rural phenomenon. Decades of colonialism and 17 years of protracted civil conflict caused

untold suffering to the people of Mozambique, condemning them to perpetual poverty and desperation; the impacts of which 17 years after peace, the Government and non-governmental organizations are making frantic efforts to minimize. Infrastructure development, education, health delivery, access to social services, still remains relatively poor compared to neighboring countries. Very few people have access to clean water, infant mortality rates are high, and transport networks linking rural and urban areas are poor and unreliable due to poor road infrastructure. Many children in rural areas face difficulties in accessing both primary and secondary education. Decades of neglect left rural populations seriously underdeveloped, educationally, economically and socially, thus making poverty largely a rural phenomenon.

The researcher found out from the visited literature that most of the poor people in Mozambique are smallholder farmers in rural areas who depend entirely on rain fed agriculture for their livelihoods. Drought and livestock diseases especially in the 1980s and 1990s decimated the national herd and as a result problems of animal traction are rampant. Lack of farm implements, seed, fertilizer and herbicides and difficulties in accessing credit to purchase seed and other inputs further complicate the problems already faced by these poor farmers. Subsequently farmers are forced to use traditional agricultural technologies, cultivating marginal land along riverbanks and embankments to eke out a living.

According to Nkala (2011) the traditional “slash and burn” agricultural commonly associated with environmental degradation in many parts of the world is still widely practiced in Mozambique. It is therefore not surprising that desertification is a serious threat in many parts of the country that still relies on this type of farming method. Dozens of hectares of forests are razed down; trees left to dry and then burnt down just before the onset of the rainy season in preparation for planting. After a few years when the soil is ‘tired’ and productivity has declined the family will then move on to other virgin forests, thus making some part of the rural farming population very nomadic.

According to the Mozambican network of fighting against Aids (MONASO), there are high incidences of poverty that have been further exacerbated by the devastating impact of HIV & AIDS. In 2006, about 16.2% of the population in the 15-39 age groups was

living positively with HIV in Mozambique and the rural population bears the burden of looking after the sick.

According to the Country Economic Manual surveys of 2005, poverty in Mozambique declined rapidly between 1996 and 2003 in both rural and most urban areas, both in monetary and non-monetary measures (Fox, Bardasi, Broeck, 2005). These positive developments have been facilitated by the increase in agricultural productivity due to use of modern inputs, improved varieties, fertilizers and mechanization. However, there remains a great deal of structural poverty in the country.

According to Datt (2000) there is basically six possible elements of a prospective poverty alleviation strategy for Mozambique and these are:

- ✓ Increased investment in education,
- ✓ Sustained economic growth,
- ✓ Sectoral pattern of growth favoring faster growth in the industrial and services sectors
- ✓ Measures to raise agricultural productivity,
- ✓ Improved rural infrastructure and,
- ✓ Reducing fertility and dependency loads among households.

4.5 A comparative analysis of participants' perception with those from literature review

The concept of poverty itself is one of striking contrasts between the visited literature and the participants' perception. There have been many definitions of poverty over time, depending on the context of the situation and the views of the person giving the definition. Quite early, for example, Oshansky argued that poverty like beauty lies in the eyes of the beholder whilst Hosbawm emphasized that poverty is always defined according to the conventions of the society in which it occurs. Poverty is defined by the World Bank as affecting those whose daily income is below a certain figure that has been revised constantly to cope up with inflation and other related factors that drive the economy of the country. This poverty measure, which generally is applied in quantitative fashion, is generally fixed in time and poverty is often seen as essentially a static concept. PARPA definition on Poverty builds on the existing definition from the

World Bank and adds a new dimension which includes those families and communities that don't have the opportunity or the capacity to gain access to minimum living conditions according to the basic standards of the Mozambican society. It therefore means that people are living in poverty if their income and resources (material, cultural and social) are so inadequate as to preclude them from having a standard of living which is acceptable. Locals' perception on poverty is viewed through a different lance which encompasses one's assets and the number of children and wives one has.

Defining poverty by low income is still an essential part of many if not most approaches in the field, but no definition of poverty can be found that exclusively refers to income as the only indicator of poverty. Therefore both perceptions look at poverty as a kind of generalized lacking, or a state of being without some essential goods and services.

The study found out that the majority of the people in the rural areas are illiterate and this agrees with the visited literature which claims on the existence of high levels of illiteracy in most parts of the country and Gorongosa has evidence of high illiteracy. The study also found out that poverty was more intensive in female headed households and this agrees with the literature visited. The issue of poverty can also be accounted for using the various paradigms of poverty visited, although it is important to mention that no single theory or paradigm alone can account for the rural poverty which is rampant in Gorongosa. The issue of culture and ethnography just as it is evident in the literature was also evident as culture plays a very important role that cannot be underestimated. The existence of premature marriages as evidenced by the child brides. There is rampant child labour and this is in accordance with secondary data.

Education is one of the very important tools that are emphasized by many in the literature as a weapon to fight poverty. This study found out contrary to the importance that education has the participants do not view education as an investment. Local people are more concerned with immediate needs at the expense of long term objectives.

Contrary to findings in visited literature that claims that land is not a problem in Mozambique, the study found out that some people do not have enough land to cultivate crops that will see them through to the next season. There is also a high child

dependency ratio which was evidenced from both the visited literature and the primary data. Children in the African setting are seen as an investment guaranteeing future stewardship.

4.6 Interpretation and summary of the study's findings

By means of summary it must be stated that the study got the answers to the research questions which were formulated in the first chapter. The study found out the true extent of the existence of poverty in the rural communities of Gorongosa and its main drivers which are lack of self esteem, lack of education, the use of the slash and burn methods for agriculture, cultural factors, lack of financial support and more importantly the lack of involvement of the locals in some of the strategies pursued by Government and NGOs.

The study suggests an inward approach as the first step to help the Locals out of their poverty. This requires to look at what these locals can do for themselves and to incorporate local knowledge in all projects to increase the chances of success through local ownership. The study found out lack of ownership being the chief cause on why many local projects have not had so much success in these rural communities of Gorongosa. The use of optimum use of the local resources is suggested as one of the ways out of this poverty. Empirical evidence shows some classic examples such as Nigeria and South Africa where this participative method had positive results. It was evident from this study that the efforts that the government and NGOs have been putting in these rural communities have not yielded any positive impact. If anything poverty has been increasing on the grounds contrary to some misplaced perceptions that pointed out to a reduction of poverty in these areas.

It is of paramount importance to state that one prominent and widely popular way to assessing poverty is to make use of a poverty line, with the poor being those whose incomes lie below that line. This can be done very simply by just counting the number of the poor, and then expressing poverty as the ratio of the number of the poor to the total number of the people. It reduces the whole issue to the tallying up how much people fall below some preset threshold. This percentage called the headcount ratio of

the poor is a prominent example used in all studies conducted by the World Bank. One central point of critique to on the famous use of a poverty line and any preset threshold is obviously the inherent implication that need is absolute, implying that once basic needs are met and therefore poverty ceases to exist.

Just as Senator (1995, p69) argued causations of poverty and effects of poverty are important issues to consider in their own rights. What can be learned from applying the needs based approach of poverty is that central causes of poverty are mainly shaped by economy related restraints, but are also related to social and environmental insufficiencies and to political exclusion, which is another important cause of poverty. By using this approach poverty remains a largely rural phenomenon, in the developing countries such as Mozambique.

Although farming and agriculture are not necessarily related to the incidence of poverty, studies have shown that in developing countries such as Mozambique the incidence of poverty is far higher in the rural areas in comparison to urban areas. There are many other factors shaping poverty at the individual household that let the people in the Gorongosa rural communities live under poor and precarious conditions which include low education, cultural practices and low self esteem.

It is evident from these results that there is the existence of abundant resources in Gorongosa and at the same time the locals are languishing in poverty. This is indeed a paradox. The positive economic growth rates being reported in the greater cities of Tete and Maputo have no spillover effect to the rural communities. There is need to educate the people and train them in the best methods of agriculture conservation, given the fact that agriculture is the main activity. The issue of title deeds of the land has not helped the locals to look after the land jealously as all land is said to belong to state.

CHAPTER5: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter the researcher attempts to seal the discussion and draw recommendations for strategies necessary for poverty alleviation using locally available resources. The researcher's conclusions and recommendations derive from the above section in which the researcher discussed the results of this study. Recommendations do take into account what the researcher considers possible given the data generated at hand but the researcher is also cognizant of the fact that synergies can be realized if the resources from various parts of the country can be harnessed for the purpose of poverty alleviation. This means that resources from various communities can be combined and used in programmes aimed at achieving better livelihoods not necessarily within the small communities but in a much broader country context. This would require new forms of collaboration between the state or government, the private sector players, local communities and their institutions or organizations and various civil society actors; particularly in a situation where the current arrangements in resource distribution have desperately failed aspirations of rural communities culminating in a number of unresolved disputes.

5.2 Summary of findings

The co-existence of poverty and various resources that could be harnessed to reduce the later in all the communities studied cannot be doubted. Also the potential of these resources in changing lives of the local people, leap-frogging them out of poverty is given. The researcher concludes that a vibrant agricultural sector and a new non-agriculture related emerging drivers are important in fighting poverty in different rural communities in Gorongosa rural communities. What seem to be missing are specific policies and initiatives at both local and national (micro and macro) level to deliberately address poverty reduction in a more community focused and participatory approach.

The traditional model of engaging local and international NGOs, who bring in their staff and resources including food to help foster humanitarian assistance and development in these areas seems to have taken hold, but is however unsustainable. Whilst the researcher appreciates the importance of support and aid from various donors and friendly governments to poor Governments in developing countries, this must not come with strings attached to it.

5.2.1 Summary of findings from literature

It is evident from the visited literature that the Government of Mozambique is fully cognizant of the rural poverty in Mozambique where the majority of the population live. Although it is incorrect to claim that poverty is linked to those whose lives depend on Agriculture, it was evident from the PARPA one, two and three that in the case of Mozambique the majority of the poor reside in the rural areas and are smallholder farmers in desperate need of government help as they can't find their own way out of this quagmire. Although colonization is not entirely to blame for the present state of affairs it is evident from the literature that the Portuguese were not good colonizers as they made people to lose most of their self esteem resulting in them always looking for outside solutions to solve their own problems. It is of paramount importance to note that although the issue of governance and locals' participation in solving local problems are central to poverty alleviation; these are not fully addressed in any of these policy documents.

Impoverished land and unreliable climate also play a major role in increasing poverty in the rural areas. It is very clear from the visited literature that the rural poverty is indeed a paradox in Mozambique as there are abundant resources in the rural areas. The visited literature glaringly showed that poverty in Mozambique in particular and developing countries in general tend to affect mainly the small holder farmers who depend mainly on subsistence Agriculture for their livelihood. Lack of farming equipment, seed, fertilizer and herbicides is also cited as the cause of this rural poverty. The traditional slash and burn which is rampant in Mozambique is accelerating soil degradation as it

goes uncontrolled and could prejudice the future generations as land could become scarce in future, although it is not currently a scarce commodity in Mozambique as the country still has large areas of unutilized land.

In terms of attacking rural poverty it is evident that education, and in particular the non formal education plays a great role. From the visited literature the researcher can safely conclude that the population of Mozambique has very little or no primary education and as a result most children of school going age are still out of school today.

It is evident from the various Literature visited that poverty is a multidimensional phenomenon. From the literature visited some of the drivers of poverty include failure to increase productivity, virtuous circles of unemployment as a result of lack of investment. Some attribute the continuation of poverty to be a direct result of misplaced priorities on the part of Governments and Donor Funding that tend to concentrate on the social issues rather than productive. Excessive focus on social development and social services development has a tendency to stifle real sector development. War and natural disasters exacerbated by the HIV/AIDS has contributed immensely to the plight of the rural population in Mozambique.

Various theories and paradigms on poverty were revisited in a bid to find their relevance to the present status quo of poverty in Mozambique. A close look at the Gini Index from previous studies reveals the glaring inequality among the Mozambican population and this is very evident in the rural areas. Some of the cultural practices that are still rampant in Mozambique have also contributed to the increase of poverty especially polygamy and dowry.

According to most of the studies carried up to date on poverty there are basically six possible elements of a prospective poverty alleviation strategy for Mozambique and these include increased investment in education, sustained economic growth, sectoral pattern of growth favouring faster growth in the rural areas targeting the impoverished poor folks, raising agricultural productivity, improved rural infrastructure and reducing fertility and dependency loads among households.

5.2.2 Summary of findings from participants

Most theories of poverty such as the group theory, the cultural and the Marxian theory of poverty are relevant in describing the rural poverty in Gorongosa. Most participants find security and comfort in the fact that there are not the only poor as everybody in the Communities is facing the same challenges. Some contend themselves with the present status and there is a strong feeling among the Locals that the Government and Non Governmental Organizations have a moral obligation to help them pull out of their present status.

Contrary to the classic definitions of poverty which were visited in the course of this study where poverty is expressed as those earning below a given value locals have a complete different perception. To most of them the number of children one has is a clear indicator of your status as these children provide labor. The issue of whether one is capable to look after them given the challenges that they face is overlooked. The number of wives one has is also an indicator of one's ability to sustain the families. It was evident from the data generated that very few people regarded themselves as really poor owing to the local definition of poor among themselves. The number of livestock and the possession of working equipment were viewed favorably.

Participants have gradually lost trust in the Government Loan Scheme (the seven million meticaís allocated to each District) targeted at improving the livelihoods of the peasant farmers due to rampant corruption. Most if not all participants expressed some degree of reservation on the manner this fund is being administered. There is a strong feeling from the participants that only those connected to the ruling elite do have easy access to this funding and that there is no transparency in the allocation of the funds. This is contrary to views by most Government Officials that the scheme is a success and is helping reduce poverty.

Participants strongly believe on superstitions beliefs such as Witch Doctors as the reason for success. There is also a strong belief in the local culture practices that calls them to abandon their residence when they lose any of their family members. The existence of Child brides is another local practice which is rampant and acceptable to the locals.

5.3 Conclusions

For easy reading and understanding the researcher saw it appropriate to further sub divide this into conclusions from literature perceptions, conclusions from participants' perception and finally conclusion from the researcher perceptions.

5.3.1 Conclusions from literature perspectives

Poverty is a complex issue and there are many definitions of poverty that have been advanced up to date. The most common being the World Bank estimates of Global Poverty using income. This definition has been changed from time to time to accommodate inflation. At the present moment, using the figure of US\$1.45 per day current estimates are that the world has 1.4 billion people living below the poverty datum line using 2005 prices. From the visited literature it became evident that most of the poor do live in the rural areas and these are small holder farmers whose livelihood hinge on agriculture. The reality of poverty characterized by lack of money and basic necessities such as food, water, shelter, education and health care cannot be doubted among many communities in Mozambique. Although Poverty is not linked to Agriculture this study finds this assertion to be true especially for Africa where poverty is much more rampant in the rural areas as evidenced by many studies visited in this research.

From the visited Literature it is evident that the Mozambican Government acknowledges the existence of Poverty as outlined in its Policy Papers: PARPA 1, 2 and 3. The United Nations in its millennium development goals targeted poverty

reduction by half. Significant effort has been made in reducing poverty across the globe and most notably by China.

Poverty in recent years emerged in the global scene as a natural disaster that many researchers have used to explain most of the social ills prevailing across the continents such as child mortality, the spread of HIV/AIDS, increase in crime rates and of course historical injustices perpetrated by Colonialism.

Various Scientific theories of Poverty attribute poverty to factors such as Production, Governance and politics, lack of self esteem and culture. As a way out of poverty most of these theories suggest education, good governance etc. Reforms aimed at poverty alleviation should not focus on immediate gains because things such as culture take time to change because of its relative autonomy. Theories visited in this research included the Marxian Theory of Poverty, the Cultural Theory of Poverty, the Neo Conservative Theory of Poverty, the Social Democratic theory of Poverty, the social Darwinist Theory of Poverty and last but not least the Programmatic Theory of Poverty. From the visited Literature the researcher can safely conclude that no single theory can account fully for the rural poverty in Mozambique.

The study also found out from the visited literature that the causes of poverty in Mozambique are not different from those of other countries in the region. However the role played by the civil war in Mozambique cannot be undermined and this is particularly true for the Provinces of Manica and Sofala who bore most of the brunt.

Poverty remains a Paradox in Mozambique as many studies testify to the existence of many resources that the country is endowed with. Efforts by Government to reduce poverty have not yielded much results on the ground as evidenced by the rampant of poverty particularly in the rural areas. Research has shown that Poverty is not being reduced in Mozambique despite massive inflow of aid. There are also gender inequalities, mostly exacerbated by lack of education and training.

5.3.2 Conclusions from participants' perspectives (emic perspectives)

The issue of culture is central in Mozambique and particularly to the rural people of Gorongosa with a low literacy rate. Participants are fully aware of their current status and believe that there is no way they can move out of this malice on their own without Government or Donor Assistance. Most feel that it is not fully their responsibility and advocate for assistance to correct their current poverty status. Most participants do not attach much importance to education as priority is given to satisfy immediate needs at the expense of long time needs.

Participants strongly believe that there is abundant potential for them to make it to success as long as they get the financial support. There is a strong feeling among the participants that the Government Loan Scheme targeting the rural communities is not being administered transparently as most of them believe it is only accessible to those linked to the ruling elite.

Participants believe that if one has more than one wife or if one can feed his family then these are sufficient indicators of a good position in the society and there is no cause for concern. Polygamy is quite rampant and nobody sees anything bad associated with this practice as it has been passed from one generation to the other and is viewed by locals as a normal practice.

There is a strong believe in superstition and success is not attributed to hard workman ship but is more often attributed to the ancestors and good luck.

5.3.3 Conclusions from the researcher's perspective (etic perspective)

From this study the researcher concludes that a lot has to be done to tackle holistically rural poverty in the Gorongosa rural communities. There is glaring evidence on the ground that poverty is a strong reality in the Communities of Gorongosa and it is fast increasing at an alarming rate. This researcher found out a large gap between the status quo of poverty in Gorongosa as what most media tend to portray as a positive picture of

the performance of the economy on a macro scale and its spillover effects. . It is important to state that there is glaring evidence in Gorontalo that this positive economic development has not been cascading down to a much lower level (micro) as evidenced in the rural communities of Gorontalo.

Good corporate Governance is a prerequisite for the successful implementation of any poverty alleviation strategies. There is no transparency in the allocation of the funds from the Government Loan Scheme as this only saves and benefits those linked to the ruling elite. This kind of scheme is better administered by a private institution such as Banks to avoid misinterpretations and bad blood between locals and their Government Representatives. Government should create a good environment to encourage investors to invest in the rural areas.

A lot of policy papers on how to tackle poverty are in existence as evidenced by the various PARPAS, what remains to be seen is the fact that there is a large gap between the policies and the implementation. It is of paramount importance to involve the locals for ownership and sustainability of any project. The definition of poverty according to the United Nations using a certain amount of income to defines on who is poor and expressing it as a percentage of the population needs to be revisited as it reduces the whole issue to a quantitative measure and yet poverty is much more than simple numbers. The definition should encompass what really is behind these numbers (qualitative).

5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

5.4.1 Introduction

This subsection on recommendations was subdivided into various subheadings to address specific themes that emerged from this study with clarity and most of the recommendations were based on the study's own findings. It is hoped that the grouping of recommendations and addressing each theme separately will make the recommendations more clear and specific to this study.

5.4.2 Socio cultural dynamics

High Dependency Ratios - large families / taking care of the elderly –encouraged to have smaller families. The Locals must be educated and awakened up to the new reality that gone are the days when people’s status was attached to the **number** of children one possessed.

Government should consider social schemes targeting the elderly as is done in other countries, welfare schemes for the poverty challenged (**Basic Income Grant in SA**)

5.4.3 Low literacy

Education campaigns to discourage viewing children as an investment towards stewardship for parents who are old. Gender imbalances that propel poverty should be enforced and there must be a deliberate gender education programmes aimed at emphasizing the importance of both men and women as agents of change and development. Local community leaders must address seriously this issue and give it the attention it deserves. Women should be given a platform to express themselves as they have been proven to be active agents of change and development having successfully pursued poverty alleviation programmes (Prof. Mohammed Yunus, Grameen Bank Experience, Bangladesh)

The mentioned programmes of teaching the people basic skills like carpentry, building and basketry should not discriminate candidates according to gender, men and women can be trained in skills of their own. Discourage early marriages by keeping girl children in schools longer in government funded boarding schools targeting particularly girl child. Positive discrimination / Affirmative Action, child mentoring and coaching by people who are successful should be encouraged in order for the Locals to see the importance of education and its potential rewards.

5.4.4 Improving use of local resources

Agricultural assets – most households rely on rudimentary technology a practice which must be discouraged given the technology that exists in the current century. Crop rotation and good practices of soil conservation must be adhered to. Proper use of Government Intervention programmes that help in the multiplication of assets, such as herds multiplication, funds to help farmers acquire assets such as carts, seed money Local enhancement exchange programs must be encouraged, learning from each other, identifying most successful local farmers and using them as mentors, to enhance self esteem which is nonexistent in these local communities.

On land ownership locals must be encouraged in the intensive use of the amount of hectares owned per household, crop rotation, sustainable agriculture technologies that help improve productivity and irrigation schemes to improve productivity. Farming should be viewed as a business, and locals, particularly in Gorongosa where there is abundant water and rich soils, should venture into market gardening and put more emphasis on marketable products that fetch good prices throughout the whole year.

Government must advocate for innovative ways of using land owned by the poor villagers as collateral when farmers want to borrow from financial institutions. This requires a change of macro policies on land ownership.

Create awareness programmes that emphasize the importance of resources available in these communities. This will create vigilance and obligation to sustainably use and guard such resources from poachers.

5.4.5 Access to finance

At policy level encourage tax-deductible incentives for companies that plough resources into poverty alleviation programmes and also encourage the establishment of agricultural biased banks and micro-finance institutions – that could come up with

innovative schemes of lending to the poor without collateral security which banks often emphasize. It is the responsibility of the Government of the day to ensure that access to finance ceases to be a dream to the less privileged.

Government should encourage Microfinance institutions to develop and implement out-reach programmes aimed at showcasing their activities at community level and identify opportunities that exist in these largely poor communities. The Government district loaning scheme needs to be revisited and made more transparent so that locals independently of their high illiteracy level can adhere and benefit from such national programmes independently of their political affiliations. Rules should not be made to discriminate against the poor to have access to Government funding.

5.4.6 Food security

Discourage selling of illusory surplus harvest which ultimately result in food shortages and improve storage techniques/facilitators such as solar driers, silos etc. This is one area where NGO should assist with experiences from other countries such as Uganda (fruit solar driers) instead of importing European solutions for African problems. Agro business should be encouraged in all the communities given the abundance of water and rich soils.

5.4.7 Macro economics politics

At macro level the Government should ensure the crafting of appropriate legislature which ensures that the mineral Resources are not just exported without maximum benefits for the country in general and for the communities who are the custodians of these resources. Revenue from these sources should be used to develop the poor communities such as the ones in Gorongosa. Export of raw resources without value addition should be discouraged, particularly in the Timber Industry.

5.4.8 Value chain

It is this researcher's view from this study that the rural poor farmers of Gorongosa should use the value chain to access the markets that have been previously denied to them in the past decades of Colonialism and civil war. Value chains can play a vital role in transforming the rural communities. This can be achieved through improved linkages between the farmers and the buyers to make sure that farmers tailor their production to meet the demands of the market in the neighbouring cities of Beira, Chimoio, Quelimane or Maputo rather than simply producing with a false hope that there is always a ready market. This will definitely reduce the wastage that the farmers sometimes face due to lack of coordination between supply and demand. Rural farmers should become more actively engaged in adding value to all if not most of their products by improving quality, packaging and presentation.

Value chain can facilitate input supply and finance. This actually means that the processors have a greater assurance of raw material supply, thus increasing the use of their processing capacity, reducing costs and offering reliable employment opportunities. It is this researcher's view that developing strong linkages with buyers such as importers and supermarkets provides a scope for processors, wholesalers and exporters to innovate. More significantly is the fact that issues of environmental sustainability can be more easily addressed through this kind of collaborative chain than when farmers produce in an ad hoc manner.

5.5 The way forward for development strategies in poverty alleviation

This study recommends a simple model that recognizes the potentials of the local people and resources around them in whatever humanitarian project or programme aimed at poverty alleviation at community level. Poverty alleviation in rural areas starts with a focus on the main livelihood lifelines especially stimulation of agricultural production. This could be achieved through investment in new agricultural technology, machinery and equipment, training of farmers, improved extension services and also support services like markets, financial as well as social services institutions. After this

has been done, economists and other financial experts can then tailor in their understanding of how low interest rates can guarantee entrepreneurs more access to financial credit and revitalization of agricultural production could help realize positive contributions to export growth, employment creation and more effective poverty reduction strategies. The latter are either non-existent or invisible in most rural areas in Mozambique.

5.6 The way forward for future research

This particular study focused itself on poverty and it did focus on the rural poor of Gorongosa District. Being a case study as outlined earlier on, the Researcher has no intention whatsoever in generalizing his findings, however, these can be extrapolated to a situation with similar characteristics. It could be interesting for future research to make a comparative study on poverty among various districts and of course, this requires more financial resources. Further studies could also look at the urban poverty as poverty is not only linked to those staying in the rural areas. Therefore this researcher suggests further comparative analyses of poverty reduction strategies that are universal to both urban and rural areas.

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APPENDIX 1



Alleviating Poverty through Local Resources: A case study of Gorongosa communities in Mozambique

BY

ALFANDEGA MANJORO

HOUSE HOLD INTERVIEWS

ZIMBABWE OPEN UNIVERSITY

SUPERVISOR:PROF. B. C. CHISAKA

BACKGROUND INFORMATION:

1. Date of interview

2. Gender of Respondent

Table 9: Gender

Code	Gender	Tick
1	Male	
2	Female	

Source:Researcher

3. Age of the respondent :..... years

4. Marital Status

Table 10:4.Marital Status

Code	Marital Status	Tick
1	Single	
2	Married	
3	Divorced	
4	Widowed	
5	Other	

Source:Researcher

4 Level of Education of Respondent

Table 11:Level of Education

Code	Level of Education	Tick
1	None	
2	Primary	
3	Secondary	
4	College	
5	University	

Source: Researcher

5. Occupation of Respondent:

6. Province

Table 12: Province

Code	Province	Tick
1	Sofala	

Source: Researcher

7. District

Table 13:District

Code	District	Tick
1	Gorongosa	

Source:Researcher

8. Community

Table 14: Community

Code	Community	Tick
1	Gorongosa	
2	NYamadze	
3	Nhanguo	
4	Vanduzi	

Source: Researcher

9. Are you the household head?

Table 15: Household head

Code	Response	Tick
1	Yes	
2	No	

Source: Researcher

10. Please list the number of children, their gender and ages

Table 16: Number of Children

Code	Number of Children	Gender	Age
1	First Child		
2	Second Child		
3	Third Child		
4	Fourth Child		
5	More than 5 (list ages and genders)		

Source: Researcher

11. How many of these children go to school?

12. How many children do not go to school?

13. If some children do not attend school, please give the reasons why?

.....
.....
.....

14. Please list the number of other dependent children and their ages

Table 17: Number of other dependent children

Code	Number of Children	Gender	Age
1	First Dependent		
2	Second Dependent		
3	Third Dependent		
4	Fourth Dependent		
5	More than 5 (list ages and genders)		

Source: Researcher

15. Do you receive any form of assistance towards the upkeep of these dependent children? (Please explain)

.....
.....
.....
.....

B: HOUSEHOLD ASSETS OWNED

16. What farming implement does your household own?

.....
.....
.....

17. What other farming implements would you need to be self-sufficient?

.....
.....
.....
.....

18. How much land does your household 'own'?
Hectares

19. Describe the adequacy of the land owned in relation to your farming needs and activities?

.....
.....
.....
.....

20. Do you fully utilize all your farming land every year?

Table 18: Fully utilize all your farming land

Code	Response	Tick
1	Yes	
2	No	

Source: Researcher

21. If the answer to 21 above is NO, please explain why you do not use all your land?

.....
.....
.....
.....

22. State other household assets that you have in your household (motor cycle, bicycle, cell-phone, radios, TVs, stove, etc)

.....

23. Briefly explain how you obtained each of these assets mentioned above?

.....

B: POVERTY & LIVELIHOODS

24. What is your average monthly income?

Table 19: average monthly income

Code	Classifications (Mtn)	Tick
1	Less than 500	
2	501-1000	
3	1001 -2500	
4	2501 - 3500	
5	3501 - 5000	
6	Above 5000	

Source: Researcher

25. What are the main sources of livelihood in this household?

Table 20: livelihood in this household

Code	Major source of livelihood	Tick	Specify
1	Farming		

2	Informal seasonal employment		
3	Formal employment (specify)		
4	Self-employment		
5	Other (specify)		

Source: Researcher

26. What are the major sources of income in this household?

Table 21: income in this household

Code	Major source of income	Tick
1	Farming	
2	Informal seasonal employment	
3	Formal employment (specify)	
4	Self-employment	
5	Other (specify)	

Source: Researcher

27. What is the total annual household income from each above-mentioned source?

Table 22: total annual household

Code	Income source	Tick	Annual Income (MT)
1	Farming		
2	Informal seasonal employment		
3	Formal employment (specify)		
4	Self-employment		
5	Other (specify)		

Source: Researcher

28. Has your household ever applied for a loan from a financial Institution?

Table 23:loan from a financial Institution

Code	Applied for Loan	Tick
1	Yes	
2	No	

Source: Researcher

29. If yes please explain when this was and the amount that was applied for and whether the application was successful or not?

Table 24:Outcome of application

Code	Institution	Year	Amount	Outcome of application
1				
2				

Source: Researcher

30. If the loan was not successful, please give the reasons why?

.....

.....

.....

31. Has your household received any financial assistance from any other organizations?

Table 25:household received any financial assistance

Code	Response	Tick
1	Yes	
2	No	

Source: Researcher

32. If yes please explain

.....
.....
.....
.....

C: HOUSEHOLD FOOD SECURITY

33. What major field crops did your household grow during the last agricultural season?

Table 26: household grow during the last agricultural season

Code	Name of field crop	Tick
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		

Source: Researcher

34. How much was the yield from each of these field crops grown during the last agricultural season?

Table 27: field crops grown during the last agricultural season

Code	Name of field crop	Approximate yield	Unit of Measurement
1			
2			
3			
4			

5			
---	--	--	--

Source: Researcher

35. What major cash crops did your household grow during the last agricultural season?

Table 28: Name of cash crop

Code	Name of cash crop	Tick
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		

Source: Researcher

36. How much was the yield from each of these cash crops grown during the last season?

Table 29: cash crops grown during the last season

Code	Name of cash crop	Approximate yield	Unit of Measurement
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			

Source: Researcher

37. What quantity of each of these cash crops did you sell last season and how much revenue did you realize from the sale?

Table 30: Quantity of each of these cash crops your produce able to take you until the next agricultural season?

Table 31: Next agricultural season

Code	Name of cash crop	Quantity sold	Revenue Generated
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			

38.

Code	Response	Tick
1	Yes	
2	No	

Source: Researcher

39. If NO, how does your household supplement for the shortfall?

.....

40. What assistance are you getting towards improving your farming activities?

.....

41. Please describe how useful this assistance has been in improving your farm productivity in general?

.....

.....

.....

.....

B: NATURAL RESOURCES

42. What would you regard as the five most important natural resources available in this community?

Table 32: natural resources available in this community

Code	Name of Resource
1	
2	
3	
4	
5	

Source: Researcher

43. State at least two most important uses of the above natural resources in your household.

Table 33: natural resources in your household

Code	Name of Resource	First Use	Second Use
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			

Source: Researcher

44. In your view is your household utilizing potential benefits from these natural resources?

45. *Table 34: Potential Benefits*

Code	Response	Tick
1	Yes	
2	No	

Source: Researcher

46. Please explain your answer to question to 45 above.

Table 35: envisaged household benefits

Code	Natural Resource	Description of the envisaged household benefits
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		

Source: Researcher

47. In your view what do you think could be done to ensure that your household optimizes benefits from these natural resources?

.....
.....
.....

48. Which institution/body do you think should be responsible for the ensuring that these suggestions are implemented?

.....
.....
.....

49. Give justification for your answer to question 48 above.

.....
.....
.....
.....

50. Do you think your suggested poverty alleviation strategies could be possibly implemented using local capacities and resources?

.....
.....
.....
.....

51. What challenges do you face at household level in ensuring the implementation of these poverty alleviation suggestions?

.....
.....
.....
.....

52. What do you think can be done at household level to overcome the identified challenges on poverty alleviation?

.....
.....
.....

53. How would your household contribute to community poverty alleviation efforts that you have suggested?

.....
.....
.....
.....

54. What human capacity building efforts would be necessary to ensure that these suggestions are fully implemented?

.....
.....
.....
.....

End of Questionnaire